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Number 28

History of Shah 'Abbas the Great
Volume I

Frontispiece

The meeting of Shah 'Abbas and Khan 'Ālam, ambassador of the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr. In the upper "register" Shah Abbas, with a page behind him, offers a shallow dish of drink to the Mughal envoy; below are the Shah's hōrse and groom, and another attendant. The inscription identifies the participants, the patron Ḥakīm Šamsā Mohammad who was court physician to Shah 'Abbas, the artist Rezā-ye 'Abbāsī, and the date of completion Friday 17 Rajab 1042/21 January 1633. Since the event depicted took place in 1619, this miniature may have served to replace a damaged or destroyed original which was contemporary with the event. *Photo courtesy of the Saltykov-Schedrin State Library, Leningrad.*

R.J.E.

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Persian Heritage Series

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Number 28

History of Shah 'Abbas the Great

(Tārīk-e 'Ālamārā-ye 'Abbāsī)

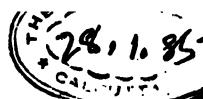
by

Eskandar Beg Monshi

Volume I

Translated by Roger M. Savory

Professor of Middle East and Islamic Studies, University of Toronto



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Transcription

The transcription system used here for Persian and Arabic elements in Persian, aims for simplicity and accuracy, and has been jointly adopted by Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Encyclopaedia Persica, The Persian Heritage Series, The Persian Studies Series, Bibliothèque Persane, and Meisterwerke der persischen Literatur.

Persian	Arabic	Persian	Arabic	Persian	Arabic
ب	b	ض	ž	ت	Vowels
پ	p	ط	t	ە	ا
ت	t	ظ	z	ە	à
ث	š	ع	'	،	ü
ج	j	غ	g	ي	í
چ	č	ف	f	ـ	a
ح	h	ق	q	ـ	o
خ	k	ک	k	ـ	e
خ	k	گ	g	ـ	a
د	d	ل	l	ـ	ow
ذ	z	م	m	ـ	ey, ay
ر	r	ن	n	ـ	ـ
ز	z	و	v	w	
ژ	ž	ه	h		
س	s	ـ	y		
ش	š				
ص	š				(but iy)

Note:

The more familiar and commonly used place names, titles when not an integral part of the name, and other commonly known words have been anglicized without diacritics for the sake of simplicity (e.g., shah, Isfahan, Turkman, khān, etc.).

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Roger M. Savory
Trinity College, University of Toronto

Foreword

None of the kings who ruled Persia in Islamic times has achieved the fame and glory enjoyed by Shah Abbas the Great (1571-1629). An outstanding monarch of extraordinary ability and drive, he must be considered the chief architect of the modern Iranian state. Shah Abbas is the most celebrated figure of the Safavid dynasty (1502-1722) founded by Shah Esma'il. Shah Esma'il was a passionate religious leader of poetic verve and military genius, devoutly served by a number of Shi'ite militant tribes. Basing his power on their unwavering allegiance, he made Shi'ism—a minority faith of Islam—the official religion of his kingdom and forced its spread by the authority of his sword. Persia, which had suffered long centuries of divided rule after the fall of the Sasanians in 651, was finally unified under the Safavid banner. The Safavid state, however, still lacked sufficient institutional support for this newly fashioned unity. For some three generations it remained vulnerable to the ambitions and power-plays of the tribal chiefs who had helped found it.

Shah Abbas turned this kingdom, held together primarily by the ardent faith of a number of militant tribes, into a cohesive and stable monarchy. He consolidated the state by securing its borders, strengthening its economy, giving it a centralized administration, and forming a regular army responsible not to the tribal heads but to the king as the head of the state. His economic and commercial acumen brought the country wealth and prosperity. Internal security and steady regulation encouraged farming. Roads and public buildings were constructed on an unprecedented scale; crafts and industry prospered. A skillful diplomat of broad views, Shah Abbas encouraged political and economic relations with the West; and foreign envoys found a ready welcome at his court.

As a military commander and strategist Shah Abbas proved a formidable foe to the Safavids' chief rival, the Ottoman Empire. During his long reign of forty-one years he successfully defended the integrity of Persian borders, drove out the Portuguese from Hormuz in the Persian Gulf, and established the identity of Persia as a national state.

Shah Abbas was not, however, without his shortcomings. A ruthless autocrat of suspicious nature and complex personality, he meted

out harsh punishments, eliminating or disabling many of his own kin. His keen interest in wealth and luxury often led to avarice. Yet Shah 'Abbas's inspired leadership, administrative and military skills, economic insight, broad vision, and inexhaustible energy made him an exceptional leader of men and shaper of destinies. His life soon passed into legend and tales of his sagacity and justice enriched the fund of Persian folklore. The many graceful caravanserais and public cisterns that a modern traveler can still see at old Persian road stations remain as monuments to his sometimes harsh yet on the whole beneficent rule.

The most comprehensive biography of Shah 'Abbas was recorded by a chief secretary of his court in a major work of Persian historiography, the '*Ālam-ārā*' ('Embellisher of the World'). This compendious history, written in a highly literary and sometimes bombastic style, treats not only Shah 'Abbas's reign, but also provides valuable information about the earlier Safavid kings, the course of events in the Ottoman Empire and other neighboring countries, and the state of the arts and sciences. It also contains biographies of many poets, artists, calligraphers, and men of learning. The '*Ālam-ārā*' is the most important source of Safavid history and is perhaps the last in the chain of great Persian medieval histories.

The translation of '*Ālam-ārā*' presented considerable problems. Not only is its sheer formidable bulk (1116 pages of closely printed text in the latest edition), but also its style would make an exact translation tedious reading. A tendency prevailed in Persian historiography from about the twelfth century for historians to write in a highly stylized fashion. They used many rhetorical devices, couching their statements in figurative speech with an abundance of hyperbole and metaphor. They also often adorned their writing with quotations from various poets and Koranic verses, drawing on the terminologies of various disciplines to exhibit their knowledge of different fields of learning, as if to impress their peers and amaze the reader. Although the '*Ālam-ārā*' does not rank among the most ornate Persian histories, it shares with them the general penchant for florid prose, particularly in its introductory sections.

Dr. Roger Savory, Professor of Persian and Islamic history at the University of Toronto and a leading authority on Safavid history has tackled this formidable task of translation with admirable good sense. By paring away the verbal superfluities of the original he has fur-

nished the reader with a fluent and attractive translation. All students of Persian and Middle Eastern history should be grateful for his patient effort.

Ehsan Yarshater
Columbia University

Introduction

The importance of the Safavid period (1501–1736) in the history of Iran has been increasingly recognized in recent years by scholars both in Iran and in the West. In 1501, the Safavids established the first native dynasty to rule over the whole of Iran since the overthrow of the Sasanid empire by the Arabs in the seventh century. For eight and a half centuries Iran had been little more than a geographical abstraction, with no independent existence but subject to a succession of foreign rulers—Arab, Turk, Mongol, and Tartar. The Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century constitute a watershed in the history of Iran and, indeed, of Islam. The Mongols destroyed the historical caliphate which for six hundred years had been the visible symbol of the unity of the Islamic world. The Iranians, who had preserved their distinctive culture and their sense of national identity throughout the long period of foreign domination, seized this opportunity to reassert their political independence.

The process took two centuries. It began in 1301, when Shaikh Ṣaft al-Dīn Eshāq, who gave his name to the dynasty founded by his descendant, Shah Esma'il I, in 1501, assumed the position of head and spiritual director of a local Sufi Order in Gilan. The origins of the Safavid family are still obscure, but it may be said with some certainty that Ṣaft al-Dīn's ancestors moved to Azerbaijan, probably from Kurdistan, during the eleventh century and settled in the Ardabil district. Though of native Iranian stock, the Safavids spoke Āzārī, the form of Turkish used in Azerbaijan.

When Ṣaft al-Dīn became head of the Order henceforth named the Ṣafavīya Order after him, he adopted a policy of active proselytism that transformed a Sufi Order of purely local significance into a religious movement with numerous adherents throughout Iran, Syria, and Anatolia. Regular contact was maintained with the disciples of the Safavid shaikhs in those regions through a network of agents termed *kalifas*, who periodically visited the headquarters of the movement at Ardabil. The most important converts were made among the pastoral Turkman tribes living in eastern Anatolia, the Armenian highlands, and northern Syria and Iraq. Converts to the Safavid cause adopted a distinctive form of headgear which led them to be dubbed *qezelbaš* or "redheads." This whole propaganda network was controlled by the office of *kalifat al-kolafa*, which Minorsky

has felicitously termed the "special secretariat for Sufi affairs," and the presence of large numbers of Safavid supporters in eastern Anatolia was recognized by the Ottomans as a serious threat to their own authority in that area.

From the beginning of the fourteenth century, the leaders of the Safavid movement gave clear signs of an ambition to achieve temporal power as well as religious authority, and this ambition aroused first the apprehension and then the active hostility of the contemporary rulers of western Iran and Iraq. Despite the fact that three successive Safavid leaders were killed in battle (Jorheyd, 1460; Heydar, 1488; and 'Ali, 1494), the momentum of the movement was still sufficient to bring the revolution to a successful conclusion and establish the Safavid dynasty in 1501. The power of the Safavid shahs rested on three distinct bases: the divine right of the kings of Iran; the claim of the Safavid rulers to be the representative on earth of the Mahdi, the Twelfth Imam of the Eṣnā 'Ašarī Shi'ites, a messianic figure whose emergence from occultation is expected to usher in an era of universal peace and justice; and their position as *morsed-e kāmel*, or "perfect spiritual director" of the Safavid Order of Sufis. In the period immediately before the establishment of the Safavid state, however, there is no doubt that Safavid religious propaganda (*da'va*) went far beyond even these sweeping claims, and asserted that the Safavid leader was not merely the representative of the Mahdi but the Mahdi himself, or even God incarnate.

On their assumption of political power in Iran in 1501, the most important action of the Safavids was the establishment of Eṣnā 'Ašarī (or Twelver) Shi'ism as the official religion of the new state, an action that had far-reaching results. It to some extent set Iran apart from the mainstream of Islam and it was a major factor in enabling Iran to resist absorption into the Ottoman empire. The imposition of Shi'ism also had the effect of strengthening the central government and of producing a greater awareness of national (as opposed to ethnic) identity. To the extent that the Safavids bequeathed to their successors a centralized administrative system, a standing army, and a state with well-defined boundaries, they may be said to have laid the foundations of the modern Iranian state.

In other respects, too, the Safavid period was of great significance. There was, for one thing, a remarkable flowering of the arts: carpets and textiles of unparalleled richness of color and design; manuscripts

distinguished by the quality of their calligraphy and illustrations; and ceramic tiles of astonishing intricacy and beauty. The latter adorned such masterpieces of architecture as the *Masjed-e Shah* and the *Masjed-e Shaikh Loṭfollāh* at Isfahan, both of which date from the reign of Shah 'Abbas. The period as a whole and the reign of Shah 'Abbas in particular were also a time of dramatic increase in diplomatic and commercial contacts with the West. The Portuguese, Dutch, and English tried to establish trading posts in the Persian Gulf with a view to gaining control of trade with India and Southeast Asia, and the English explored the possibilities of overland trade. The tolerant climate of Iran under Shah 'Abbas led foreign merchants to establish colonies in various parts of the country, and foreign religious orders (Carmelites, Augustinians, and Capuchins) to found convents in Isfahan and elsewhere.

In many ways, the reign of Shah 'Abbas I marks the highest point of Safavid achievement. Under Shah Soleyman (1666–1694) and Shah Sultan Ḥoseyn (1694–1722), the progressive breakdown of the central administration was marked by increasing inefficiency and corruption at all levels of government. The degeneration of the dynasty was due in large part to the practice, initiated by Shah Abbas I, of confining the royal princes to the harem and never allowing them to receive the training for future kingship that earlier Safavid shahs had received. The military machine was allowed to run down to such an extent that the Safavid state was unable to repel an Afghan attack in 1722, and for seven years the Safavid capital, Isfahan, was occupied by the invaders. The economic prosperity of the country was undermined by a departure from 'Abbas I's policies of state capitalism, and by bringing too many provinces under the direct control of the crown. The weakness of the Safavid shahs during the second half of the seventeenth century allowed the Shi'ite *'olamā* to increase their power to a marked extent, and their militant concern with the rooting out of heresy militated against the atmosphere of religious tolerance for non-Muslim minorities that had been responsible for economic prosperity in the time of 'Abbas I. Nāder Khan, who at first posed as the restorer of the Safavid state, ended it in 1736 by having himself crowned as Nāder Shah. His assassination in 1747 inaugurated half a century of civil war between the Zands and Qajars that ended in the victory of the latter.

If one wishes to estimate the Safavid achievement, one has only to contrast the two and a quarter centuries of Safavid rule with the

century of struggle between rival dynasties which preceded it, or with the more than fifty years of anarchy and strife which followed it. Despite all the internal stresses and external pressures to which the Safavids were subject, they succeeded in converting Iran into a strong and prosperous state, and the fact that Iran exists as an independent nation today is due in no small measure to them. In view of the importance of this period in the history of Iran, the decision to include a history of the Safavids in the Persian Heritage Series is a source of much satisfaction. The choice of the *Tārikh-e 'Ālam-ārā-ye Abbāsī* of Eskandar Beg Monšī to represent the extensive corpus of Safavid historiography was made at the suggestion of the translator. It is necessary, therefore, for me to say a few words in justification of this choice.

Eskandar Beg's chronicle deals mainly with the reign of Shah 'Abbas I. Shah 'Abbas, despite his weaknesses of character and errors of policy, was without question the greatest of the Safavid shahs; he was unequalled in ability, breadth of vision, knowledge of the world, and the successful application of a pragmatic approach to politics and commerce. He was also a brilliant strategist and field commander. It is therefore appropriate that the Safavid chronicle selected for publication in the Persian Heritage Series should concern itself primarily with an account of the life and times of this remarkable ruler.

The author, Eskandar Beg, known as Monšī (secretary) because of his employment in the Safavid bureaucracy, was born about the year 1560 and probably died about 1632. His work is divided into three books: Book I consists of a history, in summarized form, of the origins of the Safavids and of the reigns of the predecessors of Shah Abbas. Although based in the main on earlier histories, such as the *Ahsan al-Tavārikh*, the *Habib al-Sīar*, the *Nosak-e Jahān-ārā*, and the *Fotūhāt-e Amīnī* (the last-named is not extant), this section of the work contains a considerable amount of material not available elsewhere, and is presented moreover with admirable clarity and accuracy. Books II and III, which constitute the greater part of the history, cover the reign of Shah Abbas. Books I and II were completed in 1616, and Book III in 1629, the year of Shah 'Abbas's death. Eskandar Beg's history is therefore a strictly contemporary account; it is also remarkably detailed and accurate, for the author, by virtue of his position as one of the chief secretaries (*monšī-ye 'azīm*) of the court, was a member of the Shah's entourage and an eye witness to many of

the events he describes. This fact not only imparts freshness and vividness to his writing, but enables him to give a wealth of detail that materially increases our understanding of the "inwardness" of the history of the period.

The *Tārīk-e 'Ālam-ārā-ye Abbāsī* is not only important as history—that is, for the information it contains—but is an outstanding work of historiography. Despite the vast scope of the work, the author never loses sight of its shape and proportion and, after a digression, returns unerringly to pick up loose ends. He is unusually accurate in matters of fact and meticulous in giving dates. He is careful to give the essential background of events in the Ottoman and Mogul empires so that the reader may understand their impact on Iran. But it is above all the quality of his writing that sets Eskandar Monšī apart from his contemporaries. As examples of dramatic historical writing, it would be hard to beat the author's description of the buildup of tension before the murder of the queen Mahd-e 'Olyā in 1579; the excitement of the royal army's march on Herat in 1583; the drama of the manhunt for 'Alī Khan in Gilān or for Šāhverdī Khan in Lorestān, or his portrayal of the assassination of 'Abd al-Mo'men Khan. There are the absorbing descriptions of the siege of Erīvān in 1604 and of Baghdad in 1623, and the compelling accounts of such "set piece" battles as Şūftān, at which the author was present; his depiction of the confusion in the Ottoman camp after the Safavid victory is extraordinarily vivid.

But Eskandar Beg is much more than just a writer of dramatic narrative. His work is full of touches of humor (often self-deprecatory), irony, and pathos. As an example, one may cite his statement that Shah Abbas decided to overlook the Uzbegs' committing the crime of carrying off Muslims as prisoners and selling them as slaves because (1) vengeance could safely be left to the Lord and (2) the Shah was not in a position to do anything about it at the time. In another place, the author states that Shah Abbas knew what was in the mind of one of his emirs, either "by virtue of his divinely-inspired acumen, or from information supplied by his intelligence agents." Eskandar Beg's work is full of comments on human foibles, as when one Darvīš Kosrow conceives the cunning idea of attending classes in jurisprudence in order to allay the suspicions of the 'olāmā that he is a heretic. One likes, too, the story of the royal astrologer who offered to prove the accuracy of his prediction that the Ottomans would not capture Baghdad by volunteering to join the Safavid garrison there.

As for pathos, the picture of Sultan Mohammad Shah and Abū Ṭāleb Mīrzā, sitting alone in their tent in a deserted camp after the action has moved elsewhere, is unforgettable. There is pathos, too, in Ḥamza Mīrzā's hope that, at the eleventh hour, the impending tragedy of civil war between the *qezelbāš* may be averted.

No assessment of Eskandar Beg, however brief, would be complete without a reference to his moral courage and honesty. He does not merely give plain, unvarnished facts (although that in itself would be an achievement), but is ready to add his own comments and opinions. For instance, he dismisses as improbable the view that the Takkalū-Torkman faction was not party to the plot to abduct Tahmasp Mīrzā. He gives praise to Shah 'Abbas where he feels it is due, and in terms which convince one of the genuineness of his words. Commenting on 'Abbas's outstanding generalship at the battle of Şūftān in 1605, for instance, he says he is "setting aside for a moment the historian's usual rhetoric and conventional phrases, which are devoid of the reality that lies at the heart of the matter." On the other hand, he is not afraid to make comments that cannot have been pleasing to his royal master: he expresses doubts as to the genuineness of Shah Tahmasp's bones (even though Shah 'Abbas has proclaimed them to be genuine); he criticizes the Shah, by implication, for the loss of life in the aborted assault on Şamākī in 1607; he admits that the Safavids were no more sincere in their negotiations over Baghdad than were the Ottomans. His honesty leads him to make fair assessments of the abilities of Ottoman pashas and other officers, and although he expresses the conventional *odium theologicum* toward the Turks, he shows no real animosity toward them. His generally tolerant attitude makes all the more remarkable his outburst against the Gīlānīs.

Eskandar Beg emerges from the pages of his own writing as a humble man and a very human being. Although he was in Qazvin on the day of Sultan Mohammad Shah's entry into the city, he says he may be mistaken as to the date because Ḥasan-e Rümlü in his history gives a different one. He admits he gave way to fear at the battle of Şa'en Qal'a. He repeatedly pulls himself up short for indulging in whimsy, and I am particularly fond of the picture of the author staying up all night trying to improve on the vizier's chronogram and finally being forced to admit that he is unable to do so. Nothing could be more revealing of the personality and character of the man than his agonizing over his decision to go to Ordūbād in 1607 at the request of the vizier, Hātem Beg, at a time when he had just returned

from five years in the field with the Shah and was longing to see his wife and family.

Eskandar Beg repeatedly assures the reader that if he has not been an eye witness himself of the events he describes, he has endeavored to obtain reports from reliable sources. He tells us on numerous occasions that, in order to obtain a reliable account of a battle, he has elicited reports from soldiers who actually fought in that particular engagement, and his accounts of events in India and other places outside the empire are often derived from merchants and travelers. Admittedly, soldiers and travelers are not always paragons of veracity, but we are left in no doubt that the author has done his best to verify his facts, and we are confident that the reports he receives have been weighed against other evidence. When Eskandar Beg himself is dubious about the authenticity of a report, he tells us so by using the formula "God knoweth best [the truth]!" No one can fail to be impressed by his statement that he will not embroider the facts to impress someone in authority or to further his career.

Finally, I should say a few words of a technical nature. As the basis for the translation, I used the Tehran printed edition of the *Tārikh-e 'Ālam-ārā-ye Abbāsi* edited by Iraj Afšār, filling in the numerous *lacunae* in this text by reference to Cambridge University Oriental MSS. H13 and H14, one of the few extant copies of the complete work (but not without its own defects), and to BM MS. Add. 17,927, which is an incomplete MS. but of early date and contains the eulogy to Abū Ṭālib Mirzā which is omitted from most later copies of the manuscript.

I adopted the following guidelines in making the translation of Eskandar Beg's history: Since one of the main aims of the Persian Heritage Series is to publish *readable* translations, I made readability my primary concern. To achieve this, I necessarily had to simplify and abridge the Persian original, but I trust that I have omitted nothing of substance. I have, for example, drastically condensed or omitted entirely the conventional invocations to spring which occur at the beginning of the narrative of events for each year. Where the Persian text is racy or vivid, I have tried to reproduce the same tone in the English translation. I decided arbitrarily to omit all the quotations from the poets (including those of the author), which are embedded in the text, in the interests of preventing an already long translation from becoming longer. I have broken this rule in only a

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few places where the quotation seemed to be inseparable from the context. Now I can only hope, with Eskandar Beg, "that my readers will correct any slips and errors which they come across, and not censure me for them."

Roger M. Savory
Toronto

**In memory of my teacher,
Vladimir Minorsky,
whose pioneering work laid
the foundations of our
knowledge of Safavid history**

Preface

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

Since a description of the qualities of the divine majesty, which lie beyond the realm of human reason and conjecture, is not compatible with the rank and status of mankind, or with the comprehension of human beings, and since praise of the seat of divine unity, which is beyond imagination and surmise, does not lie within the power of written expression and communication, therefore those who have had the temerity to set foot on this path have lost their way in a trackless desert and have wandered around in confusion, and have foundered at their very first attempts at thanksgiving. They are distinguished by their ignorance, and are far removed from the world of intelligence and wisdom. Those who, in an effort to understand the eternal nature of God, have lit the candle of certain truth at the shrine of knowledge, have become entangled in arguments about creation and preexistence. Demonstrating the truth of the following utterance,

My intellect does not have the capacity for arriving at
certain knowledge of You
He who understands Your essential nature is himself
identical with that nature

they have remained fettered by vain ideas.

It therefore seemed more appropriate, in view of inadequate intellect and general ignorance, not to let my thoughts run wildly to and fro, but to keep silent about these matters, and to keep quiet about things which cannot be contained within the narrow confines of human capacity—particularly the capacity of those who do not possess too great a stock of knowledge. So I determined, with a heart imbued with reverence, and asking forgiveness with deep humility, to give tongue to the following words of praise:

Wherever Your glory exists in full perfection,
There is a fresh world from the ocean of Your grace;
What limit can be set to our praising You,
Since whatever praises we sing are but Your desert?

Again, praises of the dignity of the Prophet, and of the virtues and

illustrious acts of 'Ali and the immaculate Imams, who adorn the throne of God¹ and guide men on the path of salvation, constitute part of the divine attributes. Therefore it is better and more fitting, and more reverent, not to wander in the desert of perplexity and ignorance without the proper provisions and mount—namely, knowledge—but to turn back from such travels, and to make a start toward one's intended goal.

My motive for drafting these discourses is as follows. This least of God's servants, Eskandar known as Monšī, in my early youth, allowed myself to be diverted from the study of the customary sciences, with which I was familiar and toward which I was attracted by temperament, and, led astray by some short-sighted, materialistic persons, I conceived a desire to learn bookkeeping. For some time I busied myself with this unproductive and futile task. When, in my own inadequate estimation, I had achieved the highest degree of perfection in this science, and had devoted some of my valuable time to the affairs of government officials, my far-sighted intellect finally awoke me from the drunken stupor of imprudence. I said to myself, "this sordid job which you have chosen is keeping you a million miles away from the attainment of learning and excellence. Why should you, who have swum in the turbulent ocean of ideas, worship external forms like a fairground entertainer who gulls the public?" When I had pondered on this well, I realized that my precious time had been spent in vain, and that my very nature had become allied to despair and regret. After I had spent some time in the beneficent company of a number of eminent men, who were endowed both with ability and talent, and were masters of the secretarial art (*enṣā'*), my suppliant nature conceived a desire for this respected profession. During my association with them, I observed with admiration how they set down on the page of exposition, with the golden pen of thought, sweet and profitable words, and many-colored and alluring conceits, be-jeweled with gems of both prose and poetry.

"That desire was conceived in my heart"

I gave up my employment, planted the seed of this desire in the fertile soil of my heart, and with enthusiasm attached myself to these masters. By this means, I entered the service of His Majesty Shah

¹Lit.: "the throne of choosing and approving." There is a nice word play between *eṣṭefā'* (choosing), and *ertezā'* (approving), and the sobriquets of Mohammad (Moṣṭafā, Chosen One), and 'Ali (Mortāzā, the Approved One), respectively.

Abbas the Great, and my principal motive in writing these pages is to publish an account of the life and times of that monarch. I was enrolled as one of the secretaries of the court. Unfortunately, I was not able to labor at this worthy task night and day, as such an important occupation demanded, so that I did not succeed in making progress commensurate with my aspirations and compatible with my knowledge and innate sagacity. Greatly chastened, I descended from the lofty heights of my ambition, and busied myself with my job. At the same time, I lost no opportunity of studying biographical and historical works, because I wanted to achieve success in that noble branch of learning.

In short, I weighed on the scales of intellectual judgment the past history of this great king ('Abbas I), and his praiseworthy deeds, which I have observed with my own eyes during the time I have spent in his service, and I compared these with the achievements of former rulers.

Learned scholars and eloquent historians have devoted their best endeavors to describing the virtues of these rulers, and to setting forth in detail the events and circumstances of their reigns, and they have compiled many voluminous works filled with strange metaphors and astonishing similes. Nevertheless, I did not find any renowned conqueror to be his equal. I reflected, "You have now entered the service of this eminent king. Do you want to be distinguished among other men of talent by the excellence of your learning? If so, why do you not put your talents to work, and write the history of this unequalled ruler of exalted lineage? Why do you not expend all your eloquence on this project? Even if you do not succeed in joining the ranks of the most eloquent and talented men of learning, at least, by completing this project, you will acquire distinction among your peers, and will have stolen a march on your contemporaries."

From time to time, my far-sighted intellect would deliver an admonitory slap to the precocious child of my ambition, saying:

"You are still at the stage of learning the alphabet in the primary school of knowledge. How can you have the temerity to emulate the learned men of the age, and why do you vainly make yourself the laughingstock of those who possess real talent? The highest flights of speech are not to be attained by every unaspiring, luckless fellow, and admittance to the inner sanctum of the finest writers is not

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granted to every unknown ignoramus."

Alas! Alas! How could one as lowly as I hope to compete with the greatest luminaries of the world of letters? "Just contrast," I said to myself, "your humble status with this half-baked ambition!" Since the voice of reason was right in trying to prevent me from pursuing this plan, I gave up this line of thought. At other times, however, the voice of ambition would proclaim to me loud and clear, "Even though you are lacking in ability and experience in writing eulogies, nevertheless the subject of your eulogy is a most worthy one; your attitude smacks of small-mindedness and lack of ambition. Why yield to this narrow vision and humble way of thinking? Why not give your nimble pen full rein? Many gentle souls are extremely keen on studying works of biography and history, the benefit of which is apparent to all—especially the study of recent history. The arena for writers is a wide one. Do not delay! Follow the dictates of your ambition, set your foot on the path of the search for knowledge, seek divine guidance, and be ready to receive it!"

I spent some time mulling it over in this fashion, torn between that side of my nature which was seeking an excuse to back out, and the ambitious side of my nature. Finally, I decided to set down in writing the events and circumstances of the reign of this monarch, without being restricted by any considerations such as smoothness of syntax, the choice of appropriate words, and embellishments of language and meaning. All this, of course, if I live long enough, and if I can obtain some relief from the chores of everyday life (which cannot be avoided by all who are inexorably bound to this world), in order to find the opportunity of writing.

If, therefore, my beneficent patron should encourage me to complete this work, with God's help and the driving force of my own enthusiasm, the work will progress. Just as the achievements of this mighty king are the exemplar for the princes of the age, so the work of this humble author may become the model for accomplished and talented men.

Having received guidance, then, both from my rational intelligence and from my own aspirations, I began to write the history of the reign of Shah Abbas I, from the date of his birth until today, which is the year 1025/1616-17, the king being in his forty-seventh year and still enjoying youth, good fortune, and prosperity. Whatever information I

had of my own knowledge, I have set down without adding or subtracting anything. In matters on which I had no personal information, I was obliged to consult reputable authorities, and I have reported what they have said without wrapping it up, as secretaries do, in obscure and unfamiliar phrases which are tedious and wearisome. In short, I have endeavored to present history and events in their simplest garb.

This has not been a hard and fast rule, however, because it is right that lyrical expression should be given its opportunity from time to time. To sum up, I have made do with whatever phrase came to hand, whether it were succulent or dry, and I have not felt bound to add appropriate poetical quotations. If you come across two or three lines of poetry here and there (and this is extremely rare), in most cases these are original verses which have sprung unbidden to mind as I was describing some particular historical event.

Although my basic intention has been to write a history of the reign of Shah 'Abbas I, from his birth until the present, when he is at the height of his power, I have also briefly described the terrible events connected with the death of Shah Tahmasp, and the accession of Shah Esma'il II and Sultan Mohammad Shah, together with some account of the other princes of the royal family. I have also given information on the Uzbegs and the Ottomans. My object in all this was to slake the thirst of those who are avid for history, and also to preserve the unbroken thread of the narrative by including those matters which are relevant to the central theme.

I dare to hope that my royal patron will find the opportunity to go through this draft, episode by episode, and that, if he finds any error of fact, he will expunge it. Moreover, if he finds the treatment inadequate at any point, may I hope that he will bring it to my notice so that I may make the necessary amendments.

First of all, as a mark of piety, I shall give the genealogy of Shah 'Abbas, which can be traced back to the Prophet and to 'Ali. Then, having given a brief account, in the foreword to the book, of those praiseworthy traits and characteristics which distinguish him from the other princes of the world and rulers of the age, I shall begin the detailed history. My position as a servant of the Safavid royal house, and my natural inclination, and the debt of gratitude which I owe to the royal house for my material support, demand that I should follow

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the precedent set by eloquent panegyrists and historians, and heap hyperbole upon hyperbole and exaggerate the virtues of my patron one hundred percent, so as to leave an immortal record on the pages of time. However, since the ingenuous and disinterested nature of the Shah does not look with favor on matters which are devoid of essential truth and contaminated by the embellishments of foolish scribes, I shall avoid that displeasing practice and restrain my pen from indulging in elaboration and ornament, or from recording anything which does not have the appearance of truth.

This royal chronicle consists of a foreword, two books (*sahīfa*), and a conclusion, and will be completed, God willing, in two or three volumes.

BOOK I

Discourse 1: The genealogy of Shah 'Abbas I, together with an account of his ancestors, and of the *shaikhs* who sat on the throne of spiritual governance and guidance;² a description of the establishment of the Safavid state; and an account of the birth of Shah 'Abbas I, together with a brief account of his outstanding virtues. On the rulers and events of the age of 'Abbas; events connected with the death of Shah Tahmasp; an account of the reign of Shah Esma'il II and Sultan Mohammad Shah; the accession of Shah 'Abbas I.

Discourse 2: On the piety of Shah 'Abbas, and the qualities which he inherited from his ancestors.

Discourse 3: On his judgment, his divinely given wisdom, and on the excellence of his policies, which are in conformity with the divine will.

Discourse 4: On his good fortune.

Discourse 5: On his justice, concern for the welfare of his subjects, and concern for the security of the roads, which is the key to the prosperity of the country.

Discourse 6: On his authority, despotic behavior, and fiery temper, which are divine mysteries.

Discourse 7: On his policy-making and administration.

Discourse 8: On his simplicity of life, lack of ceremony, and some contrary qualities.

Discourse 9: On his concern for the rights of his servants, and his avoiding laying hands on possessions to which people have rightful claim, for the dispensation of justice is tantamount to *fotovva* and *morovva*.

²I.e., the leaders of the Ṣafavīya Order of Sufis.

Discourse 10: On his knowledge of the circumstances of the rulers of the world, and of the classes of society, and of details of countries and highways throughout the seven climes.

Discourse 11: On his public works, and the buildings he erected throughout the empire.

Discourse 12: On his battles, victories and conquests.

BOOK II

An account of the reign of Shah 'Abbas I from his accession to the time of writing, which is the year 1025/1616-17.

CONCLUSION

Containing strange tales, wondrous stories and uncommon happenings of the age—either culled from the books of the ancients, or things seen with my own eyes. If God wills that I live long enough, these will constitute a third volume.

Since criticisms of my work are inevitable, I entreat my readers to regard it, both its good and bad points, with understanding and fair-mindedness; I beg them not to cavil; but if some shortcoming in this history come to their notice, to attribute it to the existence of contradictory accounts, and to turn a blind eye to its faults.

Book I

Discourse I

The Genealogy of Shah 'Abbas I, together with an Account of His Ancestors, and of the Shaikhs Who Sat on the Throne of Spiritual Governance and Guidance; a Description of the Establishment of the Safavid State; and an Account of the Birth of Shah 'Abbas I, together with a Brief Account of His Outstanding Virtues; on the Rulers and Events of the Age of 'Abbas; Events Connected with the Death of Shah Tahmasp; an Account of the Reign of Shah Esma'il and Sultan Mohammad Shah; the Accession of Shah 'Abbas I.

On the Genealogy of Shah 'Abbas I, and the Lofty Station of His Exalted Ancestors, Who Are Descended from the Family of the Prophet and 'Ali

It will not have remained concealed from the shrewd minds of perspicacious people that the lineage of this exalted family is derived from no less a person than the "Seal of the Prophets," Mohammad, and from 'Ali the 'Approved' (of God), as follows:

Abu'l-Mozaffar Şah 'Abbâs b. Solṭân Mohammad Pâdeşâh b. Şah Tahmâsp b. Şah Esmâ'il b. Solṭân Heydar b. Solṭân Joneyd b. Solṭân Ebrâhim, known as Şeyk Şâh, b. Solṭân Şadî al-Dîn Mûsâ b. Şeyk Şâfi al-Dîn Eshâq b. Amin al-Dîn Jebrâ'il b. Şâleh b. Qoṭb al-Dîn b. Şâlah al-Dîn Rašîd b. Mohammad al-Hâfez b. 'Evaž al-Kavâşş b. Frûzşâh b. Mohammad b. Şâraf b. Mohammad b. Hasân b. Mohammad b. Ebrâhim b. Ja'far b. Mohammad b. Esmâ'il b. Mohammad b. Ahmâd al-A'râbî b. Abû Mohammad al-Qâsem b. Abu'l-Qâsem Hamza b. the Emâm Abû Ebrâhim Mûsâ al-Kâzem b. the Emâm Ja'far al-Şâdeq b. the Emâm Mohammad al-Bâqer b. the Emâm 'Ali Zeyn al-'Âbedîn b. the Emâm Abû 'Abdollâh al-Hoseyn b. the Commander of the Faithful, the Emâm of the God-fearing, the Victorious Lion of God, 'Ali b. Abû Tâlib, upon him be peace!

Genealogists and historians are in agreement that 'Ali and the Prophet Mohammad are descended from Esma'il. Moreover, there is no disagreement in regard to their descent from 'Adnân, but there are differences of opinion in regard to the chain of descent from 'Adnân to Adam. Expert genealogists, and those skilled in dynastic traditions, have constructed elaborate family trees showing the descent of the ancestors of the Safavids from the Prophet, have written treatises on their merits and virtues, and have described various strange events and wondrous signs and acts emanating from them and indicative of the fact that the Prophet's light shone upon them. The humble author of this history, in support and imitation of the practice of the master of this science, will content himself with a brief summary of these matters.

The Noble Ancestors of the Prophet

It is related on the authority of 'Abdollâh b. 'Abbâs that the Prophet, when he was giving the details of his own genealogy and came to 'Adnân, stated as follows: "The genealogists have lied regarding the

generations after 'Adnān. 'Adnān had two sons." Therefore the Prophet and 'Alī, by virtue of the "sound" tradition: "I and 'Alī are from the same light," have shone forth and emitted their radiance from the same niche, and trace their descent from 'Adnān's younger son. According to the author of the *Rowżat al-Aḥbāb*, Ma'add had eight sons, one of whom was Nezār, whose patronymic was Abū Rabi'a and Abū Eyād. When Nezār was born, his father, in thanksgiving for that light which shone forth from his son's forehead, made a sacrifice and gave a feast. This same light was transmitted to Nezār's son Możar. Możar continued to obey God according to the faith of Abraham the Ḥanīf and the religion of Esma'il, and that world-adorning light which shone forth from his auspicious brow transfigured him, and repulsed the darkness day and night. He possessed perfection of beauty. Among the Arabs, a large number of camels is attributed to him. That sunlike beauty was likewise visible in his son Elyās. Elyās was a believer in the unity of God, a pious and sober man. He was born when his father had reached an advanced age, and had despaired of having a son. Consequently, he was named Elyās, and he became the leader of his family and tribe, the most honored of the children of Abraham, and the most eminent of the descendants of Esma'il. It is related that whenever Elyās walked around the Kaaba, he heard the sound of the words, "Here am I, at Your command" issuing from his loins; and he used to be astonished at this circumstance.

After him, the rays of that [divine] light were reflected in the perceptive¹ beauty of his son 'Āmer, and after him in 'Āmer's son Kozeyma, and after him in Kozeyma's son Kenāna, whose patronymic was Abū Nażr. From Kenāna's son, Nażr, all the tribes of the Qoreyš are descended. After Nażr, his son Mālek inherited the divine light, and after him Fehr, and Fehr's son Čaleb, by whom it was transmitted to Lo'eyy, and thence to Ka'b. Of the many sons of Ka'b, Morra was selected from among his brothers to be its repository, and by him it was transmitted to Kelāb, a powerful chieftain of the Banū Qoreyš. From Kelāb it was handed down to his son Qoṣeyy, from among whose sons 'Abd Manāf was distinguished by being its recipient. 'Abd Manāf's successor was his son Hāšem (his name was 'Amr, and Hāšem was his sobriquet). Hāšem became a powerful chief of the Qoreyš, and under his leadership the Banū Hāšem acquired a position of influence among the Qoreyš. After Hāšem, 'Abd al-Moṭṭaleb, whose personal name was Seyba, became the bearer of the [divine] light, and under his leadership the Banū Hāšem maintained their power and influence among the

¹A play on the word *modreka*. 'Āmer, the son of Elyās, was known as Modreka.

Qoreyš. He became known as 'Abd al-Moṭṭaleb for the reason given in the histories². The key of the house of the Kaaba was held by him, and the office of Keeper of the Veil (of the Kaaba) devolved upon him. The digging of the well Zamzam took place in his time. By virtue of the good fortune inherent in the nature of the Light of Mohammad, every prayer which was offered to the throne of the Almighty was answered.

'Abd al-Moṭṭaleb had ten sons. According to the author of the *Rowzat al-Ṣafā va Kolāsat al-Akkār*, his eighth son,³ 'Abdollah, was the father of the Prophet. Now 'Abdollah had vowed that, if he should be blessed with ten sons, he would sacrifice his favorite son to God.⁴ When God blessed him with this number, he prepared to fulfill his vow. Lots were drawn by his sons, and the lot fell upon 'Abdollah. 'Abdollah was overjoyed at this sign [of God's favor], and submitted his neck to the divine decree. 'Abd al-Moṭṭaleb rejoiced at his son's submission to God's will, and went with his son to the place of sacrifice. The Qoreyš, hearing the news, followed them, and prevented 'Abd al-Moṭṭaleb from carrying out his intention. They consulted a soothsayer, who was the most eminent of her kind at that time. The soothsayer opted for the payment of blood money, and instructed them to prepare a ransom of ten camels, one for each of the sons of 'Abd al-Moṭṭaleb. They should then cast lots between the camels and 'Abdollah. If the lot fell on 'Abdollah, they should add ten camels, and again cast lots, until such time as the lot should fall on the camels. 'Abd al-Moṭṭaleb did as instructed, and the lot fell upon 'Abdollah. When the number of camels had reached a hundred, Almighty God accepted the blood money, and the lot fell upon the camels. This was repeated several times, until 'Abdollah was satisfied. Then the hundred camels were sacrificed. This is the reason why the Muslim community fixed the perfect sacrifice at one hundred camels, and the Prophet's remark, "I am the son of two sacrificial victims," refers to 'Abdollah and Esma'il.

As is recorded in the chronicles, the Light of Mohammad shone forth from 'Abdollah's brow, and the learned men of the Jews, out of rancor and envy, several times made an attempt on his life. Each time, he was aided by unseen forces, and his enemies were frustrated. All the women of Qoreyš were enamored of his beauty, which was the result of the radiance of the Light of Mohammad, and desired to marry him. That good fortune fell to the lot of Āmena, daughter of Wahb, and her

²See A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, 2nd ed., Oxford University Press (Pakistan Branch), 1968, p. 59 (hereinafter quoted as Guillaume).

³According to Ebn Ḥeṣām, 'Abdollah was the youngest son.

⁴See story in Guillaume, pp. 66ff.

hopes were fulfilled. In the Year of the Elephant, she gave birth to Moḥammad the "Seal of the Prophets," and the world of darkness was illumined by his world-adorning beauty.

Many wondrous events, secret signs, and supernatural occurrences took place during his mother's pregnancy, his birth, suckling, and growth, until the announcement of his prophetic mission. Such events, relating to the Prophet and his mother, are recorded in compilations of legends and traditions. In brief, 'Abdollah died at Medina, at the age of twenty-five, before the birth of Moḥammad; he was buried on that holy soil. Moḥammad's mother, Āmena, died when Moḥammad was seven years old, and 'Abd al-Moṭaleb was charged with the upbringing of Moḥammad at Ṭohā and Medina. The following year, 'Abd al-Moṭaleb died, and the orphan was placed in the care of one of his uncles, Abū Ṭaleb.

Abū Ṭaleb was the seventh son of 'Abd al-Moṭaleb. His name was 'Omrān, and he possessed rank and station among the Qoreyš. The Prophet Moḥammad was brought up under the loving care of his uncle, Abū Ṭaleb, who did not die until the tenth year of Moḥammad's prophetic mission. While he lived, Abū Ṭaleb devoted all his efforts to helping Moḥammad. Kadija died in the same year as Abū Ṭaleb, and for this reason, Moḥammad called the tenth year of his mission "the year of grief."

Abū Ṭaleb was the father of 'Alī, whose praises are sung by friend and foe alike, and who, after the Prophet himself, is the most noble of the sons of Adam. By virtue of the tradition, "My flesh is thy flesh, and my blood is thy blood," 'Alī is inextricably linked with the Prophet. 'Alī married the daughter of the Prophet, and the offspring of this union were the "two stars of prophethood," Ḥasan and Ḥoseyn. Springing from this same fount, in line of descent, were ten others like them—twelve imams in all, the first of them 'Alī, the last the Mahdi.

The object of this genealogical discursus is to show the descent of Shah 'Abbas the Great, and so I shall give some details of his noble ancestors. In brief, from Moḥammad and 'Alī the chain of descent of this king, who is descended from Mūsa and is of the lineage of Ḥoseyn, is forged, noble link by noble link, until, as I indicated above, it is connected with the seventh of the twelve imams, Mūsa al-Kāẓem.

I pass then from the imams to the ancestors of His Majesty. All gene-

alologists are agreed that His Majesty's family tree goes back to the Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓem's son, Abu'l-Qāsem Ḥamza, who, according to the most accurate report, is buried at Sū Safīd in the district of Toršīz, and his tomb is a place of pilgrimage for the local people. Darvīš Tavakkol b. Esmā'īl, known as Ebn Bazzāz, during the lifetime of Shaikh Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā, composed a work entitled *Ṣafvat al-Ṣafā*, in which he described the ancestors of His Majesty, and gave an account of the mystical states and miraculous powers of the Safavid shaikhs, and the spiritual stations of the saints. Ebn Bazzāz began his account with Firūzshāh Zarrīnkolāh, and so I shall do the same.



Fīrūzshāh Zarrīnkolāh

The author of the *Şafvat al-Şafā* says that one of the sons of the prince of the mystical path in this world, Ebrāhīm b. Adham,¹ who was constantly engaged in holy war against the infidel, overthrew the forces of darkness and unbelief and brought the light of Islam to the people of Moğān and Arrān²—regions which up to that time had been strangers to Islam. This ruler appointed Emir Fīrūzshāh, who was admirably qualified to assume a position of either spiritual or temporal authority, governor and emir of the province of Ardabīl and its dependencies. Fīrūzshāh possessed power and riches, and immense quantities of horses, cattle, and booty. Since the Ardabīl district could not contain all his livestock, he moved to a place called Rāngīn, in the forests on the borders of Gilān. In that province, he began to give instruction on religious problems, and to expound the certain truths of mystical knowledge. His hospitality was lavished on those near and far. When Fīrūzshāh died, his son ‘Evaż al-Kavāşş assumed the leadership of that religious group. ‘Evaż moved back to the Ardabīl district, to the village of Esfaranjān, and settled there with his horses, his servants, and his followers. He too became famous for his hospitality.

After the death of ‘Evaż, his son Muḥammad al-Hāfeẓ took his place. An astonishing event then occurred. At the age of seven, Muḥammad disappeared from his father's house, and no one had any information as to his whereabouts. A search was made for him, but in vain. As men despaired of his being alive, mourning was begun for him. After seven years had elapsed, when the broad face of the full moon entered the station of the Gemini, Muḥammad suddenly appeared at the door of his father's house. The servants and devoted supporters of the family who had given themselves over to tears and lamentation during his absence, had their mourning and grief changed to joy and rejoicing at the sight of his beloved face, and they hastened to question him about what had happened to him.

Muḥammad declared that he had been carried off by a group of Mos-

¹Ebrahim b. Adham (died 161/777-78), one of the most prominent ascetics of the 2nd/8th century. He is widely known in legend as the prince of Balk who gave up his position as ruler to live a life of piety and asceticism, but there seems to be no historical basis for this [see article IBRĀHĪM B. ADHAM in *EI*², iii, 1971, pp. 985-86].

²Arrān, region lying north of Lake Reżā'ya in Azerbaijan, and bounded by the Kor and Aras rivers. Moğān (Moqān), the plain lying north of Ardabīl between the Aras River and the Caspian Sea.

lem *jenn*³ who were following the path of righteousness and salvation. The *jenn* had treated him with great kindness, and had given him instruction in religious precepts and in the memorization of the Koran. "During the seven years that I was with them, I busied myself with acquiring knowledge in various branches of learning, up to the present time when I have returned to my own abode."

A group of sincere devotees considered that his arrival augmented both spiritual and worldly bliss, and they placed him on the seat of spiritual guidance occupied by his forefathers. He, following the example of his exalted forefathers, devoted his attention to living a life of perfect piety and uprightness, and he busied himself with giving religious guidance and spiritual direction to the community.

When his life came to an end, his place was taken by his son *Şalah al-Din al-Raşid*, who fed the poor and needy by way of following the path of righteousness. *Şalah al-Din* elected to reside at a place called Kalğorān near Ardabil. He no longer looked [for support] to votive offerings and gifts, but aspired to be an agriculturalist, and he encouraged his disciples and followers to cultivate the land. In addition to possessing perfect piety and chastity, he was endowed with physical beauty too, and he was beloved by all. When he reached the age of seventy he died, and his place was taken by his son *Qoṭb al-Din*.

Qoṭb al-Din extended his kindness and favor to all those connected with this exalted family, and following the practice of his ancestors, devoted himself to giving spiritual guidance to those seeking the right path. A number of devotees pledged themselves to serve him. During *Qoṭb al-Din*'s lifetime, the governor of part of Georgia, with a force of Georgian infidels, flung himself without warning against the province of Ardabil, and the Islamic community suffered heavily at the hands of the invaders.⁴ For their safety, *Qoṭb al-Din* moved his womenfolk to Ardabil, and concealed them in a secure place. One day, they had emerged from their hiding place to see what the Georgians were doing, when a Georgian entered and struck *Qoṭb al-Din* a terrible blow; wounded and groaning, he sank down among the slain. After the Georgian danger was over, surgeons attended to him, his wound healed, and he recovered.⁵

³Spirits; genii.

⁴This attack took place in 600/1203-04.

⁵Additional details of this incident are given by other sources. See R. M. Savory, "The Development of the Early Safavid State under Isma'il and Tahmasp, as Studied in the 16th Century Persian Sources," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1958 (hereinafter quoted as Savory, Development), pp. 8-9.

In the fullness of time, Qoṭb al-Dīn's grandson, Ṣaft al-Ḥaqqa va'l-Ḥaqīqa va'l-Dīn Eshāq, was born, and for several years the eyes of the aged Qoṭb al-Dīn were gladdened by the sight of his grandson. When Qoṭb al-Dīn died, the mystical knowledge and function of spiritual guide which he had inherited from his forefathers was transmitted to his son Ṣaleḥ. Ṣaleḥ ("upright") lived up to his name. He was an outstanding example of sainthood and spiritual guidance, and a gateway to the path of righteousness, probity, and salvation. Even more than his predecessors, he devoted himself to the needs of the indigent, and he won golden opinions among the people. The poor and needy were never absent from his gate, and he never showed weariness at the number of beggars who frequented his dwelling. When he died, he was buried at Kalgorān by his son Jebrā'il.

Sultan Seyyed Jebrā'il, that model for the watchful and vigilant, the most favored of those who sit upon the prayer mat, was a man who knew God. In piety, chastity, fear of and obedience to God, and worship, he excelled. In accordance with the custom established by his father, he lived at Kalgorān in the Ardabil district, which was where he was born and brought up. In the end, his yearning for mystical knowledge of God and his antipathy toward worldly people were an obstacle to his associating with others. He gave precedence to the struggle against the carnal soul and to self-denial. Giving himself up entirely to mystical contemplation, he adopted a regime of silence, and rarely spoke to other men; the mystical stations⁶ which he attained gained wide renown. He married Dowlatī, who bore him Ṣaft al-Ḥaqqa va'l-Ḥaqīqa va'l-Dīn Eshāq.

Ebn Bazzāz, in his work *Ṣafvat al-Ṣafā*, has related, on the authority of Mowlānā Moḥyī al-Dīn, who was a scholar of the time of Sultan Ṣadr al-Dīn, so many wondrous signs, indications, and strange events which had been related to him by Dowlatī in connection with the gestation, birth, and suckling of Shaikh Ṣaft al-Dīn, that it is impossible to include them all in this abridged version. When Ṣaft al-Dīn was six years old, his father, Jebrā'il, died, and was buried alongside the grave of his father, Ṣaleḥ. Shah 'Abbas the Great, who considered the existing building on the site to be too mean, had a beautiful dome constructed over the tombs.

⁶In Sufi terminology, there is a fundamental distinction between *maqāmāt* (mystical stations) and *halāt* (mystical states). The former may be reached by "spiritual exercises"—prayer, contemplation, fasting, etc. The state of *hal*, "mystical ecstasy," however, is a gift of grace vouchsafed by God.

After his father's death, Shaikh Ṣafî al-Mella va'l-Dîn was brought up by his mother. From his early childhood, the marks of divine grace and favor were clearly visible in him, and he was constantly seeing marvelous happenings, such as the discovery of graves, the revelation of the circumstances of the dead, and the like. He used to relate these revelations to his mother, who assured him that they portended future greatness.

For a time, Ṣafî al-Dîn engaged in the pursuit of worldly skills and excellence. Then the desire to make excursions into the spiritual world, and to gain an insight into its problems, took possession of him, and he embarked on the course of warring against the carnal soul and of self-denial. He realized that he could not attain the heights of spiritual excellence without the guidance of a spiritual director who had had genuine mystical experience. He therefore took to performing his devotional acts at the shrine of Shaikh Farrok Ardabîlî, or at the tomb of Shaikh Abû Sa'îd, both of whom were disciples of Shaikh Joneyd Bağdâdi.⁷ Sometimes he frequented the mausoleum of the gnostic Shaikh Şehâb al-Dîn Maḥmûd Āmerî, seeking a spiritual director. He heard reports of the exalted mystical state and excellent accomplishments of Shaikh Najîb al-Dîn Bozgûş Shirâzî, and he set off to Shiâz in search of him.

Ṣafî al-Dîn had an elder brother, Şâlâh al-Dîn, who had acquired great wealth and dignity and worldly esteem at Shiraz, and had married a local woman. Ṣafî al-Dîn, on the pretext of visiting his brother, obtained permission from his mother to make the journey to Shiraz. When he reached Shiraz, however, he learned that Shaikh Najîb al-Dîn Bozgûş was dead. Ṣafî al-Dîn met the local shaikhs, but the communication of divine grace which he sought was not vouchsafed to him.

During this time, he made the acquaintance of Mowlânâ Rażî al-Dîn, a theologian who possessed mystical insight, and studied Koranic commentary with him as far as Chapter 99 of the Koran, which begins, "When the earth is shaken."⁸ Ṣafî al-Dîn obtained permission from the Mowlânâ to continue his studies of commentaries on the Koran. He made the acquaintance of Shaikh Moṣleh al-Dîn Sa'dî Shirâzî,⁹ but did not find his society agreeable. When the Sufis

⁷One of the greatest of early Islamic mystics, died A.D. 910.

⁸As there are 114 in the Koran, this means that Ṣafî al-Dîn had studied the commentaries on almost the whole of the Koran.

⁹The famous author of the *Golestan* and the *Bûstân*.

of that region realized that Ṣafī al-Dīn had progressed farther on the mystical path than they had themselves, they directed him to Emir 'Abdollāh, a *seyyed* and exemplar for the local mystics. When Ṣafī al-Dīn visited him, he perceived that 'Abdollāh was indeed a man of great personal sanctity and deep spiritual insight. Ṣafī al-Dīn related to him the visions he had experienced.

'Abdollāh remained for a while deep in thought. Then he raised his head and said: "O Turkish youth! The mystical experiences which have been vouchsafed to you as a result of your struggle with your carnal soul, your self-denial, and your exalted mystical state are more profound than those to which my spiritual insight has attained. You are destined for great things. You will not find what you want here. Today, the only person who can remove the veil from your eyes and guide you to your destination is Shaikh Zāhed Gīlānī, who has a retreat in Gīlān, not far from your own district, by the seashore." 'Abdollāh then described Shaikh Zāhed's appearance, and Ṣafī al-Dīn said farewell to the shaikhs of Fārs. Asking for their spiritual help, he set out for his home. However much his brother offered him money and luxury items to take with him, Ṣafī al-Dīn refused them all. Ṣafī al-Dīn reached Ardabil safely. His arrival was divined by Shaikh Zāhed in a revelation which came to him by virtue of his life of asceticism and esoteric knowledge. Shaikh Zāhed said to his disciples: "In Ardabil there is a young man who wants to meet me, who is separated from the *owtād*¹⁰ by no more than one veil."

Meanwhile, Ṣafī al-Dīn had made inquiries about where Zāhed lived, and had set out to find him. On arrival at Zāhed's *kāneqāh*,¹¹ Ṣafī al-Dīn entered the cloister and began to pray. It was the month of Ramaḍān, and it was Shaikh Zāhed's custom, as soon as the new moon of Ramaḍān appeared, to retire to his private apartments, where he would spend night and day at his devotions, and break his fast with his family. He would follow this regime until the 'Id al-Fitr,¹² and would not meet any of his disciples. On the day of Ṣafī al-Dīn's arrival, Shaikh Zāhed emerged from his private apartments and said to one of his servants: "Today a guest has come to us from among the

¹⁰The five *owtād*, "stakes" or "pillars," and the *abdāl*, "substitutes" (their number is variously given as 7, 40, and 300), take the third and fifth places respectively in the hierarchy of the *rejāl al-ğeyb* or Sufi hierarchy of saints who, "unknown to the masses, participate by means of their powerful influence in the preservation of the order of the universe" (I. Goldziher, article *ABDĀL* in *EI*², 1954, pp. 94-95).

¹¹Sufi convent.

¹²The festival celebrating the end of the month of Ramaḍān.

seekers after truth of this age. At present he is performing his prayers in the cloister. When he has finished, bring him to me." The servant did so. Shaikh Zāhed addressed his visitor as Ṣafī al-Dīn, and gave him the good news that he was destined for high spiritual rank and mystical stations. Shaikh Ṣafī al-Dīn found Shaikh Zāhed to be everything that he had been led to believe, and he pledged his allegiance to him. Through the performance of commendable services, he became one of Shaikh Zāhed's personal confidants.

The purification of Shaikh Ṣafī al-Dīn's soul, and his ascetic regimen, reached such a degree that he used to break his fast only once a week. On the advice of Shaikh Zāhed, he changed this to once every three days. Finally, when Zāhed found that even this was undermining his constitution, he instructed him to break his fast daily. Many supernatural acts and miracles are attributed to Ṣafī al-Dīn, and these are set forth in detail in the *Ṣafvat al-Ṣafā* and the *Fotūhāt-e Amīnī* of Haravī. In short, Ṣafī al-Dīn used to open the eye of spiritual insight to the world of spirits and images, and he saw genuine visions.

In one of his visions, he was standing with a sword at his belt and a sable hat on his head. When he removed the hat, a brilliant light shone forth from the top of his head and illuminated all the surrounding area. He related this vision to Shaikh Zāhed, and asked him what it meant. Shaikh Zāhed's interpretation was as follows: "The sword and the sunlike radiance are the signs of the appearance and coming forth of a powerful king from your stock. The reflection of his sunlike felicity will shine upon the people of the earth, and the flashing blade of his sword will obliterate and utterly destroy the dark evil of innovators and those in error."

In brief, Ṣafī al-Dīn made great progress in his war against his carnal nature and in his ascetic regimen, and he began to give evidence of knowledge of divine mysteries. Shaikh Zāhed bound him even more closely to him by a marriage alliance by giving his daughter Fāṭema to him in marriage. Although Shaikh Zāhed, during his own lifetime, gave his permission for Ṣafī al-Dīn to give spiritual direction, Ṣafī al-Dīn refused. On his deathbed, however, Shaikh Zāhed entrusted him with the function of spiritual guidance, and made him his heir.

Certain self-interested persons protested to Shaikh Zāhed, saying,

"in view of the excellent qualifications of Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī, who is your own natural son and heir, and endowed with mystical insight, why have you not given him permission to act as spiritual director, instead of placing Ṣafī al-Dīn in that exalted position?" Shaikh Zahed, in order to remove doubts and to pacify and soothe his disciples, determined to test the two of them. He said, "Where is my son's cell?" The disciples replied, "Within the sacred enclosure of the *kāneqāh*." "And where is Ṣafī's cell?" he asked. They replied, "About a mile and three-quarters¹³ from your own cell." Shaikh Zahed said, "I will call them both, so that you may determine their comparative rank and station." He then called his son three times, but his son made no reply. When he called Ṣafī Ṣafī replied, "Here I am, ready to help you, O my Shaikh and my *Moršed* (spiritual master)," and he set off for Zahed's house. Zahed asked him where he had been. He replied, "I was in my cell, when I heard my Shaikh calling me, and here I am, at your service." Zahed turned toward those present and said, "That on which my gaze is fixed, has been granted by God (may He be glorified and exalted!) to Ṣafī, and not to Jamāl al-Dīn. I have not betrayed God's trust, but conferred it on its rightful owner."

In the year 700/1301, Shaikh Zahed died at Sīahrūd in Gilān, and was buried there. From him Shaikh Ṣafī al-Dīn inherited the chain of discipleship, the Sufi mantle (*kerqa*), and the function of spiritual director. Shaikh Zahed had inherited these by the following chain of transmission: Seyyed Jamāl al-Dīn; Shaikh Šehāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd Āmerī; thence by seven links to Shaikh Joneyd Bağdādī; Sarī Saqatī; and Ma'rūf Karkī, the servant of the eighth Shi'ite Imam, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Reżā. By virtue of the testamentary disposition of Shaikh Zahed, therefore, Ṣafī al-Dīn took his place as spiritual director, and guided men on the straight path of the religious law, and on the right way of the mystical path and of truth. Zahed's daughter bore him a son, Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā. Toward the end of his life, the excessive rigors of a regimen of self-denial, and the resulting physical weakness, caused Ṣafī al-Dīn to be afflicted by bladder trouble. For a while, viewing his complaint from the mystical viewpoint, he succeeded in considering it as a sort of vicarious spiritual cure, and he derived happiness from that thought. But when his weakness increased, he took to his bed. During his illness, whenever he was restless because of the pain, he used to go to the spot where his tomb now is, and rest there awhile. His wife would take him

¹³"Half a *farsak*." A *farsak* (Greek *parasang*) was approximately 3.5 miles.

back to their house. Sometimes, when in the grip of severe pain, he would ask, ‘Are you taking me to my house?’ She would reply, ‘You are in your own house.’ He would reply, ‘That is my real home,’ and they would take him back there. This occurred several times.

When he was near death, Ṣafī al-Dīn called together the Safavid¹⁴ disciples, and enjoined his companions and family to stand fast on the religious law, and on the mystical path of the Sufi shaikhs. He further enjoined them to continue giving hospitality and bounty to the poor. He declared that he conferred the function of spiritual director of that community on his son, Ṣadr al-Dīn (Mūsā). He then began to utter various words of admonition and advice, until his voice failed him. His last words were, ‘Invoke blessings on him [the Prophet], and salute him with the salutation of peace!’¹⁵ He died after the morning prayer, on Monday, 12 Moharram 735/12 September 1334. Seventeen days later, his wife, in answer to her prayers, was released from this life and followed him to paradise. In the *Fotūḥāt-e Amīnī* it is related that Seyyed Jamāl al-Dīn Eṣfahānī, in obedience to a testamentary disposition by Ṣafī al-Dīn, washed his body and prepared it for burial, since Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā was away at the time on a trip to Solṭāniya. Persons connected with the Safavid family buried Ṣafī al-Dīn at the place he had chosen, and his tomb is now a place of pilgrimage.

The light of continence and piety was visible on the brow of Sultan Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā from an early age, and the signs of probity and righteousness were apparent in his face. He was an outstanding saint and spiritual master, and uniquely distinguished among the great men of the age by virtue of his exalted lineage. For on his father’s side, generation after generation, he was a *seyyed*¹⁶ and had the power to work miracles; on his mother’s side, he inherited his function as spiritual director; and on his grandfather’s side he was the seventh incumbent on the throne of spiritual guidance, asceticism, and rectitude. It is recorded in the *Fotūḥāt-e Amīnī* that, on the day on which the marriage contract was signed between Fāṭema, Shaikh Zahed’s daughter, and Ṣafī al-Dīn, Shaikh Zahed suddenly got up in the middle of the wedding reception and greeted ceremoniously, and with humble deference, a total stranger. Those present inquired the meaning of this. The Shaikh replied: ‘the sons of Ṣafī al-Dīn, who are my grandsons, have been revealed to me. Just now I caught sight

¹⁴So called after Ṣafī.

¹⁵Koran: XXXIII/56.

¹⁶On the vexed question of the validity of the Safavid claim to *sīāda* (“seyyed-ship”), see Savory, Development, p. 6.

of that blessed person who will succeed Shafti and myself. I intuitively perceived the sublime nature of his mystical station, and therefore showed him the respect due to him."

When Sadr al-Din Mūsā was born, Shafti al-Din told his disciples that this was the son who was greeted by Shaikh Zahed at the wedding reception. Sadr al-Din spent some years at his father's side, preparing himself to take on the office of spiritual director. The author of the *Nafahat al-Ons*, in regard to Seyyed Qāsem-e Anvār, says that it is a matter for debate whether anyone after the immaculate Imams attained the eminence of Seyyed Qāsem, and he states that Qāsem-e Anvār was a disciple of Shaikh Sadr al-Din Ardabili.¹⁷

In short, after his father's death, Sadr al-Din assumed the function of spiritual director of the Safavid Order. When Sadr al-Din Mūsā returned from his visit to Solṭanīya, his spiritual beauty uplifted the adherents of the Safavid family. They came out of mourning and, in accordance with the last wishes of Shafti al-Din, invested him as *morsed*, and pledged themselves to be his obedient disciples. His gate became the rendezvous for princes and nobles. Many Mongol emirs and nobles placed their trust in his spiritual direction, which daily increased in strength. Sadr al-Din began the construction of the sacred enclosure of the Safavid family, which is now visited by numerous pilgrims. He constructed the dome over the tomb of Shaikh Shafti al-Din, the residence for the Koran reciters, and various ancillary buildings, the cost being defrayed from his own pocket. He also appointed sweet-tongued Koran reciters, and from that day to this, the sound of the recitation of God's word has filled that abode of grace and divine mercy.

When Sadr al-Din died, his place was taken by his son Kāja 'Alī, who buried his father in the family mausoleum, at the side of Shaikh Shafti al-Din, thus enhancing the distinction of that site. Sultan Kāja 'Alī had emulated his forefathers, and the shaikhs his ancestors, in warring against the carnal soul, in self-denial and in spiritual exercises. As a result, he had received spiritual enlightenment and had been admitted to divine mysteries. He took the Sufis of the Safavid Order under his care, and they observed him perform many miraculous acts.

¹⁷In fact, the author of the *Nafahat al-Ons*, Jamī, tries to deny that Sadr al-Din Mūsā was the spiritual director of Qāsem-e Anvār. See R. M. Savory, "A 15th-Century Safavid Propagandist at Harāt," in *American Oriental Society (Middle West Branch) Semi-Centennial Volume*, Indiana University Press, 1969, pp. 189-97.

It is said that Kāja 'Alī met Timūr on three occasions, in the flesh and in the form of a likeness. The first occasion was when Timūr was crossing the river Oxus on his way to invade Transoxania, and his whip fell into the water. A dervish, dressed in rags, appeared before him, carrying the whip which he had retrieved from the river. Timūr took this to be a good omen, and questioned the dervish, who replied: "My home is Ardabil, the place where I shall appear is Dezful, and the place where I shall be buried is Jerusalem." On this occasion, his form was definitely an apparition emanating from the visionary world. The second occasion was when Timūr was marching from Baghdad to Kūzestān. A dervish wearing a black Sufi robe appeared before him on the bridge over the river Dez. The dervish said, "I am that dervish who placed your whip in your hand on the banks of the Oxus," and he promised that there would be a third meeting at Ardabil.

Several years later, when Timūr was returning from Asia Minor, bringing with him a large number of prisoners whom he had taken in that campaign, he stopped at Ardabil. The fame of Shaikh Šafī al-Dīn, and accounts of his high mystical station, had reached him, and he made the pilgrimage to the Safavid mausoleum. Afterward, he asked some questions of the dervishes sitting nearby, and they directed him to Kāja 'Alī. He went to the Shaikh's private quarters and found the Shaikh at prayer, offering praises to God. However much the servants importuned him, informing him of the arrival of the great conqueror, Kāja 'Alī paid no attention. When he had finished, he saw to it that Timūr was seated in a proper manner, and then began to offer him words of counsel and admonition. Emir Timur had secretly thought of three things. If Kāja 'Alī, he said, could reveal these three things, he would commit himself firmly to his spiritual direction. Kāja 'Alī revealed all three things exactly as the Emir had secretly conceived them. Emir Timur therefore declared himself a disciple of Kāja 'Alī, and told the latter to make any request he liked of him.¹⁸ What need have the princes of the world of poverty and spirituality of any trappings of the world? What business do the kings who possess the tawdry baubles of this world have in the market where the priceless pearls of divine knowledge are sold?

Since Kāja 'Alī's mind was completely free from any wordly considerations, and his nature was devoid of any material attachments,

¹⁸A different version of the "miracle" is given in other sources. See Savory, Development, p. 23.

he could not think of anything he needed. When Emir Timur insisted and pressed him to ask for something, the Kāja, seeking always to please God, requested the release of the prisoners whom Emir Timur had taken in Asia Minor. Emir Timur accepted the request, and gave orders that all the captives should be released. In the town of Ardabil and its environs, Timur bought, out of his lawful money, villages and excellent pastures, and made them into a *vaqf*¹⁹ in favor of the Safavid sanctuary, which he declared to be a *bast*²⁰ and place of refuge. Further, he made over to the Safavid family the land taxes of that region. From that date, the descendants and posterity of those prisoners, who indeed owed their freedom to that saintly family, have been enrolled in the ranks of their disciples and Sufis.

It is generally held that Emir Timur had a meeting with Şadr al-Dīn Mūsā, and that the arrangements mentioned above were made with him. But the more accurate account is that Kāja 'Alī was the person involved. Although I have not found this tradition in the historical chronicles, or in any other accounts of the circumstances of the Safavid family, either in prose or poetry, nevertheless it is widely rumored and disseminated by a succession of verbal reports, and so I have written it down. The actual *vaqf* document, written in an antique hand and embellished with the Mongol seal and with the personal seal of Emir Timur, fell into Safavid hands during a campaign in the region of Balk, while Safavid forces were laying siege to Andekūd. It was brought to the notice of Shah Abbas I. In alluding to the mystical stations and miracles wrought by Kāja 'Alī, it gives some details of the events described above.

Kāja 'Alī decided to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and set out in that direction, leaving his son Sultan Shaikh Ebrāhim in Ardabil as spiritual director and supervisor of the Safavid mausoleum. Ebrāhim, however, could not bear the separation from his father, and so followed him to Mecca, where father and son performed the ritual ceremonies of the pilgrimage together. From Mecca, they went to Jerusalem, where Kāja 'Alī died and was buried by his son Ebrāhim. Ebrāhim then returned to Ardabil with his disciples and companions.

¹⁹*Vaqf*, plural *owqaf*; charitable endowments, in cash or in kind, made by a benefactor for the upkeep of mosques, shrines, and the like, and for the support of the staff, both lay and ecclesiastical, of such places.

²⁰*Bast* is a technical Iranian term denoting "sanctuary." Various locations were declared to constitute *bast* at various times (EI², s.v.), and sanctuary at such places was sought especially by those who had incurred the wrath of the political or religious authorities of the day.

Sultan Shaikh Ebrāhīm was known, during the time of Shah Abbas I, as Shaikh Shah. He took his place as spiritual leader of the Safavid Order and, following the practice of his predecessors, guided Sufi postulants on the straight path of the religious law and concern for the faith. Ebrāhīm sent out *kalifas*²¹ and his leading men to all parts, and within a short space of time Ardabīl became a rendezvous for people from both near and far. The throng of disciples circumambulating the Safavid sanctuary became so great that not all of them could be admitted into the presence of Shaikh Ebrāhīm. His authority increased daily, so that no one in the province of Ardabīl could oppose his orders, which had to be obeyed. Not only the poor and needy, but all the inhabitants of those parts derived benefit from his bounty and generosity. His well-stocked kitchens were full of dishes and vessels of gold and silver, and his munificence exceeded even that of his forefathers. His manners and customs were positively regal. Eventually, Ebrāhīm contracted a variety of different illnesses, and went into a prolonged decline. As he neared death, he commended to the assembled adherents of the Safavid family his son, Joneyd, as his heir and successor, and he earnestly recommended him to them. Then he died, and was buried by his son, Joneyd, alongside his ancestors.

When Joneyd became established as leader and defender of the faith, he gave them spiritual guidance in a way that gave clear evidence of his desire for temporal power and kingship. His disciples flocked to Ardabīl from all sides, and a cardinal point in his spiritual guidance was the incitement of his disciples to raid and carry on a holy war against the infidel.²² Joneyd's power, and the number of his followers, increased day by day. Mīrzā Jahānshāh Torkmān, who at that time was ruler of the two Iraqs²³ and Azerbaijan, heard reports on the growing strength and following of Sultan Joneyd. He became suspicious of Joneyd's intentions, and apprehensive lest Joneyd's rising power cause his own to decline. Jahānshāh, reluctant to acquire a bad name by taking military action against Joneyd, repeatedly sent envoys to Joneyd, telling him both implicitly and explicitly to get out of Ardabīl and go wherever he thought fit. Joneyd decided that the

²¹*Kalifat al-Kolafā* is a Safavid technical term meaning "commissar for Sufi affairs." See my article, "The Office of *Khalifat al-Khulafa* under the Safawids," in *JAOS*, 85/4, 1965, pp. 497-501. The *Kalifat al-Kolafā* was responsible for maintaining close links with the growing number of groups of Safavid supporters in Asia Minor, etc. To achieve this, he sent out subordinate officers called *Kalifas*.

²²The "infidels" in this case were the Christian populations of Circassia.

²³I.e., 'Erāq-e 'Arab (Mesopotamia), and 'Eraq-e 'Ajām (Central Persia).

best course of action was to go to Diār Bakr,²⁴ and he set off in that direction with a large number of Sufis and partisans of the Safavid family, and camped near Ḥeṣn Keyf. At that time, the governor of half of Diār Bakr was the powerful emir Abu'l-Naṣr Ḥasan Beg, the White Sheep Turkman chief, who did not recognize the suzerainty of Jahānshāh, and whose relations with Jahānshāh were hostile.

Ḥasan Beg welcomed Joneyd enthusiastically, and allotted appropriate positions to the Safavid emirs and Sufi leaders. He considered Joneyd's arrival to be an augury of good fortune and prosperity. A close friendship and intimacy developed between the two men, and in the end their friendship was cemented by a marriage alliance. Ḥasan Beg gave his own sister, Kadija Begom, in marriage to Joneyd, and thus conferred great blessings on his own dynasty.

After Joneyd had stayed in Diār Bakr for a considerable time,²⁵ he became nostalgic for his own country and, after obtaining permission from Ḥasan Beg, returned to Ardabīl. The hostility and jealousy which Jahānshāh felt toward Joneyd before flared up again, and were powerfully reinforced by the marriage alliance Joneyd had contracted with Ḥasan Beg. Jahānshāh began to think unprofitable thoughts concerning Joneyd, and the latter, being informed of his plots and villainy, sent couriers posthaste to summon his disciples. Then, in a bid for temporal power, he encouraged his men with promises of booty and the rewards of holy war, and ten thousand Sufi *ḡāzis*²⁶ marched toward Šīrvān with the intention of attacking the Circassians. According to the *Fotūḥāt-e Amīni*, however, Joneyd's intention was to subjugate Šīrvān itself. However, the ruler of the province of Šīrvān, Sultan Kalīl, at the instigation of the refractory people of Ṭabarestān, moved to block his path, and a fierce battle took place in which Joneyd lost his life.

According to the *Fotūḥāt-e Amīni*, Sufis of the Safavid house brought Joneyd's body to Ardabīl, and interred it in the family mausoleum. But according to what I have been able to ascertain, some men from Ṭabarestān who had long been supporters of the Safavid cause removed his body from the battlefield and buried it in a suitable spot; that place has now become a shrine which is visited by

²⁴The seat of power of the White Sheep Turkman ruler "Uzun" Ḥasan Beg, who was a rival of Jahānshāh.

²⁵He stayed for three years.

²⁶"Fighters for the (Islamic) faith" against the (Christian) infidel.

the inhabitants of that region. After Joneyd's death, his son Ḥeydar, who was the offspring of Kadija Begom and hence the nephew of Abu'l-Naṣr Hasan Beg, took his father's place.

Heydar's immediate business was to revive the customary practice of his predecessors, but his secret aspiration was to have dominion over territories and subjects. Ḥasan Pādešāh, who had overthrown Jahānshāh,²⁷ wished to consolidate his connection with the Safavid family by a new alliance. He therefore gave his daughter, Halīma Begom Ağā, who was known as 'Alamshāh Begom, in marriage to Heydar. Heydar's affairs prospered, and his court was frequented by both high and low.

In a genuine dream experienced by Heydar, messengers from the unseen world visited him and instructed him to fashion a hat with twelve gores, indicative of the twelve Eṣnā 'Aṣarī Imams, from crimson cloth; this was to be the distinctive headgear worn by his followers. Heydar, in joyful response to this dream, changed his ordinary Turkman hat, which was the customary wear in those days, for the twelve-gored Heydarī hat. All those connected with the Safavid house followed his example. They thus distinguished themselves from other people, and acquired the sobriquet of *qezelbāš* or "redheads."

The number of Sufis who frequented Heydar's court increased; as a result, Heydar possessed both temporal and spiritual authority. Inwardly, following the example of shaikhs and men of God, he walked the path of spiritual guidance and defense of the faith; outwardly, he was a leader sitting on a throne in the manner of princes. Ḥasan Pādešāh, in all his dealings with the retainers at Heydar's court, preserved an atmosphere of amity and concord, and never gave his consent to any action that might be distasteful to his nephew and son-in law, Heydar.

As Abū Bakr Tehrānī, the author of the history of the Turkman rulers, has described in detail, when Ḥasan Pādešāh died, he was succeeded first by his son Kalīl, and then by Ya'qūb. Sultan Heydar, whose thoughts were dominated by the desire for the rewards of raids against the infidel, did not consider the conduct of Sultan Ya'qūb, who was his cousin, to be all that he could wish for. Heydar took counsel with his Sufi emirs and partisans of the Safavid house, and decided on an incursion in the direction of Dāgestān, since the inhabitants of

²⁷In 1467.

that region were strangers to the Muslim faith, and were following the path of ignorance and error. At the same time, he decided to make a raid against the infidels of Circassia. Accordingly, he dispatched couriers to mobilize his Sufis and retainers, and the warriors for the faith assembled, company upon company, around his tent. When a numerous, fully armed and equipped band had assembled, Heydar marched north.

The size of his army struck consternation in the heart of the Širvanshah, (Farrokyasar) b. Soljan Kalil. Farrokyasar, imagining that Heydar was out to revenge his father's death, and that he would descend on the territory of Širvan, commenced hostilities against him. He soon realized that his forces were no match for the Safavid army, and sent couriers, quick as the wind, one after another, to Sultan Ya'qub, who was his son-in-law. He informed Ya'qub that, although Heydar was ostensibly intent on conducting a raid against the Circassians, it was possible that, when he reached Darband and Tabarsaran, he would turn in the direction of Širvan, and aim at the conquest of a kingdom. "At the moment," said Farrokyasar, "Heydar owns no territory, but he has mobilized a warlike army, and his ambitions will not be contained within the confines of the district of Ardabil. Nor, if he succeeds in acquiring a kingdom such as mine, will he for long be satisfied with such a meager empire. On the contrary, it will merely whet his appetite." Sultan Ya'qub, who had already adopted a hostile attitude toward Heydar, considered that he was justified in severing the bonds of kinship, and he was prepared to bring upon himself ill-repute in this world, and the risk of being forsaken by God in the next. He dispatched Soleymān Bijan-oğlu, with four thousand Turkman troops, to the assistance of the Širvanshah.

The Širvanshah, drawing strength from this assistance sent by Sultan Ya'qub, mobilized his forces and those of the Turkmans in the neighborhood of Šamakı. Heydar and his gaziis entered Širvan from the north, having marched by way of Šakki, and reached Darband. Darband, also known as Bab al-Abwab, is a lofty fortress of legendary strength. The inhabitants of Darband obstructed the passage of Heydar's troops, and Heydar considered it necessary to chastise them. The gaziis were dispatched to capture the city and the fort. They had nearly succeeded in their object when a supporter of the Heydarli house, Qara Piri Qajar,²⁸ who was in charge of the rearguard, brought the

²⁸Qara Piri Beg Qajar was one of the seven chosen companions, or *ahl-e ekteşas*, who accompanied Esma'il from Lahijan to Ardabil in 905/1499 (See Savory, Development, p. 68).

news that a force of Turkman troops had crossed the river, the Šīrvānshāh had joined them with the forces of Šīrvān, and that they were seeking to give battle to the Safavid army. As reports of the approach of the enemy came thick and fast, Heydar raised the siege and prepared to meet their onslaught.

The two armies met near Tabarsarān, and made their dispositions for battle. The battle raged with a ferocity rarely seen in former times. At the height of the battle, Soleymān²⁹ Bijan-oğlū led a small force of picked troops in an attack directly against Heydar himself. Heydar engaged him in personal combat, and unhorsed him with his spear. Heydar recognized him as he lay on the ground and spared his life, and Soleymān remounted. Heydar's companions inquired what the reason for this generosity was. Heydar replied that Soleymān's allotted span had not yet come to an end, whereas "my life," he said, "is in decline. I shall be killed in this battle. One cannot avoid one's fate."

In short, since the rise of the fortunes of the Safavid house was as yet no more than a firm promise, later in the battle Heydar received a mortal wound from an arrow. The gāzīs, disheartened by his death, gave up the struggle. Many Sufis of the Safavid house were slain around him. The author of the *Fotūḥāt-e Amīnī* states that, at the command of Shah Esma'il, he verified the truth of the above account from a number of gāzīs who were present at the battle of Tabarsarān, such as Ḥoseyn Beg Lala³⁰ and Farroq Āqā, and others. The Sufis of the Safavid house buried Heydar's body in Tabarsarān. Twenty-two years later, when Esma'il was on his second campaign in Šīrvān, with the object of chastising Shaikh Shah, he exhumed Heydar's remains and reinterred them at Ardabīl, alongside the tombs of his ancestors. The date of Heydar's death is 893/1488.

According to the *Habib al-Sīar* and the *Tārīk-e Jahān-ārā*, there were three sons born of the union between Heydar and the daughter of Ḥasan Pādešāh: Sultan 'Alī Mīrzā, generally known as Sultan 'Alī Pādešāh; Esmā'il Mīrzā, and Seyyed Ebrahim Mīrzā. According to Ḥasan Beg, the author of the *Aḥsan al-Tavārīk*, there were four other sons: Seyyed Mahmūd Mīrzā, Seyyed Soleymān Mīrzā, Seyyed Ḥasan Mīrzā, and Seyyed Dā'ud Mīrzā. Heydar appointed Ebrahim Mīrzā to see that the brothers accompanied Esma'il on the journey to

²⁹The printed text has "Soltān," wrongly.

³⁰Another of the *ahl-e eħħeṣħ*; later appointed to the important office of *vakil-e nafs-e nafis-e homayün*.

Gilan, but their subsequent history has not been recorded. As far as the author has been able to ascertain, Seyyed Mahmud Mirza died in the year in which Sultan Heydar's sons were taken to Esfakr and imprisoned there; he was buried at Owjan in the province of Fars. Seyyed Soleymān Mirzā, in the year in which Shah Esma'il marched to Khorasan, went to Tabriz and initiated a revolt, and a number of disloyal persons, merely on the basis of false reports emanating from Khorasan, gathered around him. However, the inhabitants of Tabriz and the devoted Sufis took no part in this. With the exception of Sultan 'Ali Padešah, the author has not been able to discover any information about the other brothers. After his victory Soleymān Bijan-oğlu returned to Tabriz, and the apprehension which Sultan Ya'qub had felt at Heydar's attack died down.

The Events Connected with Sultan 'Ali Pādešāh, and His Martyrdom

When the Sufi supporters of the Safavid house heard that the sons of Heydar were alive and well, they showed themselves to be devoted disciples; day by day new contingents assembled within the borders of Ardabil, declared their faith in Sultan 'Ali Pādešāh who, by virtue of his superior age, had been best fitted to assume the position of leader of the Safavid movement and spiritual director of the Safavid Order, renewed their oath of fealty, and made ready the munitions of war. Informers and slanderers took the news to Sultan Ya'qūb that Heydar's son was firmly ensconced as the successor of his father, and would soon be raising his standards.

Sultan Ya'qūb ignored the claims of kinship, and the pain and sorrow that would be inflicted on his own sister, Halima Begom, the mother of the Safavid princes.¹ He dispatched one of his emirs, with a strong force of Turkman troops, to Ardabil, to arrest the boys and take them to the fortress of Eştağr in Fārs, and hand them over to the custody of Manṣūr Beg Pornāk, the governor of that province. Ya'qūb's idea was that, with the boys incarcerated in this fortress, their disciples and Sufi followers would be deprived of access to them and thereby deprived of their support. Ya'qūb overlooked the fact that the will and decrees of the Creator are superior to the intentions and abilities of men, and that the hidden mysteries of the world of the Unseen are revealed in this phenomenal world: "Say, O God, Lord of Sovereignty, Thou givest dominion to whom Thou pleasest, and Thou takest dominion away from whomsoever Thou pleasest. Thou exaltest whom Thou pleasest, and Thou humblest whom Thou pleasest."² This action on the part of Sultan Ya'qūb was strongly disapproved, and constituted a blot on his escutcheon.

When the Turkman detachment reached Ardabil, Sultan 'Ali Pādešāh decided to accept his fate and bide his time. Therefore, placing his trust in God, he set off for Eştağr, in the company of his mother and brothers. This event took place in the year 896/1490-91.³

¹It is interesting that the text uses the word *Şahzādagīn* (princes), even though the Safavids had not yet come to power. Of course, *Şah* is also used as a title of eminent Sufis (cf. Şah Ne'matollāh Vālī), etc. Nevertheless, its use here is interesting, and may represent an unconscious instance of prolepsis.

²Koran: 3:27.

³This is inaccurate. Their arrest took place in 894/1489, and their release in 898/1493.

That region of Fārs, by virtue of their presence, became a paradise on earth; and curiously enough, the word “paradise” constitutes the chronogram of this event: 894/1489.⁴

Until a drop of spring rain descends from the heavens and is imprisoned in the dark mansion of an oyster shell, it will not become a pearl in a crown gracing the head of one of the monarchs of the universe; and no rose, without the tormenting stimulus of the thorn, would be worthy of being tucked into a fold of the turban of some powerful king. The history of Abu'l-Baqā Šāh Esmā'īl Bahādor Kān is analogous to this, for in his infancy he was cast, like Joseph, into that wearisome prison, full of grief and anguish. But in the end he ascended the throne, and in a short time prosperity attended those in charge of his empire.

To return to my story: Manṣūr Beg Pōrnāk, following orders, gave the youthful members of the Safavid family quarters in the fortress, but he became a convert to their cause, put the service of his charges before obedience to his Āq Qoyūnlū masters, and sought to satisfy his prisoners' wishes in all things. When the Safavid princes had been imprisoned for some time, Sultan Ya'qūb died,⁵ at Solṭānbūd in Qarābāğ. As is recorded in the chronicles, the Turkman emirs assembled, but some thought his brother, Masiḥ Mīrzā, should succeed him, while others supported his son, Bāysonqor. The dispute between the two parties ended in war, and Bāysonqor succeeded to the throne. Rostam Mīrzā b. Maqṣūd Mīrzā b. Amīr Ḥasan Beg, who had supported the cause of his uncle, Masiḥ Mīrzā, after the latter's death was sent to the fortress of Alanjaq, and placed in the custody of Qereq Seyyedī 'Alī, the cominandant of the fort.

After Bāysonqor had been on the throne for a while,⁶ Eyba Sultan went to the fortress of Alanjaq, and, deceiving Qereq 'Alī by subtle stratagems, persuaded him to make common cause with him. They released Rostam Mīrzā, and made him their candidate for the throne. A large number of men from the army defeated in Qarābāğ,⁷ and a

⁴Curiously enough, this chronogram, *kold-e bartn*, gives the *correct* date, 894/1489!

⁵He died on 11 Ṣafar 896/24 December 1490. The Safavid princes had then been in prison for about 21 months.

⁶Bāysonqor had reigned for about 17 months, from December 1490 to May 1492, when he was overthrown by Eyba Sultan. See R. M. Savory, “The Struggle for Supremacy in Persia after the death of Timūr,” in *Der Islam*, 40/1 (1964), pp. 57–58 (hereinafter referred to as Savory, Supremacy.)

⁷I do not know to which battle this refers—probably to one of the innumerable battles of the civil war between rival Āq Qoyūnlū princes which followed the death of Sultan Ya'qūb in 1490 (see Savory, Supremacy, *loc. cit.*).

number of other individuals, gathered round them. They determined to march on Tabriz and give battle to Bāysonqor. When they reached the banks of the Aras River, they encamped. Bāysonqor Mīrzā marched out from Tabriz to put down the revolt of Rostam Mīrzā; when he reached Marand,⁸ every forward patrol he sent out deserted and went over to Rostam Mīrzā. The rank and file of Bāysonqor's army began to disperse, and his forces eventually reached such a state of disarray that he could no longer keep control of them. Bāysonqor was forced to abandon his baggage and royal paraphernalia, and to flee with a number of his retainers; he made his way to Šīrvān by way of Ahar in Qarāja-dāğ, and joined the Šīrvānshāh, who was his maternal uncle.

Rostam Mīrzā entered Tabriz in triumph, and sat on the throne. The Turkman emirs pledged their fealty to him, and he attended to the affairs of the army and his subjects in a proper manner. But the Šīrvānshāh exerted himself to assist his nephew and son-in-law, Bāysonqor Mīrzā, and to restore him to the throne. Rostam Mīrzā, for his part, was very conscious of the proximity of Bāysonqor, and took counsel with the Bāyandorī emirs and his chief officers of state as to the best means of warding off this danger. Ultimately, on the advice of his counselors, it was decided to release Sultan 'Alī Pādešāh from imprisonment at Eşṭakr, to permit him to raise his standards (for he was certainly capable of leadership and military command) under the auspices of Rostam Mīrzā, and to send him in the direction of Šīrvān to seek revenge for the death of both his father and his grandfather.⁹ Whether Sultan 'Alī was victorious or not, in either event Rostam, they said, would achieve both his ostensible and his secret purposes.¹⁰

Having reached this decision, Rostam Mīrzā made much of the bonds of kinship between them, and of his desire to seek the satisfaction of his most revered paternal uncle. He then issued orders for the princes to be brought to court. In the year 898/1493, after they had spent four and a half years in the fortress of Eşṭakr, Sultan 'Alī entered Tabriz with great pomp. Rostam Mīrzā embraced him warmly, and exerted himself to elevate his rank and station. The dependents and single-minded partisans of the Safavid house, who in their despair had hidden themselves in various obscure corners, set out for Tabriz, and every day their numbers increased.

⁸A city lying north of Lake Režā'iya (formerly Orūmīya).

⁹Both his father H̄eydar and his grandfather Joneyd had lost their lives fighting against the Šīrvānshāh.

¹⁰If Sultan 'Alī were victorious, Rostam would be rid of Bāysonqor; if he were defeated, Rostam had lost nothing, and had rid himself of a dangerous political prisoner.

At this juncture, Rostam Mīrzā received the news that Bāysonqor Mīrzā, with the army of Šīrvān, was approaching the borders of Azerbaijan. Rostam sent Sultan 'Ali Pādešāh, with Eyba Sultan and a large army of Turkman troops, to repulse Bāysonqor and the Šīrvānis. The latter reached the banks of the Aras River and pitched their tents there. The bridge was barricaded at both ends, and no means of communication between the two armies was open except by means of a whistling arrow shaft. Neither side appeared to have any hope of victory. Eventually, both sides became wearied by their long stay there, and Bāysonqor returned to Šīrvān. Sultan 'Ali Pādešāh and Eyba Sultan returned to Tabriz.

In the meantime, Kūsa Hājjī Bāyandor, the governor of Isfahan, came out in revolt against Rostam. Once again, Rostam called on Sultan 'Ali Mīrzā, whom he sent with a detachment of Sufis and Turkman troops against him. The two armies met in the region of Ahar and Meškīn, and a fierce battle took place. Due to the happy augury of Sultan 'Ali's presence, the supporters of Bāysonqor were defeated, and Bāysonqor himself was killed. Sultan 'Ali Mīrzā returned to Tabriz victorious and in triumph. Rostam eulogized him, gave him the most friendly reception, and sent him, loaded with honors, in the direction of Ardabīl.

At Ardabīl, Sultan 'Ali began to follow the practice of his forefathers, namely, to guide men on the path of salvation, and to give spiritual direction. His devoted and faithful followers began to go to and fro to Ardabīl. The gathering of the Sufi clans, and the great throng of disciples, aroused Rostam's rancor and envy, and he brought the brothers to Tabriz.

Although outwardly he treated them with great respect, he set guards over them with orders not to allow Sufis to frequent them. Despite this, their Sufis and faithful followers continued to visit them secretly, to take their vows, and to put the sincerity of their devotion to the test. Rostam, being informed of these developments, pondered on his course of action in regard to the children of Sultan Heydar. Finally, he decided to suppress¹¹ Sultan 'Ali, but a member of Rostam's court warned Sultan 'Ali of the king's treacherous plot. Sultan 'Ali, deciding to flee from what he did not have the ability to resist, one night secretly mounted his horse and rode off from Tabriz in the direction of Ardabīl. Rostam Mīrzā sent Eyba Sultan, with four thousand

¹¹A euphemism for putting him to death.

horsemen, in pursuit. They caught up with Sultan 'Ali at a place called Sāmasbī near Ardabil.

It is said that Sultan 'Ali Mīrzā had no more than seven hundred retainers with him. He pondered the problem of confronting that large force with such a small troop. A number of his partisans tried to dissuade him from giving battle, and asked him what course they should adopt. Since Sultan 'Ali, by virtue of his saintly insight, had seen the fact of his own martyrdom written on the pages of the book of fate, he gathered together all the Sufis and partisans of the Safavid family, and told them that he would lose his life in the coming battle. He nominated his brother Esma'il his heir and successor, and imparted to him the secret of those mysteries which constituted an integral part of the customs and practices of the spiritual directors of the Safavid house, and which he had inherited from his father and his ancestors. Then he placed his own *tāj*¹² on Esma'il's head, and placed him in the charge of his trusted companions, and addressed him at length regarding his mission. Speaking with divine inspiration, he declared that the light of the house of 'Ali would shine forth through Esma'il, and that his speartips would be raised to the skies in triumph, and that the rays of his justice would illumine the faces of mankind. When he had concluded his testamentary dispositions, he marched forth to battle. Just as he had predicted, his enemies were victorious, and he himself drained the cup of martyrdom. After his death, his men scattered in all directions in utter confusion. Hoseyn Beg Lala, and the *kalfat al-kolafā*,¹³ known as Kādem Beg, and Dada Beg, brought his body to Ardabil and interred it in the Safavid family mausoleum. The death of Sultan 'Ali occurred in the year 898/1492-93, five years after the death of Sultan Heydar, but the historian Hasan Beg (Rümlü) gives the date of his death as 900/1494-95, i.e., eight years after the death of Sultan Heydar. The truth lies with God!

¹²This was the distinctive red hat, with twelve pleats or gores denoting the twelve Shi'ite Imams, which had been devised by his father Heydar as a distinguishing badge of the followers of the Safavid house. The wearing of this hat gained them the sobriquet of *qezelbāš*, "redheads."

¹³The office of *kalfat al-kolafā*, or "special secretariat for Sufi affairs," was an integral part of the early organization of the Safavid Order. See R. M. Savory, "The Office of Khalifat al-Khulafā under the Safawids," in *JAOS*, 85/4, (Oct.-Dec. 1965), pp. 497-502 (hereinafter cited as Savory, Khalifat).

The Circumstances Connected with Shah Esma'il, His Conquests, and His Coming Out in Revolt against the Āq Qoyūnlū Ruler

Those who have sung the praises and narrated the exploits of Shah Esma'il have recorded that, after the death of his brother, Esma'il, who had been nominated as his brother's heir, was secretly smuggled into Ardabil, and hidden in a different place every day. After forty days, the band of devoted followers who were looking after him decided that it was unsafe to remain in Ardabil because of the stratagems of their enemies. They took counsel with his mother, and decided that the most prudent and expedient course was to move to Gilān. His mother reconciled herself to being separated from her sons, and some of the Sufi nobles, such as Hoseyn Beg Lala Šämlü, Kädem Beg Täleš, who had recently been given the title of *kalifat al-kolafā*, Abdäl Beg Dada Zu'l-Qadar,¹ and others, removed the two brothers and set off for Gilān accompanied by about two hundred retainers. As is recorded in more detailed histories, such as the *Habib al-Sīar*, Esma'il, when he reached Gilān, stayed for a few days in Rašt. The governor of Rašt, Emir Eshāq, offered his services to him. From there, Esma'il went to Lahijān, where he and his brother Ebrāhīm were received with enthusiasm by the governor of Lahijān, Kār Kiā Mīrzā 'Alī, who was himself of *seyyed* descent, and who was distinguished from and superior to the other governors of Gilān by virtue of his rank and station, his noble lineage, the excellence of his character, and the sagacity of his conduct.

Esma'il's brother Ebrāhīm had an overwhelming desire to see his mother; since he was a dervish both in character and in his mode of life, he placed a Turkman *tāqīya*² on his head and returned to Ardabil.

Esma'il, however, remained in Gilān with that small band of followers, awaiting a sign from the unseen world. At that time he was not more than seven years of age, but he was already remarkable for his intellectual capacity and shrewdness of insight, and notable for his wisdom and knowledge. Even at this early age, the ornament of im-

¹See Savory, *Khalifat*, p. 497, n.2.

²*Tāqīya*: a tall, round hat which could be used either in its own right or as a base around which to wind a turban (see R. P. A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des Noms des Vêtements chez les Arabes*, Amsterdam, 1843, pp. 280ff).

perial rule was visible on his auspicious brow, and the divine glory³ shone forth from his face. His followers nurtured this tender plant with loyal devotion. They were moved by divine inspiration to address him as king, despite his youth, and to call him, with firm faith and perfect devotion, both spiritual director (*moršed-e kāmel*) and king (*pādešāh*).⁴

According to the usual account, Esma'il stayed in Gilān for six and a half years.⁵ He spent some of the time in Biya Pas,⁶ and some of the time at Lāhijān. He was instructed in the recitation of the Koran by Mowlānā Šams al-Dīn Lāhiji, and Kār Kia Mirzā 'Alī and his brother Kār Kia Solṭān Ḥasan made themselves responsible for supplying his needs. It is generally known, and recorded in the *Jahān-āra*, that during the early days of Esma'il's stay in Gilān, Rostam Pādešāh Torkmān sent men to Gilān to search for him, but Kār Kia Mirzā 'Alī, taking refuge in various clever excuses, sent the envoys back again. Ultimately, the empire of the Turkman rulers declined, and the descendants of Ḥasan Pādešāh set upon each other. They were so distracted by strife and factionalism that they had no time for hostile action against any outsider.

Esma'il's place of residence was frequented by Sufis, and devotees were never absent from his threshold. As he grew up, he used to indulge in the pleasures of the chase, and visited Somām⁷ and Eškavar⁸ and other pleasant parts of the province. At no time, however, did he lose sight of his ambition to rule an empire.

When the news of the tumult and disarray of the Āq Qoyūnlū empire reached Esma'il, he determined to come forth from Gilān. Kār

³*farr-e Izadi*. The *farr* (old Persian *huarnah*; Avestan *khvarenah*; Middle Persian *khvarrah*), meaning "kingly or imperial glory," has been a symbol of the charisma of kingship from the time of Zoroaster, and has contributed materially to the stability of the institution of the monarchy.

⁴In other words, Esma'il's followers accepted him as both a religious leader and as a temporal ruler.

⁵This is an exaggeration; Esma'il moved to Gilān at the end of 899 or beginning of 900/1494, and made his bid for power in 905/1499 (See Savory, Development, pp. 58ff). As will be seen below, Eskandar Monšī gives 906 A.H. as the date of Esma'il's emergence from Gilān.

⁶Biya Pas, i.e., the western part of the province of Gilān, in which lies Rašt, the capital of the province. Lāhijān is the chief town of Biya Piš, the eastern part of the province.

⁷Mt. Somām, near Rānekūh in Gilān; see H. L. Rabino, *Mazandarān and Astarbād*, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, New Series, Vol. VII, p. 150 (hereinafter referred to as Rabino).

⁸In the district of Tonakabon (Rabino, p. 105).

Kia Mīrzā 'Alī, exhibiting the concern of a host toward his guest, and prudence and caution of a well-wisher, tried to dissuade him from his intention. "The time is not ripe," he said, "for this bud to blossom." In other words, he was advising Esma'il, in view of his extreme youth, the multitude of his foes, and the paucity of his supporters and companions, that the time had not yet come to reveal himself and to come out against the Turkman régime. "Be patient yet a while," he said, "so that your lofty purpose may be better achieved with the assistance of a larger number of supporters."

Esma'il remained at Lāhijān a while longer, out of consideration for Kār Kia. But in the year 906/1500-01, when hostilities broke out between Sultan Morād b. Ya'qūb and Mīrzā Alvand b. Yūsuf Mīrzā, the grandson of Ḥasan Pādešāh, a truce was finally concluded on the basis of a division of Iran between these two cousins. Esma'il had by then lived in Gīlān for six and a half years. Not wanting to stay there any longer, and inspired by a revelation from Him who gives guidance from the unseen world, he took the decision to leave Gīlān. He said farewell to Kār Kia and, with a small band of his most devoted and dedicated followers—at a moment in time of which history is proud—set out toward his goal. Kār Kia Mīrzā 'Alī loaded him with gifts to the utmost of his ability, and proffered his good offices, and escorted him several leagues on the road. He uttered some final words of excellent counsel to the senior officers who were in attendance on Esma'il, and wished them Godspeed.

With the onset of the bitter cold of winter, Esma'il made his winter quarters at the village of Arjovān in the Āstārā district,⁹ and the people of Tavāleš hastened to serve him. At the beginning of spring in 1500, when the partisans of the Safavid house were filled with hope, Esma'il left his winter camp and returned to Ardabil. First, he visited the tomb of Shaikh Šafī al-Dīn and the tombs of the rest of his ancestors. In that holy place, where men's prayers are answered and divine grace descends upon them, he prayed for God's help in achieving those lofty purposes which were firmly rooted in his heart. After completing the ceremonies of this pilgrimage, and receiving a revelation that his prayers would be answered, he was joyously reunited with his mother and brother.

To describe in detail the events which attended Esma'il's rise to

⁹Āstārā is on the present border between Iran and the USSR.

power, and the mighty battles which he fought during the early days of his reign and during the consolidation of his power, and the conquests which his officers accomplished with God's aid, would be beyond the ability of this broken reed, and even beyond the literary capacity of eloquent historians. The accounts which are given in the *Habib al-Siar*, and the *Ahsan al-Tavārikh* of Ḥasan-e Rūmlū, and in the *Lobb al-Tavārikh* of Mīr Yahyā Seyfī Qazvīnī, constitute only a tenth, nay, a thousandth part, of the story. Since this trifling work does not purport to give a detailed history of the reign of Shah Esma'il, in order to avoid being prolix I shall, with God's blessing and benediction, make do with this abridged version. In this way, I shall not fall short of my fundamental purpose, namely, to write a history of the reign of Shah Abbas I.

In brief, then, Esma'il, having asked the assistance of the spirits of his ancestors and of the noble shaikhs, left Ardabil and moved to Qarābāg. Day by day, his disciples gathered at his camp. In Qarābāg he met Sultan Ḥoseyn Bārānī, a grandson of Mīrzā Jahānshāh, who was nursing rebellious and ambitious ideas. Since Esma'il suspected him of treacherous intentions, he dissociated himself from him, and went by way of Gökča Deñiz to Arzenjān. There he was joined by three or four thousand Sufis and trusted followers from Syria, Dīr Bakr, Sīvās, Bāybord, and those regions. Khan Moḥammad Ostājlū joined him with a large force, and was well received by Esma'il and treated with great favor.

At Arzenjān, after taking counsel, Esma'il decided to invade Šīrvān, and to exact revenge on the people of Šīrvān. With eight thousand devoted Sufis, he set out for Šīrvān, and fought a pitched battle in the region of the Golestān fortress with Farrokyasār, the ruler of Šīrvān, who had twenty thousand horsemen and several thousand infantry. Farrokyasār fell in the battle, together with many of the nobility of Šīrvān and members of the rank-and-file, both cavalry and infantry, and the news of Esma'il's victory soon spread throughout those regions. Esma'il spent the winter at Maḥmūdābād in Šīrvān. Shaikh Ebrāhīm, known as Shaikh Shah, the elder son of the Šīrvānshāh, took ship and crossed the Caspian Sea to Gīlān.

Most of the inhabitants of Šīrvān submitted to Esma'il, and all the treasure of the Šīrvānshāh fell into his hands. The garrisons of some of the forts, especially of the fortress at Bākū, put up some resistance, but were eventually subjugated. The fortress at Bākū was surrounded

on three sides by the sea, and no conqueror, however powerful, could succeed in reaching the walls on those sides. The fourth side, which faces the land, was protected by a very wide and deep ditch. After the capture of the fort at Bākū, Esma'il returned to Golestān, another fortress famed for its strength, which was still held by a garrison of Šīrvānīs.

While Esma'il was laying siege to Golestān, the angelic messenger from the unseen world brought him the glad tidings that he would possess the throne of Azerbaijan. Esma'il summoned his great emirs and said, "You can either have the Golestān fort, or the throne of Azerbaijan." Since the trusted followers of the Safavid house believed implicitly in the truth of whatever divinely inspired words he uttered, because of their spiritual relationship with Esma'il, no shadow of doubt crossed their minds. At the prospect of the throne of Azerbaijan, a joyful roar burst from their throats and ascended to the heavens.

At that moment, the news arrived that Alvand, with a Turkman army, had reached Nağčevān, and had dispatched another Turkman force so that he could advance into Šīrvān from two directions and give battle to Esma'il. Esma'il, his zeal fanned by the approach of his rival, at once abandoned the siege of Golestān and, at the instance of the messengers of the unseen world, marched toward Azerbaijan.

The Battle between Esma'il and Mīrzā Alvand Turkman, and Esma'il's Victory

At Nağčevān, Alvand, hearing that Esma'il was marching toward Azerbaijan, hastened to give battle with his army of thirty thousand men. But the great bravery and valor of Esma'il, and the self-sacrifice of the *qezelbāš* who used to hurl themselves like moths against the flame, and consider this the way to everlasting life, had struck fear and terror into the hearts of the Turkmans. The two armies confronted each other at Šarūr, near Nağčevān, in 907/1500, and the *qezelbāš* troops, numbering only seven thousand, attacked with great élan. The Turkmans resisted stoutly, but the *qezelbāš*, with God's help, won the victory, and Alvand was overcome. He suffered heavy casualties, including many Turkman nobles and great emirs. A large amount of booty fell into the hands of the victors. Mīrzā Alvand was unable to hold Azerbaijan, and fled to Arzenjān.

Esma'il reached Tabriz in triumph, and ascended the royal throne.

The practice of the Twelver rite of Shi'ism was made public.¹⁰ The pulpits in the mosques resounded with sermons in which the exalted names of the Shi'ite Imams were commemorated. The *dīnārs* were stamped with the inscription: "There is no god but God; Moḥammad is the Prophet of God, and 'Ali is the favorite friend of God," and with the name of that chosen One of his descendants (Esma'il himself). The innovating practices of the people in error¹¹ were suppressed, and Shi'ites, who hitherto had lived by dissimulation,¹² now practiced the Imams' religion openly, and their opponents crept into corners to conceal themselves.

Reports of Esma'il's majesty and power spread far and wide, but Alvand, moving like a victim to the slaughter, marched back from Arzenjān toward Azerbaijan. While Esma'il was advancing on Arzenjān by way of Terjān, Alvand entered Tabriz and began to extort money forcibly from the populace, especially the wealthy. From Tabriz, Alvand moved to Owjān,¹³ and from there, hearing of Esma'il's return, to Hamadan, and thence to Baghdad. Since his fortunes were now on the wane, Qāsem Beg Pōrnāk showed hostility toward him, and he could not remain in Baghdad either, but moved on to Dīār Bakr. There he fought a battle at Mārdīn¹⁴ with Qāsem Beg, the son of Jahāngīr Mīrzā, the brother of Ḥasan Pādešāh. Although Alvand was victorious, the charisma had departed from the Āq Qoyūnlū dynasty, and Alvand died in Dīār Bakr in 910/1504.

The War between Shah Esma'il and Sultan Morād, and Esma'il's Conquest of Persian Iraq, Fārs and Kerman

Sultan Morād, who was dubbed "the unsuccessful"¹⁵ by Esma'il, was the son of Ya'qūb Pādešāh, and was the ruler of Fārs, Persian Iraq ('Erāq-e Ajam), Kerman, and Kūzestān. When he heard of Esma'il's victories, he mobilized his forces, with the idea of achieving indepen-

¹⁰With this bald statement, Eskandar Monšī records a turning point in the history of Iran. The imposition of Shi'ism by the Safavids was a mainly political move designed to harness to their cause latent Iranian nationalism; it enabled them to weld Persians into a nation for the first time since the Arab conquest in the 7th century A.D. Esna 'Āšarī Shi'ism is still the official religion of Iran today.

¹¹Referring, of course, to orthodox Sunnis!

¹²*taqīya*, "dissimulation," was permitted to Shi'is as a means of avoiding persecution by Sunnis.

¹³Southeast of Tabriz.

¹⁴MS. has Bārdīn, but I suspect Mārdīn is the correct reading.

¹⁵There is a word-play in the Persian. The word *Morād* means "wish, desire." Shah Esma'il dubbed Sultan Morād *nāmorād*, meaning "one who fails to achieve his desire."

dent sovereignty.¹⁶ When Esma'il heard that Sultan Morād was on the march, he sent to him an envoy named Qanbar Āqā, who had been a trusted servant of Sultan Heydar, and was a man of intelligence and good judgment. This ambassador offered Sultan Morād Esma'il's friendship in return for his submission. Sultan Morād replied in terms which showed he had taken leave of his senses, and marched north from the town of Delijān to give battle.¹⁷ He reached the region of Hamadan, and disposed his forces, which consisted of seventy thousand men from the Turkman regiments, together with three hundred gun carriages, on which were mounted cannon and mortars and all the munitions of war. Esma'il, on the other hand, had with him only twelve thousand men of the *qezelbāš* tribes, and he relied on the hand of Providence.

On Saturday, 24, Zu'l-Hejja 908/21 June 1508, at Ālma Bolāğī¹⁸ near Hamadan, a great battle took place between the two armies. Shah Esma'il, by virtue of Heydar's strong right arm, and strengthened by the promise that Shī'a fortunes would soon shine forth in all their splendor, triumphed over the vastly superior army, and on that dreadful field shattered the Turkman forces. Sultan Morād, whom Esma'il always used to call "the unsuccessful," just as Esma'il, moved by divine inspiration, had predicted, fled in confusion and despair to Shirāz. On the battlefield, untold booty fell into the hands of the Safavids: swift Arabian horses, and other goods and commodities from far and wide, in limitless profusion. Shah Esma'il sent a proclamation of victory to all parts. In return, the rulers of neighboring regions and the nobles of other kingdoms, now convinced that the fortunes of the Āq Qoyūnlū house were in decline and those of the Safavid house in the ascendant, sent ambassadors to Esma'il's court to congratulate him on his victory, which was indeed a notable one among the victories won by the princes of the world. With the ambassadors came presents and gifts.

Shah Esma'il spent the spring on the slopes of Mount Alvand,¹⁹ taking his ease in that pleasant spot. While he was thus engaged, he received news that Sultan Morād was consolidating his control of Fārs, and was busily engaged in regrouping his forces with the intention of avenging

¹⁶Since 905/1500 Alvand and Morād had divided the Aq Qoyūnlū empire between them.

¹⁷The whole passage from: "There he fought a battle at Mārdīn" to "Delijān" is omitted in the printed text.

¹⁸The name is variously given.

¹⁹Mt. Alvand rises to a height of 11,800 feet behind Hamadan.

his defeat. Esma'il at once marched south toward Takt-e Soleymān, reached Isfahan, and pressed on toward Shiraz.

When he heard of Esma'il's approach, Sultan Morād did not stay to contest the issue, but fled to Šūštar, and Esma'il entered Shiraz unopposed. The inhabitants and nobles of Fārs flocked to meet him, bringing suitable gifts, and the whole of Fārs found refuge from the buffettings of fate under the shelter of Esma'il's banners. Sultan Morād, "the unsuccessful," found no resting place at Šūštar, but continued his flight to Baghdad. Circumstances there, owing to the seizure of power by Bārīk Beg Pornāk, were not to his liking either. When rumors arose that Esma'il was pursuing him into Iraq, he and Bārīk Beg left Baghdad and went to Aleppo, where they remained for a time under the protection of the Mameluke ruler of Egypt and Syria, Sultan Qānsūh. Later, he decided to return to Diār Bakr and Rostamdār. Achieving a reconciliation with Alā al-Dowla Zu'l-Qadar, the ruler of Mar'aš, he joined him. The further history of Alā al-Dowla will be given later. After settling the affairs of Fārs, Esma'il returned to Persian Iraq.

The Chastising of the Stubborn Rebels of Persian Iraq, the Capture of Various Forts, and the Triumph of His Majesty

Emir Ḥoseyn Kīā Čolāvī, who had made himself master of the whole of Rostamdār, the mountainous regions of Firūzkūh, Damāvand, Hali-rūd, and those parts, had at his command twelve thousand cavalry and large numbers of infantry. Trusting in the strength of his fortresses and the mountainous terrain, he adopted a rebellious and intransigent attitude, and began to encroach on the territory of Persian Iraq. A number of Āq Qoyūnlū Turkman nobles, the chief of whom was Morād Beg, feeling their position in Persian Iraq to be insecure,²⁰ took refuge in the mountains of Rostamdār and found sanctuary at the court of Emir Ḥoseyn Kīā Čolāvī. This encouraged the latter to adopt an even more arrogant and haughty attitude, and he showed dis-courtesy toward the retainers of Shah Esma'il.

When Esma'il was advancing on Fārs, he sent a detachment of men under Elyās Beg Eyğuş-oğlū against Ḥoseyn Kīā. On receipt of this news, Emir Ḥoseyn Kīā, before the *qezelbāš* had mustered, marched rapidly against Elyās Beg. The latter took refuge in the fortress of Varamīn, and the Čolāvī²¹ forces arrived before its walls. For a while, they

²⁰I.e., as a result of Esma'il's victory over Sultan Morād.

²¹The text has *j.l.ā.d.l.ī.ā.n*; *j.l.ā.d.ī.ā.n*; etc., but I suspect the correct reading should be *čolāvīān*.

besieged the fort. Finally, they arranged a parley, secured by solemn and sworn oaths. But, acting with treacherous deceit, they put to death that simple-hearted Turk and a group of his retainers, at Kabûd Gonbad near Rayy. The facts concerning the arrogant and insolent behavior of Emir Ḥoseyn Kīā Čolāvī reached the ears of Shah Esma'il, and he determined to crush this insurrection, and to punish those evildoers from the mountains of Rostamdar.

At the beginning of spring, 909/1504, Esma'il left his winter quarters at Qom, and marched in the direction of Rostamdar. First, he laid siege to the fortress of Gol-e Kandān, which was renowned for its strength. He stormed the fort, and put its garrison to the sword. From there, he went on to the fort of Firuzkūh, which he also captured. The commandant of the fort, Emir 'Alī Kīā, after heavy fighting, tendered his submission, and he and a group of his men who also surrendered were spared. The rest were put to death. Emir Ḥoseyn Kīā himself, with twelve thousand men, lay in ambush across Esma'il's line of march, hoping to win a victory by taking him unaware. When he heard of the fall of the two fortresses, however, and of the massacre of their garrisons, his heart was filled with terror, and he felt a measure of remorse for his evil deeds. With the men he had with him, he shut himself up in the fortress of Ostā, which was the strongest castle in those parts, and had strong city walls and fortifications. Esma'il besieged the fort, and the air resounded with the sound of arrows and musket shots.

A river flowed by the walls of the castle, and the defenders drew their water from this river by means of a hole cut in the rock. When this was reported to Esma'il, he gave orders that the river be diverted from its course. Although this seemed to be a far-fetched idea, in view of the volume of water and the strength of the current, the Safavid troops set to work with a will, and within a few days had cut a new channel and diverted the river into it. For a few days the Čolāvī troops floundered around like fish out of water; in the end, thirst compelled them to cry for quarter. In this manner, a fort of such formidable strength fell into the hands of the Safavids after thirty-three days, despite the valor of its defenders. The whole garrison fell victim to the wrath of Esma'il, and apart from a few "men of the pen," no one was spared. Morād Beg Jahānshāhī was roasted, and his flesh eaten by the vengeful Safavid soldiers. Emir Ḥoseyn was placed in an iron cage, like an owl, but he managed to distract the attention of his guards and inflict on himself a wound from which he died a few days later in the

Safavid camp at Kabūd Gonbad near Rayy. It was strange that he should depart this life at the very same spot at which he had put to death Elyās Beg Eygūş-oglū and his *qezelbāš* retainers. Emir Hoseyn's corpse was burned.

While all this was going on, news arrived of the revolt of Mohammad Karra, who had been *dārūga* of Abarqūh under Āq Qoyūnlū rule, and who had been appointed governor of Abarqūh by Esma'il. While Esma'il was preoccupied with his campaign in Rostamdār, the news reached him that Mohammad Karra had made a sudden descent upon Yazd, had seized the city, and had put the governor of the city to death. Esma'il marched to Yazd and laid siege to it for two months. At the end of that time, Mohammad Karra could no longer hold the city and was driven back into the citadel. In the end, the Safavid troops stormed the citadel and overpowered Mohammad Karra in one of the towers which housed the military band. He too was imprisoned in an iron cage; all the rest were put to death. Mohammad Karra was executed in the Naqš-e Jahān *meydān* at Isfahan, and his corpse was burned in the iron cage, in the same way that the corpse of Emir Ḥoseyn Kīā Čolāvī had been treated. This campaign consolidated Esma'il's power in Persian Iraq, destroyed all his foes, and swept the province clean of all rebellion and sedition.

Various uncivil acts had been committed by the Čagatāy army, at the instigation of a number of Āq Qoyūnlū Turkmans who had gone to Khorasan. The late ruler²² Sultan Ḥoseyn Mīrzā sent his *sadr*, Emir Kamāl al-Dīn, to congratulate Shah Esma'il on his victories, and to apologize to him for the excessive acts committed by the Čagatāys. The message the *sadr* brought did not mollify Esma'il; on the contrary, it enraged him. He made a sudden strike from Yazd against Ṭabas. His men poured into the town and slew large numbers of the Čagatāys who were living in the town. Ultimately, Esma'il's rage was appeased by this bloodletting, and after a week he marched back. The *Aḥsan al-Tavārikh* says that seven thousand people were killed in this affair.

In the spring of the next year (911/1505–6), Esma'il moved to summer quarters near Hamadan. He spent the winter in the region of Koy and Salmās, where operations against Šir Ṣārem the Kurd, who had been harassing the province of Orūmīya, were carried out by Beyrām Khan Qarāmānlū and Kādem Beg, the *kalifat al-kolafa*. Šir Ṣārem's son and brother fell into Safavid hands, and were executed

²²He died in 911/1505.

with dire tortures, and Şärem's tribal area was plundered. 'Abdi Beg Şamlü, the father of Dürmiş Khan,²³ and Särü 'Ali *mohrdär*, were killed in this campaign.

Esma'il had also been displeased by the activities of Emir Ḥosām al-Dīn, the governor of Rašt, and in 911/1505-6 Esma'il sent a punitive expedition against him. He himself with the main army moved from Tärom to Rašt. Emir Ḥosām al-Dīn hastened to tender his submission, and sent numerous gifts and presents as compensation for his behavior; he was pardoned through the intercession of Emir Najm al-Dīn Maṣ'ud Rašti, and returned to his post. In the same year, Esma'il issued an order that all those who had sided with the enemy and had fought against Sultan Heydar were to be put to death. Abdāl Beg Dada, who was at that time the *qürčibāši*, was charged with this task, and considerable numbers from among the Turkman tribes and others were executed.

Shah Esma'il's Campaign against 'Alā al-Dowla Zu'l Qadar, Events in Diār Bakr, and His Conquest of That Province

It will be recalled that Sultan Morād Āq Qoyūnlü had taken refuge with 'Alā al-Dowla Zu'l-Qadar, the ruler of the regions of Mar'aš and Albestān. The following year (912/1506-7), it was reported to Esma'il that Sultan Morād, now 'Alā al-Dowla's son-in-law, had assembled an army of Zu'l-Qadar troops and Turkmans from the region of Mosul who had rallied round him, and was busy taking possession of various castles in Diār Bakr, with a view to making himself the independent ruler of that province. Esma'il considered it imperative to take the field against him, and to rid the empire of this rebel. He sent *qürčis* to levy troops in the provinces, and in 913/1507-8 Esma'il marched in the direction of Azerbaijan.

When 'Alā al-Dowla heard of the approach of the *qezelbāš*, he retreated to Albestān, took refuge in a castle located on a high mountain called Mount Dornā, and waited there, ready to repel any attack. According to the *Habib al-Sar*, and the *Fotūḥāt-e Amīni* of Haravī, the battle between the Zu'l-Qadars and Esma'il's forces was long and bloody. For two days the battle raged, from dawn until nightfall. At the end of the second day, the armies withdrew at dusk to their own

²³'Abdi Beg Şamlü was Esma'il's brother-in-law, and one of the inner circle of his companions.

camp, and spent the night in patrol activity and mounting guard. On the third day, Esma'il donned his armor and *kaftān*,²⁴ and led his men into the battle, which raged more furiously than before. Finally, the Zu'l-Qadars broke and ran. The Safavids subjugated the forts in Diār Bakr which had been seized by the Zu'l-Qadars, and Moḥammad Khan Ostajlū was made governor of the province. About the same time, Emir Khan, son of Golābī Beg Mowṣellū Torkmān, tendered his submission to Esma'il and was well received. After completing the pacification of the province, Esma'il began his homeward march.

Hasan Beg, the author of the *Aḥsan al-Tavārikh*, has stated that no battle took place between Shah Esma'il and 'Alā al-Dowla Zu'l-Qadar. His account is as follows: When Esma'il reached Albestān, 'Alā al-Dowla did not oppose him, but fled to Mount Dornā, a high and inaccessible place. Esma'il sent Ḥoseyn Beg Lala with a detachment of Safavid troops to find a ford across a river which had to be crossed. The *gāzīs* crossed the river and pitched camp, and most of the men went in search of barley and straw. Suddenly, Sārū Qaplān, the son of 'Alā al-Dowla, fell on them with a large force, and a fierce battle was fought between him and Lala Beg. Lala Beg was thrown from his horse, but a retainer named Kalil Āqā brought forward his own horse and remounted him, giving his own life for his master, while Lala Beg got away safely. When Shah Esma'il heard that 'Alā al-Dowla had taken refuge in those high, inaccessible mountains, he plundered and laid waste 'Alā al-Dowla's territory and dominions, and returned. Hasan Beg, the historian,²⁵ has criticized the author of the *Ḥabib al-Sīar* who, he says, although alive at the time of these events, gave an account which was at variance with the facts. I have set forth both versions, and God knoweth best which is true.²⁶

After this incident, when Khan Moḥammad²⁷ arrived in Diār Bakr, Qāytmās Beg, the son of Golābī Beg Mowṣellū, who was in the town of Ḥamīd, opposed him, shut up the fortress, and denied him entry. Khan Moḥammad was forced to camp outside in the desert, and the Kurds of those parts harassed the *qezelbāš* camp. Khan Moḥammad attacked the Kurds, and in a major engagement, seven thousand of the Kurds were killed. Khan Moḥammad returned victorious from this af-

²⁴A quilted vest worn under armor.

²⁵Author of the *Aḥsan al-Tavārikh* mentioned above.

²⁶The greater part of this paragraph is omitted in the printed text.

²⁷See R. M. Savory, "The Consolidation of Safavid Power in Persia," in *Der Islam* 41 (October 1965) p. 76 (hereinafter referred to as Savory, *Consolidation*).

fray, and Qāytmas Beg, unable to resist him any longer, sent a courier to 'Alā al-Dowla to ask for help, and made a pact with him that he would surrender the town to him.

Although 'Alā al-Dowla's affairs were in considerable disarray, the temptation of acquiring Ḥamīd was too great for him, and he listened to Qāytmas Beg's appeal for help. That winter, he again mobilized an army and sent two thousand men, under the command of his sons, Qāsem Beg, known as Sārū Qaplān (the Yellow Panther), and Ordūvāna Beg, to Diār Bakr against Khan Moḥammad. The Khan, despite the paucity of his forces, put his trust in the unfailing good fortune of the Shah, led his Ostājlūs into battle, and emerged victorious. Sārū Qaplān, who was distinguished among the other sons of 'Alā al-Dowla by his bravery and valor, and his brother Ordūvāna Beg, together with a considerable number of other men, were taken prisoner and put to death.

After this victory, Khan Moḥammad marched against Qāytmas Beg Torkmān.²⁸ Qāytmas Beg barricaded the gates of the city and prepared to hold the citadel. Before he had completed his preparations, however, the townspeople of Ḥamīd turned against him and admitted the *gazis* to the city. Qāytmas Beg was seized and put to death. Khan Moḥammad achieved full independence in the government of the province of Diār Bakr, and reports of his power spread throughout the region.

'Alā al-Dowla, dismayed by the fate of his sons, again mobilized his scattered forces and dispatched about fifteen thousand men against Khan Moḥammad under the command of two of his other sons, Kūr Šahroķ and Aḥmad Beg, to seek vengeance for the death of their brothers. Khan Moḥammad went valiantly to meet them, and engaged the Zu'l-Qadar army within sight of the town of Āmeda.²⁹ Khan Moḥammad had only three thousand men. The story goes that, when the two armies were drawn up for battle, a number of greyhounds and their puppies came out from the Zu'l-Qadar lines and attacked the dogs

²⁸The Turkman tribe was one of the major *qezelbaş* tribes (see V. Minorsky, *Takhkirat al-Mulük*, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, New Series XVI, London 1943, p. 16 (hereinafter referred to as Minorsky, *TM*). Qāytmas Beg belonged to the Mowsellū clan which, although not listed by Minorsky, was one of the clans of the Turkman tribe.

²⁹Āmeda or Āmed, also known as Ḥamīd and Qarā Ḥamīd (the *TAAA* has the form Ḥamīd), was the chief town of the province of Diār Bakr. It was situated on the west bank of the upper reaches of the Tigris. The name Qarā (Black) Ḥamīd derived from the color of the stone quarried there (see G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 108ff).

that accompanied the Ostājlū army. Khan Moḥammad sought an omen from this dogfight. As it happened, the Ostājlū dogs gained the upper hand, and put the Zu'l-Qadar dogs to flight. Khan Moḥammad's morale was raised by this sight, and he gave the good news to the *gazis*. A great battle took place between the two armies, and on this occasion too Khan Moḥammad won a victory over that mighty host by virtue of the unfailing good fortune of the Shah. Kür Šahrok and Ahmād Beg, the sons of 'Alā al-Dowla, were taken prisoner and slain on that battlefield, together with many of their kinsmen, followers, and emirs.

A strange and curious incident occurred in this connection. In the Ostājlū army there was a blind man, who had come prepared to fight. When his friends taunted him about this, he replied: "I have besought Almighty God that the good fortune of the Shah may give that blind one (i.e., Kür Šahrok) into the hand of this blind one." By divine decree, Kür Šahrok fell into his hands.

Those of the Zu'l-Qadar army who escaped the sword turned and fled. After this defeat, 'Alā al-Dowla donned a black felt cloak in mourning for his sons and his kinsmen, and his emirs too threw black sackcloth around their necks and went into mourning of unparalleled intensity. 'Alā al-Dowla's ambition to annex Diär Bakr was now finally shattered, and he abandoned this vain aspiration. His fortunes had lost all their luster and sparkle.

When the Ottoman emperor³⁰ heard of the repeated defeats suffered by 'Alā al-Dowla, the death of his sons, and the humbling of his emirs and troops, he decided the time was ripe for him to satisfy his long-standing desire for revenge, and he led an army against him. In the ensuing battle, 'Alā al-Dowla was killed, and the empire of the Zu'l-Qadar dynasty came to an end. Some of the vanquished elected to join the Ottomans; others entered the service of Shah Esma'il. 'Alā al-Dowla had ruled Mar'aš and Albestān, and had been the overlord of eighty thousand households.

The dynasty had consisted of four rulers: Malek Aşlān, Soleyman,³¹ Naṣer al-Dīn, and 'Alā al-Dowla; but 'Alā al-Dowla possessed greater power and independence than his predecessors. He conducted his diplomatic relations with the Ottoman emperor and with the ruler of Egypt³² on the basis of trickery and deceit. Whenever ambassadors ar-

³⁰Bayazid II (regn. 886/918) 1481/1512)

³¹Omitted in printed text.

³²The Mameluke sultan al-Ašraf Qaṣṣūḥ al-Gawrī (regn. 906-922/1501-17).

rived from the Ottoman empire, he would dress a number of his retainers in Egyptian-style clothes, and would tell the Ottoman ambassadors that these men had been sent by the Mameluke sultan to seek an alliance against the Ottomans. "But of course," he could say, "I shall not give them any help, because of my friendship with the Ottoman emperor." He used the same tactics when dealing with the Mameluke sultan, and as a result derived benefit from both parties. The story goes that 'Alā al-Dowla used to say: "I have two golden hens; one lays silver eggs, the other golden eggs."

In the battle which 'Alā al-Dowla fought against the Ottomans, Sultan Morād Āq Qoyūnlū, who had acquired a special position close to 'Alā al-Dowla by virtue of being his son-in-law, was captured by the Ottomans. The Ottoman emperor, Selim I,³³ treated him well, and Sultan Morād remained in his company for some time. In the year in which Selim invaded Iran (920/1514), Sultan Morād did not consider it expedient to accompany him, and he dissociated himself from the Ottomans. He gathered round himself a band of evil men, and marched against Eje Sultan Qajār, the governor of Orfa. The latter hastened to meet him with eight hundred men, and overcame Sultan Morād's eight thousand in a battle in which Sultan Morād was killed. Eje Sultan sent his head and his ring, for the purpose of identification, to Shah Esma'il's court, and gained the sobriquet of Qodormoš ("the mad dog") Sultan. With the death of Sultan Morād, the dynasty of the Āq Qoyūnlū sultans also came to an end. Although these events occurred after the Safavid conquest of Arab Iraq, I included them here because of their connection with what had preceded.

Shah Esma'il's Expedition to Arab Iraq and His Conquest of that Province, together with Related Events

The true account of the conquest of that province is as follows: When the nobles of the province of Arab Iraq ('Erāq-e 'Arab) received the news that the foundations of Sultan Morād's power had been shaken, one of the Turkman emirs, called Bārik Beg, assumed control of the province, and aimed to retain possession of it. However, Shah Esma'il determined to annex Arab Iraq. First of all, he sent Bārik Beg a gold-embroidered hat, a sword belt, and a special robe of honor, and called on him to submit to him and to acknowledge his suzerainty. At first, Bārik Beg hastened to accept the royal robe of honor, and he took his Turkman *tāqīya* from his head, and took pride

³³Selim did not become emperor until 1512.

in wearing the royal hat³⁴ and robe. Further, he sent suitable gifts to the Shah, and petitioned that he be confirmed in the governorship of that province. Shah Esma'il, however, did not look with favor on his gifts, and sent a message to Bārik to say that he had made a firm resolve to visit the holy shrines of Karbala and Najaf, and that this vow could not be broken. If Bārik was genuine in his protestations of fealty, said the Shah, let him hasten to court and take his place among the other emirs. One could not gain access to his court, said Esma'il, by guile and deceit. For a short time, Bārik made an outward show of fealty, but when the approach of the royal army was confirmed, he busied himself with collecting munitions and the equipment necessary for conducting the defense of the fortress. He then openly beat the drum of defiance, and hurled away his *qezelbāš* hat.

As a result, Shah Esma'il decided to march on Baghdad, and sent Hoseyn Beg Lala on ahead as the advance guard. When Hoseyn Beg was only two days march from Baghdad, Bārik's courage failed him, and most of the nobles of Arab Iraq tendered their submission to the Shah. Bārik, considering himself incapable of withstanding the Safavids, or of holding the fort, slipped across the Tigris at night, and joined Sultan Morād Āq Qoyūnlū in headlong flight toward Aleppo. From there, as I have already recorded, they joined up with members of the Zu'l-Qadar dynasty.

The following day, the inhabitants and nobles of Baghdad brought forth from the dungeon Seyyed Beg Kamūna, one of the eminent seyeds of Najaf, who had great authority in that province. Bārik had arrested him on suspicion of being a partisan of the Safavid cause, and had imprisoned him in a dungeon known as the Black Hole. The people released him from captivity, and declared their love for the Shah.³⁵ On Friday, Seyyed Mohammad Kamūna went to the Masjed-e Jāme' and included in his address (*kotba*) the names of the Twelve Imams and the titles of Shah Esma'il. Then he went outside the city to welcome Hoseyn Beg, who camped in the gardens of Mirzā Pir Būdāq.

Hoseyn Beg sent a report on the capture of Baghdad to Shah Esma'il, and the Shah, hunting as he came, proceeded in a leisurely fashion toward Baghdad. On his arrival, the populace joyfully went out to meet him, and presented their prayers and supplication to him. The Shah

³⁴The word is *tāj*, which denotes the special Sufi headgear devised by Heydar as the distinctive mark of the *qezelbāš*. The *taqīya* was a tall, round hat.

³⁵Sāhi-sevanī: see V. Minorsky in *EI*, s.v.

uttered praise and thanksgiving to God for the conquest of Baghdad, and entered the city on 20 Jomādā II 914/16 October 1508.³⁶ Seyyed Kamūna was received with great honor and respect by the Shah. Kādem Beg was made governor of the province of Arab Iraq, and was granted the titles of Abū'l-Mansūr and *kālifat al-kolafā*.³⁷

From Baghdad, Esma'il went as a suppliant to Karbala, where he visited the tomb of Abū 'Abdullāh al-Hoseyn and the martyrs of the plain of Karbala.³⁸ Esma'il devoted his attention to the maintenance and beautification of the shrine. From Karbala, Esma'il made the pilgrimage to the tomb of 'Alī at Najaf, going by way of Ḥella. The attendants of that holy shrine became the recipients of his liberality and beneficence, and Seyyed Mohammad Kamūna was appointed *motavallī* of the shrine at Najaf and of several other places in Arab Iraq. Returning to Baghdad, Esma'il visited the blessed resting places of the Imams Abū Ebrāhīm Mūsā al-Kāzem and Mohammad Taqī.³⁹ From there, Esma'il visited Samarra,⁴⁰ where he made the pilgrimage to the holy places and performed the traditional ceremonies.⁴¹

After he had dealt with the affairs of Arab Iraq, fixing the salaries of the shrine officials, and had enhanced the splendor of the holy places, Esma'il marched on Kūzestān, with the object of subjugating that province. On the borders of Lorestān, he detached a force of ten thousand men, under Ḥoseyn Beg Lala and Beyrām Beg Qaramānlū, and dispatched them against Malek Rostam, the ruler of Lorestān. Esma'il, with the main army, proceeded to Ḥavīza. The Moša'šā' Arabs who lived in that district had fallen into error, and professed the divinity of 'Alī. A strange phenomenon, which is widely held to be true, is that the Moša'šā', when they are engaged in the devotional practices which are their customary form of worship, fall into a trance, and that while they are in this state, knives and swords have no effect on them.

³⁶Other sources give 25 Jomādā II/21 October.

³⁷See Savory, *Khalifat*.

³⁸'Alī Ḥoseyn, the younger son of 'Alī, was slain, together with his small band of followers, by the troops of the Omeyyad Caliph Yazid I on the plain of Karbala, 10 October A.D. 680. His death is commemorated by Shi'ites every year during the month of Moharram with public demonstrations of grief, the performance of passion plays, and the like.

³⁹The 7th and 9th Shi'ite Imams, respectively. The shrine which marks the burial place of these two imams is known as al-Kāzemeyn. The present building is largely the work of Shah Esma'il.

⁴⁰60 m. north of Baghdad. Capital of the Abbasid empire, A.D. 836-94.

⁴¹'Alī Naqī and Ḥasan al-Askarī, the 10th and 11th Shi'ite imams, are buried at Samarra, and it was in Samarra that the 12th Imam, al-Mahdī, disappeared from earth in A.D. 873.

They place the point of their sword against their stomach, and chant phrases such as *Ali Elâhi* and other vain expressions; they lean on the sword until it is bent like a bow, without incurring the slightest injury. The governor of that tribe was always a *seyyed*.

At that time, Sultan Fayyâz, the son of Sultan Mohsen, was the ruler and successor of his father. The ordinances of the religious law of Islam were in abeyance among that tribe. They had sunk even further into error, to the point where they professed a belief in the divinity of Sultan Fayyâz himself. When Esma'il's standards reached the vicinity of Havîza, according to the author of the *Habîb al-Sîar*, Sultan Fayyâz drew up the Moša'ša' in battle array and prepared to engage the Safavid forces. A great battle was fought within sight of Havîza, and the soil of Havîza was stained ruby-red with the blood of the Moša'ša'. The *gâzis* despatched the malignant Fayyâz and many of his companions in error on the road to perdition.

In Lorestan, Malek Rostam had fled before the Safavid forces and taken refuge in a mountainous area which was difficult of access. The great emirs who had been sent in pursuit of him surrounded the mountain, and his situation became desperate. He approached the emirs, on the promise of quarter affirmed by pledges and sworn oaths, and in their company went to the royal court. He uttered honeyed words in the Lori dialect, pledging his loyalty to the Shah, and was received with favor by Esma'il. Since his meritorious actions were many, the Shah adorned his handsome person with pearls.⁴² Malek Rostam spent some time among the emirs at court, and was then reinstated as governor of Lorestan. Having attained his object, he returned to his own territory.

After the subjugation of the Moša'ša', the post of governor of Havîza was granted to one of the great emirs, and the Shah marched toward Shûstar and Dezful. The governor of Dezful tendered his submission to the Shah, came to court, and surrendered the keys of the city and the citadel. Thus those regions, together with the fortress of Salâsel, were annexed to the Safavid empire. The Shah appointed one of his trusted followers as commandant of the fortress, proceeded in the direction of Fârs, and, hunting as he went, arrived at Shiraz. This was the second royal visit to Shiraz, and again the Shah devoted himself to the affairs of the people. While he was at Shiraz, envoys came to

⁴²A word-play in the Persian; the word *mahâsen* means both "good deeds" and "good looks."

him from the governors of Hormoz and Lär, bringing suitable presents, and in those districts the name and titles of Shah Esma'il were included in the Friday sermon (*kotba*) and stamped on the coinage.

Shah Esma'il spent the winter at Shiraz,⁴³ with full pomp and circumstance. Spring found him in the upland pastures of Hamadan, and he encamped for a while at the foot of Mount Alvand.⁴⁴ From Hamadan, he returned to his capital, Tabriz, which rejoiced at his safe return.

On his arrival, Shah Esma'il learned that Shaikh Shah⁴⁵ had again seized power in Šīrvān, and was withholding payment of tribute and taxes. Esma'il's rage was such that, despite the severity of the winter, he marched toward Šīrvān. At Javād he busied himself with the construction of a bridge of boats, and he crossed the river Kor in safety. The Šīrvānsāh did not dispute his advance, but fled to the fortress of Biqord. Shah Esma'il marched into Šīrvān in triumph, and bestowed the governorship of that province on Hoseyn Lala Beg, who took up residence at Šamāki.⁴⁶ The commandants of the forts at Bākū and Šabarān submitted to Esma'il, and surrendered the keys of their forts. The inhabitants of Darband, on the other hand, relying on the strength of their walls and earthworks, procrastinated for a few days, but eventually sued for quarter and pledged their allegiance to the Shah. Esma'il then returned from Šīrvān the same winter, and went to Qarābag. At the beginning of spring, he moved to Solṭāniya, and began to make preparations for the invasion of Khorasan.

The Beginning of the Account of the Conquest of Khorasan

The writers of historical narratives and the chroniclers have described the events associated with Shah Esma'il's conquest of Khorasan as follows. When the drums of war began to sound, rulers from near and far, fearful of Esma'il's power, hastened to admit his claim and title, and to assert their loyalty and sincere devotion to him; they demonstrated the sincerity of their support for him by sending gifts, presents, envoys, and letters. Abu'l-Ğazi Solṭān Hoseyn Mirza Bayarā, the former ruler of Khorasan, Marv-e Šāhijān,⁴⁷ Kārazm, Ṭokār-

⁴³The winter of 1508-09.

⁴⁴The 11,800-foot mountain that rises behind Hamadan.

⁴⁵The son of the Šīrvānsāh Farroğyasār who had been defeated and killed by Esma'il in 1500.

⁴⁶The capital of Šīrvān.

⁴⁷Or Great Marv; so called to distinguish it from Marv al-Rūd, or Little Marv, situated 160 miles higher up the Morgāb River.

estān, Zābolestān, and Kandahar up to the borders of Kabul and Badašān, whose reign had lasted for a considerable number of years,⁴⁸ and who had numerous sons,⁴⁹ had been sufficiently far-sighted to enter into and maintain friendly relations with Shah Esma'il.

The Shah, for his part, as he had always looked upon Sultan Ḥoseyn Mīrzā as a father, had displayed respect toward the Timurid dynasty, and had taken care to preserve the amicable relations both of the past and of more recent times.⁵⁰ In the early period of his conquest of Persia, Esma'il had not meddled with the provinces which were under the control of the Timurid ruler, and there was constant diplomatic correspondence between the two. After the death of Sultan Ḥoseyn Mīrzā,⁵¹ dissension and schism rent that dynasty, as is recorded in the *Habib al-Śiar*, as a result of the lack of agreement between the sons of Sultan Ḥoseyn Mīrzā, and the pretensions to independent rule on the part of two or three of them, especially Badi' al-Zamān Mīrzā, Mozaffar Ḥoseyn Mīrzā, and Köpek Mīrzā.

Mohammad Kān Šibānī Özbeg b. Būdaq Solṭān b. Abu'l-Keyr Kān b. Dowlat Šeyk-oğlū, a descendant of Šibān b. Joči b. Čingiz, had progressed from being a retainer of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā b. Solṭān Abū Sa'īd Gūrakān, the ruler of Transoxania, to being a ruler in his own right, and he made himself the sovereign of that area. Hearing something of the dissension and disagreement between the Timurid princes, he laid covetous eyes on Khorasan, and resolved to destroy the descendants of Timur. In 913/1507 he invaded Khorasan, gave battle to those feckless princes, and having defeated them, put them to death. In brief, he destroyed the Timurid dynasty, as is recorded in more detailed histories, and annexed their territory. Thus Mohammad Khan Šibānī, commonly known as Šāhī Beg Khan, brought under his sway all the land from the farthest reaches of Turkestan to the borders of Persian Iraq. As his power increased, so did his arrogance and ambition, and he held any other powerful prince in low esteem. He began to show hostility toward Shah Esma'il, and in the year that the Shah led his second expedition to Šīrvān (915/1509–10), Mohammad Khan Šibānī sent a detachment of troops across the desert to Kerman, plundering, killing, and destroying.

⁴⁸For thirty-five years, in fact (1470–1505).

⁴⁹Seven of his fourteen sons survived him. See Savory, *Consolidation*, p. 78.

⁵⁰This was not quite as magnanimous as it sounds. Shah Esma'il, because of his pre-occupations elsewhere, had been in no position to do anything else.

⁵¹May 5, 1505.

Shah Esma'il several times sent ambassadors to Mohammad Khan Šibānī, ambassadors such as Šeykzāda Lāhijī, one of the most eminent and able men of his day, to call on the Uzbeg leader to abandon sedition and strife. Mohammad Khan, by virtue of his ill-starred nature, sent back harsh replies containing empty boasts. "I have a strong desire to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca," he said. "Where shall our rendezvous be?" Shah Esma'il sent an amiable reply: "I too have a firm resolve to visit the tomb of the Imam of *jenn* and men;⁵² I hope that we will meet in the holy city of Mašhad."⁵³

In the year 916/1510, in his summer quarters at Korqān,⁵⁴ Esma'il issued orders for the general mobilization of his forces, and he marched toward Khorasan with a stout heart and with high hopes. Passing Semnān, the army marched boldly into Khorasan. The Uzbeg governors of the various districts of Khorasan did not stay to oppose him, but abandoned their seats of government and fell back on Herat. Šāhī Beg Khan, who had recently returned from an expedition against the Hazāra, and who was in Herat, was frightened by the boldness and audacity of Shah Esma'il, and by the fearless way in which he was advancing into Khorasan, thus making them both nervous and anxious. Every day his fear of Shah Esma'il increased. When he heard the news that the Safavid army had reached the neighborhood of Mašhad, he decided that he did not have the strength to withstand Esma'il, and he withdrew to Marv-e Šāhījān, leaving Jān Vafā Mīrzā, a kinsman of his, in the citadel at Herat. However, Jān Vafā Mīrzā also abandoned his post and fled to Marv.

Shah Esma'il, his morale high and his heart fearless, entered Mašhad, and on visiting the holy shrine of the Imam 'Alī al-Reżā as a suppliant, performed the obligatory rituals of prayer and pilgrimage. The *seyyeds* and employees of the shrine were made the recipients of special royal favor. Then, having invoked the aid of the holy spirit of the Imam 'Alī al-Reżā, Shah Esma'il set off toward Marv in pursuit of Šāhī Beg Khan. The *gāzis* who were in the Safavid van reached Marv, and Jān Vafā Mīrzā, with a strong force of illustrious warriors, came out to meet them. Hard fighting took place between the two forces, and although the Safavid commander, Dāna Mohammad, was killed in the battle, Jān Vafā Mīrzā was routed and retreated in disorder to the

⁵²Ali al-Reżā, the 8th Imam.

⁵³Esma'il's invitation to a Sunni ruler to visit one of the most holy Shi'i shrines was, of course, a deliberate insult.

⁵⁴In the province of Kūmēš about 15 m. northwest of Besṭām.

city. The *qezelbāš* pursued the Uzbegs up to the walls of the citadel, and slew many of them.

At this juncture, Shah Esma'il arrived with the main Safavid army. He pitched his tents near the citadel, and Šāhī Beg Khan, filled with even greater terror than before, walled himself up in the citadel and devoted strenuous efforts to putting the defenses of the city in order. In addition, he sent couriers to Transoxania to summon the Uzbeg tribes. Every day skirmishes took place beneath the walls of the citadel, and casualties were incurred by both sides. When this pattern of events had been repeated for a number of days and no clear prospect of capturing the city appeared, Shah Esma'il, who always preferred pitched battles in the open field to siege warfare, devised a plan for luring forth Šāhī Beg Khan, who had crept into his hole like a fox fleeing from a lion. Esma'il ordered the drums to sound for breaking camp, and he marched away from the foot of the citadel. He sent a letter to Moḥammad Khan, saying "You promised to meet me in Persian Iraq or Azerbaijan. You have not kept your promise. I, however, have kept my promise, and have come to Khorasan. Despite this, you have not come out to fight me. Various events have now occurred in Azerbaijan which make it necessary for me to return. For this reason I have broken camp and am leaving. Whenever you are ready to fight, and God shall decree it, we shall meet in battle." Šāhī Beg Khan attributed Esma'il's departure to weakness and feebleness, and wishing to bring off at least a minor triumph and so free himself from the ignominy of having fled before the might of the *qezelbāš* army, thus allowing himself to be besieged in the citadel at Marv, decided to pursue Esma'il. He marched forth from Marv with about thirty thousand men, consisting of Uzbegs and the troops of the renowned emirs and commanders who at that time were serving under his colors.

Emir Khan Mowṣellū, who in obedience to the Shah's orders, was covering the Safavid rear with three hundred men, withdrew according to plan when he saw the Uzbeg army approaching and rejoined the royal army. Moḥammad Khan concluded from the retreat of Emir Khan Mowṣellū that the *qezelbāš* army was in dire straits, and pressed his pursuit more boldly. When Shah Esma'il received news of his approach, he paused only to cross a stream some twelve miles from the city and send a detachment of men to destroy the bridge across the stream. He himself drew up his forces, seventeen thousand in number, near the village of Maḥmūdabad in the district of Marv, facing the Uzbeg army. Šāhī Beg Khan was forced to commit himself to a pitched

battle. Such a terrible conflict took place between the *qezelbāš* and the Uzbegs that Mars himself wept at the number of the slain.

Jān Vafa Mīrzā, Qanbar Beg, and the majority of the Uzbegs' emirs were killed on that field. Šāhī Beg Khan and a group of Uzbegs, in their precipitate flight, entered an enclosed area which had no escape route. There they piled one upon the other in a bog, only to perish miserably. The corpse of Šāhī Beg Khan was discovered beneath a pile of dead bodies by one of the Bozčalū *gazıls*, Aziz Āqā by name, known as Ādī Bahādor. The head of Šāhī Beg Khan, which in its arrogance had not considered any other head worthy of wearing a crown, was separated from his body and flung down beneath the dragon standard, under the hooves of Esma'il's steed. Shah Esma'il prostrated himself in thanksgiving to God, and dispatched each of the limbs of the slain Uzbeg leader to a different province. The skin of the head, stuffed with straw, was sent to Solṭān Bāyazīd b. Solṭān Muḥammad Čāzī, the Ottoman sultan. The skull, as we are told by the author of the *Ahsan al-Tavāriķ*, was encased in gold and fashioned into a chalice that was circulated as a wine cup at banquets and festive occasions.

Kājā Maḥmūd Sāğarčī, the renowned vizier of Šāhī Beg Khan, who had emerged from the citadel at Marv, was standing among the ranks of the prisoners at the moment when Shah Esma'il took the gold-en-crusted skull in his hand and proceeded to drink deeply from that cup of joy and prosperity. Shah Esma'il addressed him as follows: "Oh Kājā, do you recognize this cup? It is the head of your king." The Kājā replied, "Glory be to God! What a fortunate man my master was! For his good fortune is still with him, in that he is now in the hands of such an auspicious ruler as yourself, who every moment drinks from that cup of joy!" This witticism greatly pleased Shah Esma'il, who looked upon the Kājā with favor and raised him to the position of vizier of Khorasan.

Aqa Rostam Rüz-Afzūn, who had subjugated and seized control of the province of Māzandarān, had consistently acted in a hostile manner toward officers of the Safavid court, and constantly used to say, "the power is mine, under the protection of Šāhī Beg Khan." Shah Esma'il now sent him the severed hand of Šāhī Beg Khan, which was carried to Māzandarān by an *aide-de-camp*,⁵⁵ who was instructed to toss it into the lap of Aqa Rostam with the words, "his protection has

⁵⁵ *Yasduvol*; for the various categories of *yasduvol*, see *TM*, p. 133.

availed you nothing; now his hand lies in your lap."⁵⁶ The *aide-de-camp* entered the assembly at a moment when Aqa Rostam was in council with the high officers of Tabarestān,⁵⁷ discharged his commission fearlessly, and left immediately. Not a soul had a chance to speak.⁵⁸ Aqa Rostam, terrified by that menacing message, was petrified with fear,⁵⁹ and his heart failed him. Day by day he became weaker and eventually he died.

To return to the main narrative. After his famous victory at Marv, Shah Esma'il sent *fathnāmas* (letters announcing his victory) to all the provinces of the empire. In all the districts of Khorasan, the names of the immaculate Twelve Imams (the blessings of God the Omnipotent be upon them!) were included in the *kotba* and struck on the coinage, together with the auspicious name of Shah Esma'il. All the land up to the banks of the Oxus River was brought under the control of *qezelbāš* emirs, and the practices and rituals of the Imami creed came to be used throughout all the regions of Khorasan. The city of Herat, which had been the capital of the Timūrid sultan Ḥoseyn Mīrzā Bayqarā, was honored by the arrival of the Shah. The chronogram for the date of this amazing event is: "The victory of the Shah, Defender of the Faith."⁶⁰

That winter (1510–11), Esma'il made his headquarters at Herat, and from all sides rulers and governors flocked there to congratulate him on his conquest of Khorasan. Among these was Sultan Oveys Mīrzā, known as Kān Mīrzā b. Solṭān Mahmūd Mīrzā b. Solṭān Abū Sa'īd Gūrakān, who came from Badaḵšān to present himself to the Shah. He was received with special favor, and a private banquet was given in his honor. He was granted a letter of appointment (*nešān*) to the governorship of Ḥeṣār-e Šādmān and Badaḵšān, and returned having succeeded in his objective. Similarly, Moḥammad Yār Mīrzā b. 'Omar Seyk Mīrzā b. Solṭān Abū Sa'īd Gūrakān in Kabul sent eloquent ambassadors and assured the Shah of the sincerity of his friendship.

At the beginning of spring (1511), Esma'il marched forth from Herat to subjugate Transoxania. When he reached Meymand⁶¹ and Fāryāb, the

⁵⁶The force of this grim jest in the Persian depends on word-plays on *dast* and *dāman*, and is impossible to reproduce in English.

⁵⁷The old name for Mazandarān.

⁵⁸Lit.: to draw breath.

⁵⁹Lit.: his gall-bladder was turned to water.

⁶⁰This chronogram gives the correct date, 916/1510. The title Defender of the Faith, incidentally, is usually reserved for Shah Tahmasp.

⁶¹Meymana. Meymana and Fāryāb lay northeast of Herat, between that city and Balk.

Uzbek sultans, including Moḥammad Tīmūr, who after the death of his father had taken over the reins of government in Samarkand, 'Abdullah Khan, who ruled in Bokhara, and Jānī Beg Sultan and the other sultans of Transoxania assembled on the banks of the Oxus. Envoys were sent to the Shah to declare the sincerity of their attachment to him, and to offer him suitable gifts. A treaty was concluded on the following basis: Transoxania was to be left in Uzbek hands; in return, the Uzbek sultans promised not to deviate from the path of fealty for the rest of their lives. Shah Esma'il responded favorably to their overtures, and prepared to march back to Persian Iraq. En route, he received ambassadors from Egypt, Syria, and the Ottoman empire, who had come to congratulate him on his victory in Khorasan. On their heels came the local rulers of Māzandarān. Esma'il allotted half of Māzandarān to Mīr Abd al-Karīm, one of the sons of Mīr Bozorg, and half to Aqa Moḥammad Rūz-Afzūn. Each made requests appropriate to his position, and these were granted. The two rulers departed satisfied at having obtained what they wanted. The local rulers of the various districts of Gīlān, and Shaikh Shah the ruler of Šīrvān, undertook to pay tribute and taxes and to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Shah.

The Uzbek sultans, however, did not remain loyal to the treaty and to their sworn oaths; as soon as the Shah's back was turned, they began to raid the periphery of the Safavid empire. At the request of Zahīr al-Salṭana Moḥammad Bābor Mīrzā,⁶² Shah Esma'il issued a decree that Bābor Mīrzā should be confirmed in the possession of whatever areas of Transoxania he might conquer by his own efforts. Bābor Mīrzā marched north from Kabul toward his ancestral dominions.⁶³ In Badakšān, he was joined by Khan Mīrzā, and together they advanced on Hēşār-e Šādmān.⁶⁴ Jamṣīd Sultan and Mahdī Sultan Özbeg, the governors of the province of Hēşār and Badakšān, hastened to give battle to the Čagatāy army, but were defeated by Moḥammad Bābor Mīrzā. Both the Uzbek commanders were killed on the battlefield. The province of Hēşār and Badakšān, in accordance with Shah Esma'il's decree, was granted to Khan Mīrzā. Bābor reported this event to Shah Esma'il and said that, if he should receive some reinforcement from the Shah, there was every hope he could conquer the rest of Transoxania too. Shah Esma'il dispatched Ahmād Sultan Şüfi-oğlu and

⁶²Correctly, Zahīr al-Dīn.

⁶³He had been expelled from Transoxania in 906/1500-01 by Moḥammad Khan Šībānī.

⁶⁴The ancient Šūmān, lying north of the Oxus, between the Zāmel and the Qobāzīān rivers, which are tributaries of the Oxus.

Sâhroq Sultan *mohrdâr* Afshâr with a detachment of seasoned troops to his assistance. Mohammad Bâbor Mîrzâ linked up with these great emirs, and together they advanced on Samarkand.

When the Uzbeg sultans got word of the approach of Mohammad Bâbor Mîrzâ with the support of *qezelbâš* forces, they evacuated the capital, Samarkand, and retreated in the direction of Turkestan. Bâbor entered Samarkand and took his place on the throne of his victorious ancestors. He had the *koṭba* used by the Twelver Shi'ites recited in the name of Shah Esma'il, and he dismissed the *qezelbâš* emirs, giving them permission to return with suitable presents for the Shah.

After the *qezelbâš* emirs had left, however, the Uzbeg sultans returned to Transoxania with a great army. Bâbor Mîrzâ went out to meet them with the small force that was available to him. In the ensuing battle, many of Bâbor's men were killed, and the rest fled. Bâbor, unable to maintain his position in Transoxania, retreated to Hesâr-e Sâdmân, where the Uzbeg sultans pursued him and laid siege to the fortress. Bâbor fortified himself in the citadel and sent a courtier to Beyrâm Khan Qarâmânlu to seek assistance. Beyrâm Khan sent a detachment of *qezelbâš* troops to his aid, and when the Uzbegs heard of their approach, they abandoned the siege and returned to Transoxania.⁶⁵

An account of these events and of the Uzbeg insurrection was transmitted to those close to the Shah. Emir Najm-e Sâni, the *vakîl-e dîvân-e a'lâ*,⁶⁶ whose power and influence at court are well known (some further details of this are given in the *Habîb al-Sîar*), was appointed to set in order the affairs of Khorasan and to deal with the Uzbeg menace. Without orders or instructions from the Shah, Najm-e Sâni resolved on the subjugation of Transoxania. With Hoseyn Beg Lala, the governor of Herat, and the great emirs of Khorasan, including Beyrâm Khan the governor of Balk, he crossed the Oxus. Mohammad Bâbor Mîrzâ marched from Hesâr and joined the *qezelbâš* army. First they captured the fort of Kozâr, and then the fort of Qarši.⁶⁷ At Qarši, Emir

⁶⁵Hesâr-e Sâdmân is actually in Transoxania. The meaning, however, is clear: the Uzbegs returned to the Samarkand and Bokhara region.

⁶⁶See Savory, "The Principal Offices of the Safawid State during the Reign of Shah Isma'il," in *BSOAS*, xxiii, part 1(1960), pp. 91-105 (hereinafter referred to as Savory, Offices I).

⁶⁷The ancient town of Nasaf or Nakşab, famous as the birthplace of al-Moqanna', the Veiled Prophet of Khorasan, in the 8th century A.D.

Najm gave orders for a general massacre, in which Şeyk Mîrzâ-ye Özbeg and about fifteen thousand people, both military and civilians, were put to death. Mîrzâ Bâbor interceded with Emir Najm in an attempt to save the life of a number of the inhabitants of Qarşî who were members of Çagatay tribes, but in vain. This incident became a cause of dissension between Emir Najm and Bâbor. Again, the *sadr* Emir Mohammad b. Yûsuf⁶⁸ put in a plea for the life of a number of *seyyeds* who had taken refuge in the Masjed-e Jâme', but this request too was refused, and a large number of *seyyeds* were put to death. This action proved to be unlucky for Emir Najm.

After the massacre at Qarşî, he marched against the fortress of Göjdovân, which was held by Mohammad Timûr Sultan and Abû Sa'id Sultan. The siege dragged on for four months, and food supplies in the *qezelbâš* camp began to run short. The troops were subjected to short rations of food and of fodder for their animals. When Abdollâh Khan and Jânî Beg Sultan, who were at Bokhara, heard of the plight of the *qezelbâš*, they assembled an army and marched against Emir Najm. Mohammad Timûr Sultan left the fort of Göjdovân and joined them. Battle was joined on Sunday, 3 Ramażân 918/12 November 1512,⁶⁹ within sight of Göjdovân. Beyrâm Khan Qarâmânlu who was the commander and led the vanguard of the *qezelbâš* army, was fatally wounded by an arrow and fell from his horse. This blow caused the vanguard to turn and flee, and the Uzbegs, correspondingly encouraged, made a concerted charge. The *qezelbâš* emirs were scattered, and the Safavid center was thrown into confusion. Mohammad Bâbor Mîrzâ abandoned his position on the wing, and withdrew with his men to Hesâr-e Sâdmân. The *qezelbâš* emirs, who were heartily sick of the haughty airs and arrogance of Emir Najm, made no effort to defend him, and he was taken prisoner and put to death. Some of the nobles of Khorasan, crossing the Oxus at KarkI, reached Khorasan.

This disaster occurred in 918/1512. The Uzbeg sultans, flushed with victory, resolved to subjugate Khorasan. They crossed the Oxus, and for a while the land of Khorasan was ravaged by the Uzbegs. When the news reached the Shah, who was in winter quarters at Qom, he decided on a second expedition to Khorasan. When the royal army reached Kalpûš, the Shah sent a number of emirs and a detachment of men in the direction of Tûs. The Uzbeg sultans, filled with alarm by the

⁶⁸See Savory, "Some Notes on the Provincial Administration of the Early Safavid Empire," in *BSOAS*, xxvii/1 (1964), pp. 114-29.

⁶⁹The third of Ramażân was actually on a Friday.

news of the Shah's approach, withdrew hastily across the Oxus. Once again, the provinces of Khorasan came under the sway of the officers of the Shah, who stayed there for some time. He severely punished a number of emirs who had been guilty of treason and cowardice at the battle of Čojdovān; he vented his wrath particularly on Dada Beg Taleš, the governor of Marv, who was forced to wear a woman's veil. A number of seditious persons, who during the Shah's absence from Khorasan had shown signs of being partisans of the Uzbegs and had persecuted and inflicted harm on Shi'ites,⁷⁰ were consumed in the fire of the Shah's wrath. The whole province was swept clean of the dross and rubbish of contumacious people, and the Shah, having placed the government of the province of Khorasan in the capable hands of Zeynal Khan Šāmlū, returned home.

The Battle of Čälderän⁷¹ between Shah Esma'il and the Ottoman Sultan, Selim

In the year 920/1514, when Shah Esma'il was enjoying himself in his summer quarters at Hamadan and in the pleasant retreats in that district, a report was spread abroad that Selim, the Ottoman sultan, was advancing on Iran. We must go back briefly to explain the background to this invasion.

Sultan Bāyazīd, who was ruler of the Ottoman empire at the time when Esma'il emerged from Gilān to make his bid for power, had always observed the protocol necessary for a policy of close friendship and alliance, and the two powers had followed the path of entente. In 917/1511, however, Sultan Selim rebelled against his father and civil war broke out. The army leaders, and particularly the Janissary corps, banded together and put Sultan Selim on the throne and deprived Bāyazīd of all power. Bāyazīd, falling sick through grief at this turn of events, died in 918/1512, and Sultan Selim inherited the throne and the crown.

Sultan Ahmet b. Sultan Bāyazīd, who was in Anatolia at the time of his father's death, had the *ḳotba* pronounced in his own name, but the emirs and the viziers lured him by means of a ruse to Istanbul, where they put him to death. They then dispatched an army against his son Sultan Morad who, fearful of the troops of his paternal uncle, fled to

⁷⁰Many Shi'ites had been put to death at Herat by Timur Sultan (See Savory, Consolidation, p. 81).

⁷¹In the province of Azerbaijan, northwest of Koy.

Esma'il and entered his service at Isfahan, where he was received with favor. Shortly afterwards, however, Sultan Morād died. Sultan Selīm suspected Shah Esma'il of supporting Sultan Morād. Furthermore, he was angered by the activities of Nūr 'Alī Kalifa Rūmlū, the governor of Arzenjān. Nūr 'Alī, fighting side by side with Sultan Morād, had defeated Senān Pasha with heavy losses, the Pasha himself being killed. Sultan Selīm therefore bore a grudge against Shah Esma'il which blossomed into open hostility. Disputes over various forts in Dīār Bakr added fuel to the flames, and gradually, for a variety of reasons, the causes of war between the two sides increased.

Finally, in 920/1514, Selīm marched on Azerbaijan with a huge army. He sent a letter to Shah Esma'il, telling him of his approach. Esma'il had moved from Isfahan to his summer quarters at Hamadan without any thought of war and conflict with the Ottomans. Informed of the Ottoman sultan's inopportune arrival, he did not pause to mobilize the armies of Iran; impetuously, with such troops as he had with him, he hastened to meet the enemy. On Wednesday, 2 Rajab 920/23 August 1514, in the plain of Čālderān, a district of Koy, he drew up his twenty thousand men in their battle stations, facing the overwhelmingly superior forces of the Ottomans.⁷²

The Ottomans, as was their usual practice, constructed a barricade of gun carriages and chains in front and behind their forces. Twelve thousand Janissaries, armed with muskets, were stationed under the cover of the gun carriages. Sultan Selīm, having constructed this strong center of firepower as his main defense, saw to the disposition of the center and the wings. On the Safavid side, Khan Moḥammad Ostājlū, who had just arrived from Dīār Bakr with his seasoned troops, counseled against a frontal attack because of the strength of the Ottoman artillery. "We must," he said, "give battle to them when they are on the move." Dürmīš Khan, however, with arrogant pride in his own bravery, did not accept this advice, and the Shah said: "I am not a caravan-thief. Whatever is decreed by God, will occur." And Khan Moḥammad fell silent.

Shah Esma'il stationed Khan Moḥammad in the van of the Safavid army, supported by Sārū Pīra qūrcībašī Ostājlū, the brother of Mantašā Sultan. On the right wing, he stationed several of the great emirs, including Dürmīš Kan Šamlū, Nūr 'Alī Kalifa Rūmlū, Kolafa Beg, Hoseyn Beg Lala, and Kalil Solṭān Zu'l-Qadar. On the left, he

⁷²See Savory, *Consolidation*, p. 87.

placed the Ostājlū khans and sultans, the sons of Baba Elyās Čaušlū, and others. Esma'il himself was in command of the Safavid center. Seyyed Mohammad Kamūna, who was enrolled in the ranks of the emirs, Mīr 'Abd al-Baqī the vizier,⁷³ and Mīr Seyyed Šarīf the *sadr*, were stationed in the center with the Shah. The warriors on both sides leapt to the attack, and the battle was soon raging furiously.

According to the *Jahān-ārā*, and this is confirmed by general report, Shah Esma'il, while his troops were taking up their stations for battle, went off to hunt quail, and returned to the battlefield after the fighting had started. A certain Malqoč-oğlū,⁷⁴ a renowned Ottoman warrior and one of the champions of the age, was stationed in the Ottoman van. He was constantly boasting to the other Ottoman nobles that there was no one in the enemy ranks worthy of giving battle to him except the Shah himself. In the course of the battle, that vile, evil man girded himself to engage in combat with the Shah. With a group of intrepid Ottoman warriors, he reached the Safavid center and challenged the Shah to single combat. Although that base fellow, whose life was forfeit, was not an opponent of sufficient caliber to merit the attention of such a powerful monarch, or to justify his going out to meet him in combat, nevertheless Shah Esma'il, impelled by his sense of honor, galloped out to meet him, against the advice of the loyal emirs and without the assistance of any of his men. Armed with his Heydarī sword, which resembled the famous blade *Zu'l-Faqār*,⁷⁵ he charged at that ill-fated fellow with such fury and hostility that the latter was bereft of his senses by the violence of the Shah's assault. He remained paralyzed with fear, incapable of movement, and the Shah struck him a blow that cleft both chain mail and steel breastplate, and hurled his vile corpse to the ground. A shout went up from both armies, and the cherubim sang their praises of the Shah's strength and power.

Then the two armies hurled themselves at each other, and the air was darkened by the clouds of dust. Shah Esma'il entered that frightful field in person, supervising the course of the battle and performing deeds of valor surpassing those of Sām and Esfandiār.⁷⁶ It is a matter of record among the Ottomans that the Shah several times forced his

⁷³This is a mistake. Mīr 'Abd al-Baqī was not the vizier, but the *sadr*, and Mīr Seyyed Šarīf was a former *sadr*.

⁷⁴The Malqoč-oğlū family was descended from a Greek renegade named Malco. By about 1587 there was only one representative of the family left, and he was a *sanjaq-bey* in Greece (information courtesy of G. M. Meredith-Owens).

⁷⁵The sword of Ali.

⁷⁶Two heroes of the Iranian national epic, the *Sah-nāma*. Sām was the grandfather of the renowned Rostam, and Esfandiār was a legendary king of Iran.

horse right up to the gun carriages and the barricade, and with blows of his sword severed the chains linking the gun carriages. When the *qezelbāš* warriors reached the gun carriages, they hacked to pieces with their swords about three hundred Janissaries who were stationed behind the carriages. However, the Janissaries and artillerymen bent themselves to their task, and the volume of fire from the heavy artillery, light cannon (*żarbzan*), and muskets was such that smoke blotted out the brightness of the day. Large numbers of *qezelbāš* who had flung themselves fearlessly into that maelstrom were cut down by musket fire. Khan Mohammad Ostājlū, who was in the forefront of the Safavid army, was struck by a cannonball and killed, along with a considerable number of the Ostājlū contingent.

When the Ottomans realized that the Shah was no longer present in the Safavid center, they directed their fiercest attacks and their heaviest fire against the center, which was thrown into confusion by the Ottoman artillery and light cannon. Seyyed Mohammad Kamūna, Mīr 'Abd al-Bāqī, and Mīr Seyyed Šarīf the *sadr*,⁷⁷ who were in the Safavid center, were all killed. Of the great emirs, the following lost their lives: Sārū Pīra *qürçibāši* Ostājlū; Hoseyn Beg Lala; Khan Mohammad Ostājlū; the sons of Bābā Elyās Čāušlū; and a number of others. In addition, Sultan 'Alī Afšār, mistaken for the Shah, was taken prisoner and led before Sultan Selim. When he revealed his real name, he was put to death on the spot.

When Shah Esma'il recognized the Ottoman superiority in numbers and saw the confusion in the Safavid ranks and the destruction of the center, he commanded that the war trumpets be sounded. Three hundred men rallied to his standard. At the pressing insistence and urgent entreaty of his loyal companions, the Shah was forced to abandon the field. As he did so, he and his companions clashed with the troop of Ottomans which had shattered the Safavid center and was returning to its own lines. The Shah broke through their ranks and continued on his way. En route, his horse sank into a bog, whereupon Kezr Aqa Ostājlū brought up his own horse and mounted the Shah on it. He then extracted the Shah's horse from the bog and followed on behind, later to be received by the Shah at Darjozīn.⁷⁸

Thus the Shah, with a small band of his close companions, retreated from the field of Čalderān, and reached Darjozīn. His intention

⁷⁷See above, note 73.

⁷⁸Persic Dargozīn, situated north of Hamadan.

was to mobilize his forces and to give battle to the Ottomans, this time from a position of strength. Sultan Selim, in order to glory in his triumph, entered Tabriz,⁷⁹ but did not occupy the city for more than five or six days. As he had a healthy respect for the fighting qualities of the *qezelbāš* and for the Shah's impetuosity and personal bravery, he regretted his boldness and audacity in advancing as far as Tabriz, and decided that it would be more prudent to withdraw and retire to Ottoman territory.

According to verbal reports and popular accounts, the casualties at Čälderān were heavy. But Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū⁸⁰, the historian, states that according to most reliable accounts, five thousand men were killed, of whom three thousand were Ottomans and two thousand *qezelbāš*, and that the total casualties did not exceed this number.⁸¹ When the news of the Ottoman withdrawal reached Darjozīn, the Shah marched jauntily back to his capital, Tabriz, and devoted himself to repairing the damage caused by the passage of the Ottoman army in that area.

After his victory at Čälderān, Sultan Selim marched to Arzenjān and laid siege to the fortress of Kāk, which had been entrusted to Dīv Soljān Varsāq. Dīv Sultan had gone to join the Shah and had left the fort in the charge of his brother, Yūsuf Sultan, and three hundred Varsāq *gāzis*. Sultan Selim sent a message to the garrison, offering them quarter and calling on them to join his colors. The *gāzis* replied, "Just because our spiritual director and master has suffered a slight setback in battle, we are not prepared to renounce our obligation to support him and to exchange disloyalty for fidelity. As long as there is breath in our bodies, we shall fight the enemies of the Shah." The Ottomans then assaulted the castle, and stormed it. The *gāzis* retreated to the Masjed-e Jāme'. Since the situation was desperate, they drew their swords and, holding their shields above their heads, made a sally into the Ottoman ranks. All died fighting. Sultan Selim occupied the fort, and then marched against Alā al-Dowla. He then annexed the province of Diār Bakr, as will be described below. After that, no further hostile act was committed by Sultan Selim against the Safavids.

Without doubt God, in His most excellent wisdom, had decreed that

⁷⁹The chief city of the province of Azerbaijan and at that time the capital of Iran.

⁸⁰Author of the *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh*, an important 16th-century Safavid chronicle. The author was himself a *qezelbāš* officer.

⁸¹Ḥasan-e Rūmlū's figures seem low; for other sets of figures, see Savory, *Consolidation*, p. 90.

Shah Esma'il should suffer a reverse at the battle of Čalderān, for had he been victorious in this battle too, there would have been a danger that the belief and faith of the unsophisticated *qezelbāš* in the authority of the Shah would have reached such heights that their feet might have strayed from the straight path of religious faith and belief, and they might have fallen into serious error.⁸²

After the battle of Čalderān, the governorship of Diār Bakr was given to Qarā Khan, the brother of Khan Mohammad Ostājlū, and Qarā Khan took up residence at Mārdīn. But the inhabitants of the city of Āmed, also known as Qarā Ḥamīd, broke their allegiance to the Safavids, called in the Ottomans, and handed over the city to them. Qarā Khan, marching from Mārdīn, gave battle to an Ottoman army of five thousand men and defeated them, with most of the Ottoman force being wiped out. When Qarā Khan reached Āmed, he found the inhabitants in league with the Ottomans, and despaired of capturing the fort there. The city therefore remained in Ottoman hands, while the Safavids retained control of the rest of the province.

However, in 922/1516–17, the second year of Qarā Khan's governorship, the Ottomans sent twenty thousand infantry and cavalry to Diār Bakr. Qarā Khan, together with Dürmīš Khan Qajār, engaged the Ottoman army at Olang-e Qorūq near Mārdīn, and again defeated the Ottomans. But, while pursuing the enemy, he was struck by a stray bullet and fell dead from his horse. At this mischance, the *qezelbāš* scattered in all directions, and the Ottomans were able to convert total defeat into victory. Reinforcements arrived from Turkey, the Ottomans annexed the province of Diār Bakr, and *qezelbāš* influence disappeared from that region. When the Shah received the news of the first Ottoman incursion, he delegated a force to go to the assistance of Qarā Khan, but on receiving the report of the latter's death, he canceled the order.⁸³

After Čalderān, the Shah, despite his preoccupation with essential matters of state, devoted himself night and day to making plans for a blockade and an invasion of Ottoman territory. In the year 926/1520, however, Sultan Selīm died, and his son Sultan Sūlāymān succeeded him. Since no signs of hostility were observed on the part of the new

⁸²For details of the extent to which the *qezelbāš* already worshipped Shah Esma'il as a semi-divine being, see Savory, *Consolidation*, pp. 91ff. (N.B.: At this point we return to the printed text after a lengthy lacuna.)

⁸³The first indication of the change wrought in Shah Esma'il by his defeat at Čalderān (see Savory, *Consolidation*, pp. 91ff).

sultan, the '*olamā*' did not consider it legitimate to launch an expedition against territory forming part of the Islamic world (*dār al-eslām*) in the absence of some hostile move on the part of the enemy.⁸⁴ On the contrary, Sultan Sūlaymān, in the early years of his reign, led his armies against Russia and Europe, and was engaged in plundering raids and holy war against the infidel. This aroused in the Shah also a desire to plunder infidel lands, and accordingly, for several years, he sent his forces against the Georgians, seeking the rewards of pillage, while he himself devoted his time to merrymaking and life at court.⁸⁵

About this time, Shah Esma'il decided to appoint one of the royal princes to the governorship of Khorasan, and to dispatch him to that province. Initially, he selected his eldest son, Tahmāsp Mīrzā,⁸⁶ who was already showing signs of ability to rule, and sent him to Khorasan with Emir Khan Mowṣellū as his *lala*⁸⁷—the latter having actual administrative authority in his hands. After a while, Tahmāsp Mīrzā was recalled by the Shah and replaced by Sām Mīrzā, with Dürmīš Khan as his *lala*.⁸⁸ During the remaining years of Shah Esma'il's reign, the province of Khorasan was peaceful and secure.

In 926/1519–20, Shaikh Shah, the ruler of Šīrvān, came to court and made a present to the Shah of all he possessed, and wished to be considered as one of the Shah's loyal servants. In addition, his daughter, who had been chastely reared in the royal house of Šīrvān, became one of the virtuous inmates of Shah Esma'il's harem. In consideration of these services to the Shah, the position of ruler of Šīrvān was again granted to him.

In the year 930/1524, death, the destroyer of earthly delights, visited Shah Esma'il, as he entered upon his thirty-eighth year of life.⁸⁹

⁸⁴Surely Eskandar Monšī does not expect us to believe this! The argument is entirely specious. In the first place, there is no evidence that Shah Esma'il was planning a retaliatory expedition against Ottoman territory; indeed, all the evidence points in the opposition direction (see Savory, *Consolidation*, pp. 93ff). Secondly, the '*olamā*' had never before been so scrupulous about the turning of Safavid arms against fellow Muslims. Third, one must remember that, at this early period in the history of the Safavid state, the religious institution was still subordinate to the political institution, the head of which was the Shah, and it is highly improbable that Shah Esma'il, had he really intended to invade the Ottoman Empire, would have been deflected from his purpose by the opinions of the '*olama*'.

⁸⁵After Čälderän, Shah Esma'il never again led his troops into action in person.

⁸⁶Born in 919/1520. He was sent to Khorasan in 922/1516.

⁸⁷'Guardian, mentor.'

⁸⁸In 927/1521.

⁸⁹This is, of course, according to the lunar calendar. Shah Esma'il was born in 892/1487.

He died at a place called Mänqütäy, near Saräb,⁹⁰ and was buried in the holy mausoleum of Shaikh Şafî at Ardabil. Various chronograms give the date of his death. These include: "May his resting place be peaceful!"; "Defender of the Faith"; and "the Shadow of God upon earth."⁹¹

Shah Esma'il left four sons, all of them infants; Tahmâsp Mîrzâ; Bahrâm Mîrzâ (the mother of both of these princes was the daughter of one of the Mowsellû Turkman emirs); Alqâs Mîrzâ; and Sâm Mîrzâ (born of different mothers). There is no point in listing the names of the daughters of Shah Esma'il. The Shah had an excellent natural talent for poetry, but most of his poems were composed in Turkish,⁹² under the pen name of Kaçâ'î. Because he was a contemporary of Sultan Selîm, Mowlânâ Omîdî composed the following occasional verse, which alludes to this:

Destiny, in the celestial workshop,
Fashioned both Selîm and Kaçâ'î.

⁹⁰Sarâb is a district near Tabriz.

⁹¹All three chronograms give the correct date: 930/1524.

⁹²In the Azari dialect of Turkish.

The Life and Times of Shah Tahmasp (God's Mercy and Benediction Be upon Him!)

Of the sons of Shah Esma'il, Tahmasp, his eldest son, was most fit to succeed him on the throne of Kosrow and Key-Qobād. Tahmasp was born on Wednesday, 26 Zu'l-Hejja 919/22 February 1514, in the borough of Šahabād, in the district of Isfahan. Those whose business it was to forecast events considered the fact that Tahmasp was born in a place called Šahabād, "the king's abode," a happy augury, foretelling his kingship and imperial rule. The astrologers, who understood the subtleties of the astrolabe, predicted on the basis of his horoscope that he would soon grace the throne of Kosrow, and that his reign would illumine the earth. The divinely inspired chronogram of his birth is "The world-illuminating sun."¹

During the reign of Shah Esma'il, Tahmasp, while still an infant, was elevated above his other brothers by being appointed governor of Khorasan, and he grew up in the city of Herat.² When his *lala*, Emir Khan Mowṣellū, was guilty of conduct displeasing to the Shah and was dismissed from his post, Tahmasp returned to court and remained at his father's side. From an early age his conduct portended his future kingship and imperial rule, and his brow shone with the light of his future status as the Shadow of God upon Earth.³ After his father's death, Tahmasp was invested with the authority and attributes of kingship. In his eleventh year⁴ he ascended the throne in accordance with the Koranic prescription: "God commands you to make over what is held in trust to those who are entitled to it."⁵

Tahmasp ascended the throne on Monday, 19 Rajab in the Year of the Monkey, corresponding to the year 930 of the Muslim calendar (1524), and the divinely inspired chronogram for this event is "He took the place of his father." Because of his deep faith and sincere belief in 'Ali, Tahmasp used to call himself "the servant of 'Ali"; and by a

¹This chronogram gives the correct date, 919/1514.

²Herat, now in Afghanistan, was formerly Persian territory. In 1856 Nāṣer al-Dīn Shah, by the terms of the Treaty of Paris, was forced to renounce all claim to it. In Safavid times, Herat was the capital of the province of Khorasan.

³The Shah was the living emanation of the godhead, the Shadow of God upon earth. Since he had divine sanction for his authority, his rule was necessarily absolute.

⁴He was 10 1/2 years old.

⁵Koran: 4:59.

happy coincidence, the words "Tahmasp, the servant of 'Ali," also constitute a chronogram of the date of his accession.⁶ Tahmasp was a pious king and a just ruler, intent on preserving the canon law.

Helped by divine assistance and favored by divine grace, the young Tahmasp sat at the feet of the finest scholars of the age and studied the essential consequences of the seven planets and the four elements. In philosophy and science he outdid Aristotle and Alexander, and in the arts of government he surpassed Jamšid and Kosrow.

At the beginning of his reign, the affairs of state, for a variety of reasons, were in confusion. The ill-starred foes of the Safavid state, who were waiting for just such an opportunity, cast covetous eyes on the realm of Iran, which is the choicest part of the inhabited world and the seat of the throne of the Keyānian monarchs.⁷ Consequently, they began to cause disturbances. Among the emirs and the principal officers of state, disputes occurred in regard to the office of *vakil*,⁸ and these disputes, fanned by tribal rivalries, ended in civil war.⁹ Every few minutes, another great emir or elder of the state took charge of the office of *vakil*, and administered the affairs of state with full authority. During the early part of his reign, Tahmasp, because of his tender years, for a while neglected the affairs of state.

Part of his time he spent in observing the world around him and the situation in which God had placed him. Part of his time, partly through natural inclination, and partly at the behest of his spiritual director, he spent in assaying his physical nature, in which he acknowledged a weakness, against the pure substance of the devotion of men possessed of true insight and fidelity to God. For a while too, he protected his person from the violence of ambitious men of impure metal. Armed with felicity and guided by his youthful fortune, Tahmasp succeeded, despite the profusion of his enemies and the paucity of his helpers, not only in preserving his own person, but also in protecting the state.

When the stripling grew tall and flourished, and reached the age of maturity and discretion, with God's help, and through the strength of

⁶Both these chronograms give the correct date, 980/1524.

⁷The second of the legendary dynasties of rulers of Iran.

⁸In the early Safavid period, the office of *vakil* was the most important of the principal offices of state, because the *vakil* was the vicegerent and alter ego of the Shah, and represented him in both his temporal and spiritual capacities.

⁹For details, see R. M. Savory, "The Principal Offices of the Safavid State during the Reign of Tahmasp I (980-984/1524-76)," in *BSOAS*, XXIV, part 1 (1961), pp. 65-85 (hereinafter referred to as Savory, Offices II).

his own sure judgment and by virtue of his abundant knowledge and perfect wisdom, he removed from the scene, by means of skillful policies, ambitious emirs and proud and arrogant men, and himself took charge of the business of government and the administration of the state.¹⁰ The enemies of the state, who lurked in ambush, were destroyed by the flashing stroke of his flaming sword, and his aspiration to rule and to govern was brought to fruition, as was right and proper. He achieved such authority and independence of rule that no one had the opportunity to oppose his commands, to which obedience was obligatory.

The praiseworthy qualities of Shah Tahmasp, the ruler chosen by God, are beyond enumeration, and it is beyond the power of the pens of the secretaries of the secretariat to describe them. A detailed description of the events of Tahmasp's reign, the battles he fought, his conquests, and other important incidents which occurred during his reign, has been given by the late Hasan Beg Rümlü, the historian, in his work entitled *Ahsan al-Tavārikh*,¹¹ which was written during the reign of Shah Tahmasp. The author of the present history is not qualified to go over this ground again. My most heartfelt wish is to record the events of the reign of Shah Abbas I; nevertheless, in order that this history, the *Tārikh-e Ālam-ārā*, may not be devoid of all mention of the life and times of Shah Tahmasp, I have decided to allow my pen license to do its best in this regard, and I make due apology for thus protracting and extending my history.

Shah Tahmasp ascended the throne with due ceremony. The office of *vakīl* was in the powerful hands of Dīv Sultan Rümlü,¹² who had come from Balk̄, and who had become *amīr al-omarā* after the death of Čayān Sultan Ostājlü.¹³ A year later (931/1524-25), Köpek Sultan Ostājlü, since he was the most senior of the emirs of the court, and commander in chief of the cavalry, entered into negotiations with Dīv Sultan regarding the office of *vakīl* and the administering of state affairs in general, and a quarrel soon developed between them.

At this juncture, news reached the royal camp of the invasion of

¹⁰This must refer to the year 940/1533-34, when Tahmasp asserted his royal authority and brought to an end the ten-year interregnum during which the *qezelbaš* had been de facto rulers of the state (see Savory, Offices II, p. 70). The MS. has a variant text at this point, but the printed text makes better sense.

¹¹The *Ahsan al-Tavārikh* is a chronological history of the early Safavids which concludes with the year 985/1577-78.

¹²See Savory, Offices II, pp. 77ff.

¹³The printed text has Kānān Sultan; the MS. has both Kānān and Jānān. The correct form appears to be Čayān.

Khorasan by Küçüm Khan and 'Obeyd Khan. Dīv Sultan judged it expedient in the circumstances to grant the office of *vakīl* to Köpek Sultan¹⁴ as a favor and in order to satisfy the latter's ambition. Then, giving as his excuse the necessity of marching to Khorasan to repulse the Uzbegs, he set off in that direction. Dīv Sultan sent orders to the great emirs of Fārs and Persian Iraq to mobilize, rendezvous with him, and together march against the enemy; he himself set up his camp in summer quarters at Lār. Within a short time, leading emirs such as Āūha Sultan Takkalū, the governor of Isfahan; Qarāja Sultan Takkalū; 'Alī Sultan the governor of Shiraz; and others, assembled at Lār with large forces. Dīv Sultan won over the great emirs to his side, to an even greater extent than previously, by his generosity and beneficence, his gifts and his flattering attentions. As a result, he asked for their assistance in wresting the office of *vakīl* from Köpek Sultan, to which they pledged their oath.

Since the Safavid forces already in Khorasan had proved adequate to deal with the situation there, Dīv Sultan, with the large army now at his disposal, began to advance on the royal camp at Tabriz. However much the Ostājlū emirs and nobles, particularly Qārenja Sultan, incited Köpek Sultan to resist their enemies by force and urged him to take up arms against them, Köpek Sultan refused. He said: "It would be a matter for regret if, for the sake of the transitory affairs of this world, fighting should break out between two valiant armies which are the servants of the same court, both faithful subjects of the Shah." Köpek Sultan determined to seek a settlement with Dīv Sultan, and marched from Tabriz to Torkmānkandi to meet him. The two emirs greeted each other warmly, and set off together for the royal court. In Čarandāb, a district of Tabriz, they were received by the Shah, who conferred the office of *vakīl* on Dīv Sultan. The latter then put to death Qārenja Sultan and a number of others whom he considered to be the authors of this discord, and sent Köpek Sultan, with the entire Ostājlū tribe, on a plundering expedition to Georgia. In this way, he kept him at a distance from his goal.¹⁵ Not satisfied with this, however, Dīv Sultan, during the absence of Köpek Sultan, and in order to win over the Takkalū emirs, canceled the *teyūls*¹⁶ of the Ostājlūs, and began to despoil them of their lands.

¹⁴On this extremely complicated question, see Savory, Offices II, pp. 65-67 and 77-78.

¹⁵The metaphor is from backgammon.

¹⁶The *teyūl* (*tøyül*) was an assignment on the revenue of a stated district. The *teyūldār*, or grantee, was armed with an official document which entitled him to collect various dues from the lands thus assigned to him. In many cases, the actual revenue was in excess of the official evaluation. The assignment of *teyūls* was, in Safavid times, one of the principal methods of paying the *qezelbāš* troops.

This action was both infelicitous and unwise. It led to hostility and enmity on the part of the Ostājlūs, and closed the door of harmony and unity. In the year 982/1526, Köpek Sultan came to Soljāniya, and there the rest of the Ostājlū emirs and nobles rallied round him—men like Mantaša Sultan, Farūq Sultan, Qelij Sultan, and others, and they girded themselves for action against Dīv Sultan. In the opposing camp, Dīv Sultan and Āhā Sultan talked of peace and expediency. They sent Qāsem Kalīfa Varsāq to admonish the Ostājlūs, in the hope of preventing them from confronting those who reposed in the shade of royal protection. Qāsem Kalīfa put forth all his efforts to dampen the fire of discord and to extinguish the flames of war. But the Ostājlūs had no faith in the word of Dīv Sultan; they had determined to fight it out, and consequently Qāsem Kalīfa's mission achieved nothing.

Both sides prepared for battle. With hearts full of sorrow, men sincerely devoted to the Safavid cause wept to see these two armies drawn up for battle, and asked sadly why both armies, in attendance on the Shah, could not band together in defense of the realm. In the event, however, a great battle was fought, and the Takkalū emirs were routed by the Ostājlūs. Bürün Sultan and Qarāja Sultan Takkalū were killed. When Köpek Sultan and Mantaša Sultan reached the royal center, they caught sight of the gilded ball on top of the royal standard; at once they abandoned the fight, and wheeled their horses round. The emirs and *qūrcīs*¹⁷ of the royal bodyguard who were in attendance on the Shah were sent, on the orders of Dīv Sultan, in pursuit of the Ostājlūs. A great number of the latter were slain, both men of note and otherwise. The Ostājlūs, stricken by misfortune and defeated, reached Abhar, and from there went to Gīlān, where they were given sanctuary by Możaffar Sultan, the governor of Rašt. The latter reinforced the Ostājlūs with seven thousand men.

For a second time, the Ostājlūs set out for the royal camp with war-

¹⁷The term *qūrcī* (from Mongolian *qorchi*, an archer) was originally used in a sense more or less equivalent to *qezelbaş*—i.e., the Turkman tribal cavalry which formed the basis of Safavid military power. The commander in chief of the *qūrcīs* was called the *qūrcībaş*, and TM, pp. 116–17, incorrectly states that in early Safavid times "his usual title seems to have been *amīr al-umārd*." In fact, however, the office of *qūrcībaş* was, from the inception of the Safavid state, distinct from that of the *amīr al-omārd* (see Savory, Offices I), although the relationship between the two is not clear. By the time of Shah Tahmasp, if not before, the *qūrcīs* had become an élite corps of the *qezelbaş* and formed the royal bodyguard. As a consequence, the power of the *qūrcībaş* steadily increased during the latter half of the reign of Shah Tahmasp, and under Shah Esma'il II and Sultan Mohammad Shah he was the most influential officer in the state (see Savory, Offices II, p. 79).

like intentions. On this occasion, the Shah took great exception to their action. Blazing with anger, he took the field against the Ostājlūs in person, and sent on ahead a detachment under Dīv Sultan, Āūha Sultan, and Moḩammad Khan Zu'l-Qadar-oğlū. When the advance guard of the royal army reached Manjil and Karzavīl, the Ostājlū emirs emerged from the forests of Gilān, and a second battle was fought. In the end, the royal army was victorious and large numbers of Gilānis were slain. Köpek Sultan, Mantašā Sultan, and Qazāq Sultan, utterly defeated, fled back to Gilān. Köpek Sultan spent his days and nights wondering how he could get his revenge on Dīv Sultan and Āūha Sultan, and get his hands on the office of *vakīl*.

The following year, in 933/1526–27, Köpek Sultan again emerged from Gilān and marched toward Ardabil. Bādenjān Sultan Rūmlū, who was ninety years of age and in his dotage, was at that time governor of Ardabil. With three or four thousand men drawn from the Rūmlū, Čeganī,¹⁸ and Ṭavāleš tribes, he marched out against the Ostājlū emirs. A battle was fought at Qarā Darra. Bādenjān Sultan was put to flight by the small Ostājlū force, and as he fled was overtaken and killed. The Ostājlū emirs entered Ardabil in triumph and visited the tombs of Shaikh Šāfi al-Dīn and the other exalted Safavid shaikhs (may God sanctify their graves!). From Ardabil they marched on Tabriz. When Shah Tahmasp heard of their coming, he ordered Dīv Sultan, Āūha Sultan, and Moḩammad Khan Zu'l-Qadar-oğlū, with seven thousand men plus one thousand men from the royal bodyguard, to move against them. Köpek Sultan and his companions, hearing of their approach, moved off toward Čokūr-e Sa'd.¹⁹ The other emirs and the *qūrcīs* from the royal *qūrcīs* overtook them at Šārūr²⁰ and gave battle. The Ostājlū emirs, on that day of decision, shouted that Zāl,²¹ the son of Sām, was giving them his blessing.

In the course of the battle, Moḩammad Khan Zu'l-Qadar-oğlū worked his way round to the rear of the Ostājlū force, and attacked from that quarter. Köpek Sultan received a mortal wound and died. Āūha Sultan and the Takkalū detachments kept up their attacks from the front. The death of Köpek Sultan caused the Ostājlūs to break and flee. Mantašā Sultan and Fārūq Sultan hacked their way through the enemy

¹⁸A Kurdish tribe.

¹⁹The area lying west of Gökča (Sevan) Lake, comprising the lowlands on both banks of the Aras River (see *TM*, p. 165).

²⁰The site of the decisive battle between Shah Esma'il and the Aq Qoyunlu Sultan Al-vand, in 907/1501.

²¹The father of the legendary Iranian hero Rostam.

ranks and, fighting valiantly, succeeded, though with great difficulty, in getting back to Gilān. Zu'l-Qadar-oğlū, thirsting for revenge against the Ostājlüs, who during the Safavid campaigns in Diār Bakr had put to death his father Kür Šahrok and his brothers,²² spared no effort on this battlefield.

Those Ostājlüs who survived the sword remained for a while in Gilān. The following year, 934/1527-28, Div Sultan was slain at the instigation of Ā Hüa Sultan, and the office of *vakīl* devolved upon the latter. In 936/1529-30, when the Ostājlüs had been in Gilān for about three years,²³ the royal standards were again raised, and the Shah marched against 'Obeyd Khan Uzbeg for the second time.²⁴ Mantaša Sultan, Färūq Sultan, Qazāq Sultan, and the rest of the Ostājlü emirs who were in Gilān returned to court, pledging their sincere devotion to the Shah. Carrying swords and winding sheets, they hastened to the court of the Lord of the World.²⁵ They were received by Shah Tahmasp at Sarafābād, a suburb of Qazvīn, where the Shah greeted them favorably and with conciliatory words and accepted them back into his service. Although Ā Hüa Sultan did not show them any favor or give them much attention, nevertheless he did not demonstrate any actual hostility or enmity toward them, and the Ostājlü emirs treated him with a feigned respect.

Ā Hüa Sultan constantly sought to ingratiate himself with the Shah, and to outward appearances his actions were pleasing, and day by day his power and influence grew. However, the excesses and arrogant behavior of the Takkalü tribe passed all reasonable bounds, and inwardly the Shah began to nurse a grudge against them. In 937/1530-31, when Ḥoseyn Khan Šamlü came from Shiraz and was received at Gandomān near Isfahan by the Shah, who displayed great favor toward him, Ā Hüa Sultan resented this turn of events and planned to kill Ḥoseyn Khan. Ḥoseyn Khan got wind of the Takkalü plot, and one night made his way to Ā Hüa Sultan's tent with a body of fully armed Šamlüs. Ā Hüa Sultan, in desperation, took refuge in the tent which served as the

²²This event occurred in 913/1507. See above.

²³If the period of three years is dated from the time the Ostājlüs first took refuge in Gilān (932/1526), this would give a date here of 935 and not 936. Three years from their *second* retreat to Gilān would, however, give 936. It is probable that, because of the fact that the Muslim and Christian years overlap, and since we do not have any indication of the *month* of the Muslim year involved, these events occurred in the Christian year 1529, either at the end of the Muslim year 935 or at the beginning of 936.

²⁴The previous occasion had been in 931/1524-25, but the royal army had not, in fact, marched to Khorasan (see above).

²⁵Lacuna in printed text at this point.

royal *dīvānkāna* (court of justice). Within the confines of the *dowlatkāna* (royal residence),²⁶ a skirmish took place between the Šāmlūs and the Takkalūs. One of the *Zu'l-Qadar qūrčīs* who were on guard duty, a certain Qeyşar Qorüglū, inflicted a mortal wound on Čūha Sultan, who then died. The Takkalūs, however, concealed the fact of his death, and continued the struggle. Ḥoseyn Khan fought on manfully throughout the night, but in the morning Takkalū reinforcements arrived, company after company, and he was overcome and forced to fly. Frustrated by not achieving his goal, he retreated to Isfahan.

A large number of Šāmlū youths were slain in this encounter. The Takkalū emirs made Čūha Sultan's eldest son, Shah Qobād, *vakīl* in his father's place. They remained in a rebellious mood and sought revenge on all the other tribes—Šāmlūs, Ostājlūs, Zū'l-Qadars and Afšārs. In consequence, the latter tribes were forced to take up arms against them, and a battle was fought between them and the Takkalūs near the *emāmzāda*²⁷ of Sahl 'Alī near Hamadan. The Takkalū emirs, whose ambition was to regain the power and independence they had enjoyed during the time of Čūha Sultan, rushed in a group to the *dowlatkāna* with the intention of seizing possession of the Shah and then carrying on the fight against their enemies. Shah Tahmasp, who was much displeased with the actions of the Takkalū tribe, gave orders—and this was the first true indication of his determination to rule—that those headstrong and arrogant men should be repulsed. The *qūrčīs* of the royal bodyguard who were stationed in the *dowlatkāna* loosed a hail of arrows at them, and the Takkalūs, despairing of securing the compliance of the Shah, fled. Misfortune and humiliation were to be their lot, and many of them met their death.

"The Takkalū disaster" is the chronogram for this event (937/1530-31).²⁸ After the event, the Takkalūs, now stricken by remorse, set off toward Baghdad. On their arrival there, Moḥammad Ḵān Šaraf al-Dīn-oğlū Takkalū, the governor of Baghdad, put to death Qondūz Sultan, Ḥoseyn Sultan, and a number of other Takkalū troublemakers who had been guilty of improper conduct, and sent their heads to court. The

²⁶*Dowlatkāna* normally means "royal palace." When the king was in the field, the term applied to the large tent or marquee in which the king resided.

²⁷*Emāmzādas* are a common sight in Iran. They consist of a shrine or mausoleum erected over the grave of some local shaikh or holy man. They are the object of veneration and, in some cases, of pilgrimage.

²⁸The correct chronogram is *ṭifat-e takkalū*, not *ṭifat-e takkalūyān*, as given by Eskandar Monṣī.

Shah then issued a letter of appointment, indicative of royal favor, in the name of Ḥoseyn Khan Šamlū. Ḥoseyn Khan was summoned from Isfahan, and the office of *amīr al-omarā*²⁹ of the exalted *qezelbāš* tribes was conferred on him and on 'Abdollah Khan Ostājlū, both of whom were nephews of Shah Esma'il.

The dissension and quarreling among the tribes died down. Men of integrity subordinated their own interests to obeying the will of the *moršed-e kāmel*, and they reverted to more seemly conduct. The Shah began to take the affairs of state into his own hands and to demonstrate his independence and autocratic power. Nevertheless, Olāma Takkalū, who had risen from a humble position to high rank and was at that time *amīr al-omarā*³⁰ of Azerbaijan, refused to be warned and aspired to become *vakīl* and *moktār al-salṭana* in place of Āḥūa Sultan. Obsessed by this vain idea, he moved on the royal camp with a force of cavalry.

When Shah Tahmasp heard the news of his seditious intent, he marched against him. Filled with terror, Olāma fled back to Azerbaijan like the wind and shut himself up in the fortress of Vān. Subsequently, he withdrew his allegiance from the Safavid house and, being flattered with fair words by the Ottoman Sultan Sūlaymān, he departed for Istanbul. Once there, he busied himself with stirring up trouble for the Safavids. Sultan Sūlaymān invaded Iran on four occasions, with very large forces.³¹ On each occasion Shah Tahmasp, seeking assistance from the forces of the Unseen and from the infallible grace of God, succeeded in repelling this threat, by virtue of the steadfastness and sureness of his judgment, and because of the excellence of his strategy. The first invasion was instigated by Olāma; the second resulted from the evil suggestion of Čāzī Khan Takkalū and Zu'l-Qadar-oğlū; the third was instigated by the lying words of Alqāṣ Mirzā,³² and the fourth was caused by the villainy of Eskandar Pasha, the governor of Erzerum. A brief narrative of these events will be given after we have given an account of happenings in Khorasan.

²⁹Lit.: commander in chief. During this decade of *qezelbāš* supremacy, this office was frequently confused with that of *vakīl*; see Savory, Offices II, pp. 71ff.

³⁰I.e., military governor. This title is not to be confused with that of the *amīr ol-omard*, the commander in chief of the *qezelbāš* forces, who was an officer of the central administration.

³¹In 940/1533-34; 941/1534-35; 955/1548; and 961/1555.

³²Shah Tahmasp's brother, who hoped to overthrow the Shah with Ottoman support.

A Narrative of Events in Khorasan, and of the Incursions by the Uzbeg Khans into Those Pleasant Regions after the Death of Shah Esma'il

'Obeyd Khan b. Mahmûd Solṭân b. Abu'l-Keyr Khan b. Dowlat Şeyk-oğlan, who was of the line of Šîbân b. Jočî b. Çengîz Khan, and was the undoubted nephew of the above-mentioned Seybak Khan b. Büdag Solṭân b. Abu'l-Keyr Khan, had always cast covetous eyes on the land of Khorasan, and in particular wanted the city of Herat. Through fear of the might of Esma'il's sword, and as a result of the disaster which overtook Seybak Khan,³³ 'Obeyd had crawled back to Bokhara and held his peace. After the death of Shah Esma'il, he took advantage of the youthfulness of Shah Tahmasp and of the dissension among the willful *qezelbâš* emirs; in view of the fact that the land of Iran was without a master and had fallen into the hands of a number of powerful usurpers, he sharpened his ambition to conquer Khorasan. He invaded that province six times, but never achieved a permanent occupation. Every time Shah Tahmasp mobilized the royal army and moved against him, he retreated. Although he had repeated this maneuver many times with the same result, nevertheless, whenever the Shah was absent, he returned to Khorasan, capturing castles and ravaging the countryside. In short, for a period of twelve years, the people of Khorasan knew no respite from the attacks, ravages, and tyrannical acts of 'Obeyd Khan.

The First Invasion of Khorasan by 'Obeyd Khan

In the same year that the news of the death of Shah Esma'il reached Transoxania, 'Obeyd Khan summoned to his aid the Çengizid khans and sultans, and crossed the Oxus to invade Khorasan. In his army was Küçüm Khan b. Abu'l-Keyr Khan, who had raised the banners of sovereignty in Samarkand, and who had had his name stamped on the coinage and mentioned in the *koṭba* in use throughout Transoxania and Turkestan, all done with the authority of the law and custom of Genghis Khan.³⁴ Also in his army were Abû Sa'îd Sultan and Sevînjük Mohammad Sultan, the governor of Tashkent. Dürmiş Khan Sâmlû, the guardian (*lala*) of Sâm Mirzâ, and governor-general of Khorasan, strengthened the citadel and fortifications of Herat, and prepared to withstand a siege. He stationed seasoned troops to guard the gates, and laid in the necessary provisions. The Uzbeg sultans arrived before Herat with a powerful army and encircled the city, each leader

³³He was defeated and killed by Shah Esma'il at the battle of Marv in 1510.

³⁴For the *yâzâ*, or law of Genghis Khan, see W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, London, 1928, pp. 41-42.

camping on a different side. Every day the Uzbegs attacked the city, and for several months bitter fighting went on. The Šamlū *gazis* put up a stout resistance and prevented anyone from getting near the citadel.

One day, in the Bāg-e Morād, 'Obeyd Khan and Sevīnjük Mōhammad Sultan had arranged a banquet and were enjoying the social occasion. The Uzbeg troops were on guard in the Bāg-e Safid. Dürmiš Khan sent a detachment of Šamlū troops in that direction, and a fierce engagement took place in the Bāg-e Safid. The Uzbeg troops were defeated, and the news reached 'Obeyd Khan that the *gazis* had penetrated into the Bāg-e Morād. The Uzbeg leaders terminated their festivities in such a panic that Sevīnjük Mōhammad Sultan fell into the river. 'Obeyd Khan, with extreme difficulty, succeeded in getting hold of a packhorse and fleeing back to his own camp. Eventually, wearying of the siege and despairing of capturing the citadel, the Uzbegs struck camp and went back to their own lands.

The Second Invasion of Khorasan by 'Obeyd Khan

The following year (931/1524–25), Dürmiš Khan died. Furthermore, Bürün Sultan Takkalū, the governor of Mašhad, was killed in the civil war between the Takkalūs and the Ostājlūs, and the news of his death eventually reached Mašhad. In consequence, the administration of Khorasan fell into some disorder, and there was no commander left in the province of sufficient presence to withstand the Uzbegs. At the same time, the emirs at the royal camp were at loggerheads with one another—a situation which led to civil war. When this news reached 'Obeyd Khan, who was still infatuated by his ambition to conquer Khorasan and had no intention of giving up his claim to it, he took advantage of the situation.

In 932/1525–26, 'Obeyd Khan crossed the Oxus at Čahār Jū,⁵⁵ and reached Marv. From there, accompanied by the Uzbeg sultans and warriors, he pressed on to surround Mašhad, where Bürün Sultan's family was staying. The *qezelbaš gazis* who had assembled in the city from distant parts defended the city valiantly for a time, but eventually they were reduced to extremities by lack of provisions and widespread starvation. Since no hope of relief appeared from any quarter, 'Obeyd Khan finally occupied the city and, leaving one of his trusted emirs in charge, marched on Astarābād. When he neared Astarābād, Zeynal Khan Šamlū, the governor of the city, sent out a reconnaissance party

⁵⁵Situated on the left bank of the Oxus, 120 miles northeast of Marv, Čahār Jū was one of the principal crossing places. Its earlier name was Āmol or Āmūya.

consisting of a detachment of seasoned and experienced men. The Safavid scouts clashed with the Uzbeg advance guard, who were at least double their number; the Safavids, seeing the numerical superiority of the enemy, decided to retreat and fell back, fighting all the way to the city, sixteen miles away.

Zeynal Khan and the *gazis* removed their families from Astarābād and retired to Rayy. 'Obeyd Khan conferred Astarābād on his son, 'Abd al-'Azīz Khan, and returned to Balk. When the news of the Uzbeg insurrection and their annexation of the province of Astarābād reached the royal camp, Aķı Sultan Takkalū, Demiri Sultan Şamlū, the father of Ağzıvär Khan, and Shah 'Alı Sultan Ostajlū were dispatched to the assistance of Zeynal Khan with a detachment of *qezel-bāš* troops. They met at Rayy and marched together on Astarābād. 'Abd al-'Azīz Khan did not contest the matter, but abandoned the city and rejoined his father. The Safavid emirs entered the city; 'Obeyd Khan, still fired by envious rivalry, marched back toward Besṭām. Aķı Sultan, Demiri Sultan, and Shah 'Alı Sultan, who had marched out from Astarābād as the Safavid vanguard, met 'Obeyd Khan on the grassy plain of Besṭām. The Safavid vanguard did not number more than three thousand men, whereas the Uzbeg force was in excess of twenty thousand. Although common sense dictated that the small Safavid force should not give battle, the Uzbegs were upon them and the Safavid emirs had no choice but to fight. They therefore had to draw themselves up for battle, and a bitter struggle ensued. The Safavid soldiers acquitted themselves so valiantly that day that the very heavens stood amazed, and among the Uzbegs the battle of Besṭām is still a byword for courage among high and low. Aķı Sultan repeatedly hurled his men against 'Obeyd Khan's center and came within an ace of overthrowing it. But the warriors in the Uzbeg center matched them in valor. Aķı Sultan fell, struck by an arrow, and many Takkalūs died with him. 'Obeyd Khan gained a victory, and Demi I Sultan was taken prisoner and put to death.

Zeynal Khan, on hearing this news, evacuated the city and went to Fırūzkūh. This time, 'Obeyd Khan left Astarābād in the hands of a renowned Uzbeg emir named Zeyneş Bahādor, while he marched toward Herat. He sent scouts out in all directions and wintered at Ğuriān.

The following year (984/1526–28), 'Obeyd Khan attacked the citadel at Herat.³⁶ Hoseyn Khan Şamlū, who after the death of his brother

³⁶He had been repulsed from Herat on his first invasion of Khorasan, and had bypassed it on his second.

Dürmîš Khan had become governor of Herat, busied himself with provisioning the citadel and strengthening the walls and battlements, and made all the preparations for a siege. Both sides renewed the struggle, and the siege dragged on for seven months. When the stock of provisions in the citadel was exhausted, Hoseyn Khan sent out from the citadel all peasants, townspeople, and people from outlying districts. By distributing their rations among the *gāzis*, he managed to provision his troops for a few more days.

At this juncture, a report was spread abroad that Zeynal Khan had met his death at the hands of the Uzbegs. Zeynal Khan, together with Čekirge Sultan, the governor of Sabzavâr, had marched against Zeyneš Bahâdor. Zeyneš, initially overwhelmed, had emerged the victor, and both Zeynal Khan and Čekirge Sultan had been killed. Overjoyed at this news, the same day that he received it, 'Obeyd Khan ordered a general assault on the citadel, urged on by Yârî Bî, the son of Jân Vafa Mîrzâ, who was his commander in chief. The Uzbegs launched their attack from all sides, and the Šâmlûs, putting up a stout defense, left many Uzbegs dead around the walls of the citadel. Yârî Bî was struck by a musketball, and an unidentified musketeer cut off his head and took it to Hoseyn Khan. Dismayed by his death, 'Obeyd Khan's joy was turned into mourning. He realized that, despite his best efforts, the capture of Herat remained a remote possibility. At this moment, he received the news that the royal army was advancing on Khorasan, and that in a clash with the Safavid advance guard, Zeyneš Bahâdor had been killed. In grief and despair, he marched across the Pol-e Mâlân and took the road to Bokhara, intending to enlist the aid of the other Čengîzid emirs and return and invade Khorasan yet again.

The Third Invasion of Khorasan by 'Obeyd Khan, the Advance of the Royal Army, the Battle at Kosrowjerd, Near Jâm, and the Victory won by Shah Tahmasp, with God's Help

Since Shah Tahmasp, throughout his reign, committed to the will of God all matters pertaining both to religion and the state and put his trust in divine grace and favor, he was blessed by the Munificent Lord in regard to the attainment of his objects and goals, and on the battlefield he was victorious over his enemies. Among the battles that took place during his reign was the battle of Jâm, which Shah Tahmasp fought against 'Obeyd Khan and the Uzbeg khans, and in which he was victorious. This famous victory is still talked about and a brief account of it follows.

Couriers were coming one after the other from Khorasan to the royal court, begging for assistance. In that province, they said, a calamitous storm had arisen, and the inhabitants of that region had been overwhelmed by the Uzbeg flood. Accordingly, Shah Tahmasp consulted his emirs and principal officers of state, and the unanimous decision was made to march to Khorasan and drive out the Uzbegs.

The Safavid forces were mobilized, and the royal standards moved off in the direction of Khorasan. Āūha Sultan the *vakīl*, Olāma Sultan Takkalū, and Mohammad Khan Zu'l-Qadar-oğlū, with a detachment of *gāzīs*, left first as the Safavid advance guard. They laid siege to Damghan which was held by the Uzbeg commander Zeyneš Bahādor. They surrounded the citadel, constructed palisades, and pinned the Uzbegs down by musket fire. Every day a group of Uzbegs would make a sally and skirmish with the *gāzīs*. After several days of this sort of fighting, many of the Uzbeg warriors were slain either by musket fire or by the sword, and the situation became serious for the defenders. At this point, the news of the approach of the main Safavid army threw them into a panic; finding their escape routes blocked in every direction, they looked desperately for a way out. One night, Zeyneš Bahādor and a small band of companions tied ropes round their waists and attempted to lower themselves down the walls of the citadel. The *gāzīs* and the guards on duty spotted them, captured the lot and put them to death on the spot. The next day, the citadel yielded to a concerted assault, and the whole garrison was slain by the swords of the *gāzīs*.

Meanwhile the Shah, with the main army, had reached Mašhad by way of Kālpūš. On his arrival there, the Shah made the pilgrimage to the shrine of Imam Režā to ask for his aid. Then, intending to march on Herat, he moved off in the direction of Jām. As has already been mentioned, 'Obeyd Khan had abandoned the siege of Herat, and had returned to Bokhara to enlist the support of Küçüm Khan and the other Čengizid sultans. From the furthest reaches of Transoxania and Turkestan, from Aksı,³⁷ Andijān and Otrār,³⁸ from Qalmāq, Kašgar, Qerqez, and Qazāq as far as the Qepčaq steppe,³⁹ a mighty host assembled. Its

³⁷Aksı lay on the north bank of the Jaxartes River in the province of Fargana. In the 13th century, it seems to have been superseded as capital of the province by Andijān.

³⁸Otrār lay on the east bank of the Jaxartes in the province of Šaš (Tashkent). It was here that the famous border incident which precipitated the Mongol invasion of the Islamic world occurred in 1218.

³⁹Kašgar is in Eastern Turkestan (Sinkiang); the Qalmāq (Kalmucks), Qerqez (Kirghiz; Kherkhiz), the Qazāq (Cossacks) and the Qepčaq (Polovtsi) were all branches of the huge family of Turkish tribes living in Turkestan and Central Asia. The Qerqez originally lived in the regions of the Upper Yenisei, north of the Sayan Mountains; the Qepčaq also originated in eastern Siberia, but both tribes subsequently migrated westward and inhabited the Qepčaq steppe, which lay east of the Aral Sea.

leaders were Küçüm Khan, Yarāq Khan, Fūlād Sultan, 'Abd al-'Azīz Sultan, 'Abd al-Lā'if Sultan, Jānī Beg Sultan, Geldī Moḥammad Sultan, Abū Sa'īd Sultan, Sevīnjük Moḥammad Sultan, Kesken Qarā Sultan, and other Uzbek chiefs and trusted emirs. Every tribe was as vast as the sea, and company after company, with hearts strong as steel, they marched toward Khorasan.

Since the time of the invasion of Genghis Khan, no army of such magnitude had crossed the Oxus. By the time Shah Tahmasp reached Kosrowjerd, near Jām, the Uzbegs, approaching from the other direction, had reached Zūrabād. *Qezelbāš* scouts captured several Uzbegs, so full details of the strength and composition of the Uzbek army became known to the Shah. The numerical strength of the Uzbek army has not come to the notice of the present author in any work in which he is able to place credence. Mīr Yaḥyā Seyfī, the author of the *Lobb al-Tavārīk*, has given the Uzbek numbers as one hundred and twenty thousand, but popular estimation puts the size at eighty thousand seasoned warriors, not counting skirmishers and irregulars. A similar estimation puts the *qezelbāš* army, that is horsemen on full pay, at twenty-four thousand, not counting men in charge of the baggage.⁴⁰

On the day of Tāsū'ā, the ninth day of Moharram 935/23 September 1528, the Uzbek sultans pitched camp at Sārū Qomeš near Jām, close to the Safavid camp. That night, both armies stood guard, and on the next day, on 'Āšūrā, the 10th day of Moharram, drew up their ranks for battle.

The doyen of the *qezelbāš* emirs, Āḥūa Sultan Takkalū, the *vakīl*, together with Olāma Sultan Takkalū, Ḥoseyn Khan Šamlū, Hamza Sultan Keneslū Zu'l-Qadar,⁴¹ the governor of Shiraz, Moḥammad Khan Zu'l-Qadar-oglū, Ahmād Sultan Ostajlū, Ya'qūb Sultan Qajar, Moḥammad Khan Sharaf al-Dīn-oglū Takkalū, who at that date only held the rank of sultan, Hasan Sultan Rūmlū Ahmād Sultan Afṣār, and the rest of the emirs and the royal *qūrčīs*, fully armed with their helmets and chain mail over their quilted vests, were stationed with the *qūrčīs* in the center. On the right and left wings of the army were stationed other emirs and doughty warriors. In front of the army were placed wagons on which were mounted Frankish light cannon; these

⁴⁰A usually reliable Persian source gives the size of the Uzbek army as 100,000 and that of the Persians as 50,000 (see Savory, *Offices II*, p. 68, n. 10).

⁴¹See *TM*, pp. 14, 17.

guns were under the command of Ostād Šeykī Beg the *tüpči-bāšī* (commander in chief of artillery).⁴²

The two armies came face to face and on both sides the sound of drums, fifes, and trumpets could be heard. Banners were raised high, war cries were heard, and the two armies hurled themselves at each other. On the one side, the *qezelbāš* warriors, couching their long lances in the rests on their fiery, swift Arabian steeds, struck down the villainous Uzbegs. On the other side, the Uzbegs rained on the royal army a hail of arrows like shooting stars, which pierced the helmets of the *qezelbāš* warriors. Both sides displayed prodigies of valor, and the heaps of the slain leveled off mountain and plain. Mars, the Lord of War, viewing the scene with amazement and compassion, set aside his dripping blade. In the annals of the wars between Iran and Tūrān,⁴³ no battle equaled this in severity. Clouds of dust obscured the sun and the *qezelbāš* forces showed signs of breaking.

At this juncture the Uzbeg sultans assaulted the Safavid right wing, commanded by Čūha Sultan, who was in charge of Takkalū and Šāmlū emirs and others of note, and drove it back. Tremors were also felt among the emirs on the Safavid left which, unable to resist the sustained Uzbeg attacks, broke and fled. The Uzbegs, in hot pursuit, spread across the plain like ants or locusts, destroying all before them.

Shah Tahmasp, to whom the immaculate Imams in a vision had given the assurance of victory, fought on with confidence and firm faith in the outcome, and conducting himself with great bravery and valor, yielded not a yard of ground but held his station in the center with three thousand veteran troops. It was as though Almighty God was shielding that small band from the attention of the enemy. In a brief moment when the dust of battle cleared, the Shah caught sight of a white standard in the midst of a dense throng of men. The Shah realized that this must be the Uzbeg center, consisting of 'Obeyd Khan, Kücüm Khan and the specially chosen troops. The Uzbegs who had gone in pursuit of the Safavid wings congratulated their leaders on their victory as they returned company by company.

'Obeyd Khan asked them what that black mass was in the distance; it had been in the same place for some time, he said, and was appar-

⁴²See R. M. Savory, "The Sherley Myth," in *Iran*, vol. V, 1967, pp. 78-79.

⁴³In the Persian national epic, the Oxus is the boundary between Iran (the land of the Aryans), and Tūrān (the land of the Turks).

ently the remnants of the *qezelbāš* army. He had detailed some men to go and find out, and this group had reported to him that the *qezelbāš* forces had suffered such a defeat and had been so scattered that no sign of them remained on the plain. That black mass, they said, was the transport and baggage animals of the Safavid camp, and the Uzbegs paid no further attention to it.

Shah Tahmasp then ordered the men of his own retinue, who had held their ground so steadfastly, to attack the Uzbeg center and not to draw rein until they had reached that white standard. He ordered them not to use any other weapon except their sword; if they wounded anyone, they should not pause to finish him off, but should at once turn their attention to the next man. "Flight," he said, "is shame and disgrace; but a valiant death brings eternal fame."

Of that faithful, sacrificial band, the Šamlū and Zu'l-Qadar *qūrčīs* were the first to answer the call of their spiritual master. Drawing their Egyptian swords and holding their shields above their heads, they leapt forward from the right of the line with great determination, placing their trust in God. Those on the left of the center followed suit, and the whole company, ready to perish in the attempt and accompanied by unseen heavenly hosts, charged the Uzbegs. Three thousand blades flashed down as one; whenever they wounded one of the enemy they left him, as their spiritual master had ordered, and attacked another.

The Uzbegs, greatly superior in numbers, were thrown into disarray by the remorseless blows of the *gazis'* swords; the majority of them were wounded, and they were not given an opportunity to reorganize their defense. The Uzbeg center was shattered, and scattered in all directions. Küçüm Khan and 'Obeyd Khan were thrown into such a state of consternation that they saw no choice but flight. By their one heroic attack, those devoted Safavid followers had defeated the vast Uzbeg army. The remainder of the Safavid forces, which had been dispersed like the constellation of the Bear, regrouped like the constellation of the Pleiades, their despair turned into hope of victory.

The Uzbeg sultans, after such an intial victory, suffered ultimate defeat, and willy-nilly began their retreat. It is said that one of the *qūrčīs* actually reached 'Obeyd Khan and struck him such a blow on the back with his sword that 'Obeyd Khan became unconscious. Because of the slightness of 'Obeyd's body, however, the *qūrčī* did not

bother to take him prisoner, but passed on in the hope of better prey. Others say the the *qūrčī* struck his helmet and faceguard so hard that his powers of hearing were affected, and he became known thereafter as "deaf 'Obeyd." 'Obeyd had brought with him forty representatives of the religious classes of Transoxania and Tashkent to take their place beneath his standard and offer prayers for victory and for divine assistance. Since right was not on their side, their prayers were rejected and they were all slain at the foot of 'Obeyd's standard.

With great hardship and toil, Küçüm Khan and 'Obeyd Khan succeeded in escaping from that bloody battle with their lives, but twenty thousand of the Uzbeg rank and file perished, and a sheet of paper inscribed with the words, "Kill them wherever ye shall find them,"⁴⁴ was attached to the collars of the remains of those miscreants. It is related on the authority of the Shah himself that, of the three thousand men who made the assault on the Uzbeg center, one thousand seven hundred were *qūrčīs* of the royal bodyguard, and the remainder belonged to units commanded by emirs.

Meanwhile, one of the Uzbeg sultans, Jānī Beg, accompanied by considerable numbers of his own men and other Uzbeg troops, returned at nightfall from his pursuit of the routed wings of the *qezelbāš* army. Seeing the lights of the *qezelbāš* camp, Jānī Beg thought it was the camp of 'Obeyd Khan, and pitched his tents behind those of the royal camp.

The next morning, the 11th of Moharram 935/25th September 1528, a black mass of men became visible and was identified as Uzbeg troops, all mounted and about to go in search of plunder. Shah Tahmasp prepared to seize his opportunity and move against them. But Čūha Sultan tried to prevent him, on the grounds that the *qezelbāš* forces were still scattered, and in the circumstances it would be better not to launch an attack lest they suffer some misfortune. The intrepid and valiant Shah paid no attention to this prudent counsel and charged the Uzbegs; with one determined charge, he settled the business, and many Uzbegs were slain by the swords of the *gazīs*. Jānī Beg and his men put up a spirited resistance, but in the end were forced to fly.

Thus the Safavid house had a triumphant victory such as had rarely been won in former times. The *qezelbāš* had routed an enemy army

⁴⁴This injunction occurs twice in the Koran: in 4:90, in regard to hypocrites who pretend to believe in God but later apostatise; and in 9:5, in regard to idolaters.

ten times the size of their own. The word of God: "If there be twenty of you who are steadfast, they shall overcome two hundred"⁴⁵ was revealed in the most eloquent manner. Having given thanks to Almighty God, Tahmasp sent *fathnāmas* (dispatches announcing the victory) to all parts of the empire, and set in order the affairs of Khorasan. Since Ḥoseyn Khan Šamlū had displayed great valor in this battle, he was confirmed in his post as governor of Herat. The Shah then departed to Arab Iraq, as will be related.

The Fourth Invasion of Khorasan by 'Obeyd Khan

When 'Obeyd Khan heard the news of the withdrawal of the royal army, he again, in that same year (935/1528-29), assembled his warriors from the area around Bokhara, and marched on Khorasan. He sent on ahead in the direction of Mašhad Sevīnjük Mōhammad Sultan and Abd al-'Azīz Sultan, his son. The *qezelbāš* emirs who were stationed at Mašhad included Agzīvār Khan Šamlū, at that time still a sultan,⁴⁶ Aḥmad Sultan Afšār, and Ya'qūb Sultan Qajār. Since the fortifications of Mašhad had not been completed, the emirs erected barricades in the streets and put themselves in a state of defense. For two months, sporadic fighting went on between the defenders and the Uzbegs, until eventually 'Obeyd Khan arrived with the main Uzbeg army from Transoxania. 'Obeyd Khan at once assaulted the city and fierce hand-to-hand fighting took place at the barricades. Eventually, the *qezelbāš* felt unable to continue the struggle and considered it inexpedient to give battle to the Uzbegs. They slipped quietly out of Mašhad at night; Aḥmad Sultan Afšār went to Farāh, which was his own tribal district, and having a fort there, sat down to await a siege; Agzīvār Khan and Ya'qūb Sultan withdrew in the direction of Sabzavār and Mazīnān.

In the morning, the Uzbegs discovered that the *qezelbāš* had evacuated the city. They set off in pursuit, but failed to overtake the *qezelbāš* emirs. 'Obeyd Khan entrusted the city to one of his emirs and returned to Herat, which he besieged. On this occasion the city was held by Ḥoseyn Khan and the Šamlū *gāzis*, who once again devoted their efforts to the defense of the citadel and the repulse of the Uzbegs. For several months, fighting went on in the city; in the rural districts, wheat became scarce or nonexistent. Ḥoseyn Khan and the elders of the Šamlū tribe saw that they would have to evacuate the city because of the shortage of provisions and lack of matériel with which to carry on the

⁴⁵Koran: 8:66

⁴⁶The *qezelbāš* military ranks, in ascending order of importance, were Beg, Sultan, Khan.

defense. Accordingly, they entered into negotiations with 'Obeyd Khan, and envoys went to and fro. It was agreed that 'Obeyd Khan should retire to a distance of several days' journey so that the *qezelbāš*, with their women and children and baggage, might leave the city unmolested; it was stipulated that no pursuit should be organized by any of the Uzbeg sultans.

'Obeyd Khan was in favor of a peaceful settlement, and retired. Hoseyn Khan, after the armistice agreement had been ratified by sworn oaths, came out from the city with all the *gāzīs* and the Shi'ite elements in the population, and retreated unmolested in the direction of Sīstān. Malek Mahmūd, the governor of Sīstān, accorded him a royal welcome, and Hoseyn Khan led his men⁴⁷ against the inhabitants of Pošt-e Zarah, who had rebelled and were engaged in banditry on the highways. Hoseyn Khan plundered their possessions and marched on toward the province of Makrān, where he ravaged the countryside, and eventually arrived at Shiraz. His subsequent adventures will be narrated later.

As a result of the capture of Herat, 'Obeyd Khan extended his dominion over the whole of the province of Khorasan and raised the banner of oppression and injustice throughout that area. The people of Khorasan suffered much at the hands of the Uzbeg soldiery. Many persons of undoubted Sunni beliefs were put to death on specious charges of heresy⁴⁸ and professing Shi'ism. One of the victims of this tyranny was the poet Mowlānā Helālī, who was put to death in the main bazaar at Herat. The pretext for his execution was that the poet had satirized 'Obeyd Khan. This charge was based on what had been reported to 'Obeyd Khan by informers, who had attributed to Mowlānā Helālī the following quatrain:

How long, 'Obeyd, are you going to go on seeking
plunder?
How long are you going to ravage the land of
Khorasan?
You plunder and loot and carry off the property
of orphans;
If you are a Muslim, then I am an infidel.⁴⁹

⁴⁷Obviously to repay Malek Mahmūd's hospitality.

⁴⁸Rafz; a blanket term of abuse (heresy) used by Sunnis in regard to Shi'ites.

⁴⁹Martin B. Dickson, 'Shah Tahmasp and the Ozbeks (The Duel for Khurasan with 'Ubaid Khān 930-946/1524-1540)', Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1958 (hereinafter referred to as Dickson), p. 160, has further details on the false accusations laid against Sunnis who, like Helālī, were wealthy.

Although Helālī had written a splendid ode eulogizing 'Obeyd Khan, of which three⁵⁰ verses are given below, this availed him nothing, and he was put to death on account of the wealth and property which he possessed.

Khorasan is the heartland of the world, and it is
for this reason that he has come;
New life has come to it—I mean, 'Obeyd Khan has come;
His swift, golden-hooved steed resembles the sun,
Which traverses the world from east to west in a day
and a night;
I know my poetry contains errors; strike a line through
these errors,
for they are naught but a slip of the pen or of the
tongue.

When the news of the occupation of Khorasan by the Uzbegs came to the Shah's ears, since affairs at Baghdad had been satisfactorily completed in accordance with the wishes of that pious and just monarch, he set out for Khorasan, at the beginning of the year 936/1529-30, in order to drive out the victorious Uzbegs. Tahmasp sent *qūrčis* posthaste to all parts of his realm, summoning the emirs to join the royal camp. Within a short time they assembled, company by company and troop by troop, eager to show their fealty and devotion to the Shah. Hoseyn Beg Šāmlū, the historian, has stated that on this expedition seventy thousand men assembled in the royal camp.

'Obeyd Khan, after the occupation of Herat, saw himself as the master of Khorasan. He decided to subjugate the fortress of Farāh and marched against Ahmad Sultan Afšār. He laid siege to the citadel and strained every nerve to take it, but to no avail. He therefore abandoned the siege and returned to Herat, where he heard the news of the approach of the royal army. His resolution wavered and he retreated in the direction of Marv. He sent smooth-tongued couriers to the Čengizid khans, imploring them to come rapidly to his assistance. From Marv, 'Obeyd Khan sent Tahmasp various unbecoming communications while awaiting the arrival of reinforcements.⁵¹ The sultans of Turkestan⁵² assembled at Marv. Repeated conferences were held among

⁵⁰The text has "two."

⁵¹See Dickson, pp. 182ff.

⁵²The author uses the term Tūrān, evocative of the legendary struggle between Iran and Tūrān, or the Iranians and the Turks, narrated in the Persian national epic.

the wisest heads and elders (*atālīqān*)⁵³ of each family on the question of how to conduct the war against the Safavid monarch. The majority opinion was that they should not give battle to the enemy. Küçüm Sultan, who was the chief of the Uzbeg sultans and had his seat of government at Samarkand, had died that year and been succeeded by his son Abū Sa'īd. Abū Sa'īd was totally opposed to the views of 'Obeyd. "In recent years," he said, "every time we have invaded Khorasan, and given battle to the *qezelbāš*, we have sustained nothing but loss. If you are strong enough to stand and fight the Shah, you are free to do so. We are not, however, prepared to join you in fighting the *qezelbāš*. It is better and more appropriate that you content yourself with your own appanage and give up this pointless idea." The majority of the sultans of the line of Joči⁵⁴ preferred Abū Sa'īd's views and decided not to assist 'Obeyd. Thus 'Obeyd Khan was disappointed in his hopes of getting assistance from the other Uzbeg sultans.

At this juncture, 'Obeyd's messenger returned from his visit to Tahmasp, bringing reports of the size and magnitude of the Safavid army, and also a reply to 'Obeyd's letter, which had been written in the same insulting style. The following verse was included in it:

You are deaf,⁵⁵ and your fortune is blind;
How can a blind and deaf man possess a powerful arm?

The upshot of all this was that 'Obeyd, with sorrow and bitterness in his heart, abandoned his possessions in Khorasan and retired toward Bokhara. Shah Tahmasp, on the other hand, entered Khorasan in triumph; the plumes of his standards waved bravely over that province. On his arrival at Herat, he poured soothing balm on the sorely wounded hearts of the people of that region and conferred the post of governor-general of Khorasan on his own brother, Bahrām Mīrzā, with Gāzī Khan Takkalū as his guardian and commander in chief of Khorasan. The Shah appointed emirs and governors to city after city, and once again brought law and order to the affairs of all the inhabitants. Since Khorasan had been severely devastated by the passage and presence of marauding Uzbeg troops, the prolonged stay of the royal army at Herat caused a serious shortage of foodstuffs for populace and army alike. As it became imperative for the army to return to Persian Iraq, the Shah retraced his steps in that direction.

⁵³ *Atālīq (lala)*, in Uzbeg usage, seems to have meant personal administrative advisor of a khan or sultan (Dickson, p. 219, n 1).

⁵⁴ The eldest son of Genghis Khan; d. 1227.

⁵⁵ A reference to the fact that 'Obeyd was said to have been rendered deaf by the blow on the head he received at the battle of Jam.

'Obeyd Khan's Fifth Invasion of Khorasan, and Subsequent Flight

When the news of the Shah's departure reached the ears of 'Obeyd Khan at Bokhara, the following year, 937/1530-31, he dispatched Qameš Oğlân and some other Uzbeg emirs to Khorasan for the purposes of reconnaissance and the collection of military intelligence. The Uzbeg emirs crossed the Oxus and made for Mašhad by way of Sarakş. Mantaşa Sultan Ostajlū, the governor of Mašhad, and Ağzıvär Sultan Şamlū, the governor of Nishapur, joined forces and marched against Qameš Oğlân and his Uzbegs. Some skirmishing took place between the two forces and the *gazis* killed several of the enemy. The Uzbegs were unable to continue the struggle and withdrew, each emir going to his own territory.

The following year, 938/1531-32, 'Obeyd Khan again mobilized a major Uzbeg army and marched on Khorasan. Once again he camped outside Herat, and once again he laid siege to that city. He dispatched his emirs throughout the length and breadth of Khorasan: 'Abd al-'Azîz Sultan, his son, was sent to Mašhad; Qameš Oğlân to Astarâbâd; Khan Geldî Bahâdor to Sabzavâr; and another group to the Beslâm district. Mantaşa Sultan, Ağzıvär Sultan, and the other Savid emirs in Khorasan deemed it imprudent to remain at their posts and evacuated the respective seats of government. Zu'l-Qadar Sultan, however, who was the governor of Damghan, as soon as he heard of the approach of the Uzbegs, sent a courier among the Gerâylî⁵⁶ to ask for assistance. Mîrzâ 'Alî Khan Gerâylî joined him with a large force and they gave battle to the Uzbegs within sight of Beslâm. The *gazis* were victorious, and the Uzbegs were routed; a considerable number were killed, and others taken prisoner.

Qameš Oğlân, however, who had been ordered to advance on Astarâbâd, with great daring and bravery led his troops as far west as the heart of Saûj Bolâg,⁵⁷ where he fell upon the camp of Mohammad Khan Zu'l-Qadar-oglû and plundered it before returning.

Meanwhile 'Obeyd Khan, who had pitched his camp before the walls of Herat, continued the siege with a vigor against which the *gazis* defended themselves to the best of their ability.

In Azerbaijan, Olâma Sultan Takkalû had rebelled and by defecting to the Ottomans had stirred up trouble there. On the border between

⁵⁶A tribe living in the region of Astarâbad.

⁵⁷The plain west of modern Tehran.

the Safavid and the Ottoman empires, revolts had occurred and unrest was prevalent. Consequently, Shah Tahmasp had these serious problems on his hands, and had no opportunity to mount an expedition to Khorasan. In this situation, 'Obeyd Khan was free to proceed with the siege of Herat without interruption and so concentrated on tightening his blockade of the defenders.

Ultimately, the siege dragged on for a year and a half, and the plight of the defenders became desperate because of the shortage of supplies and bread. Čāzī Khan expelled the civilian population from the city. If the inhabitants had any food supplies, these were taken from them as they left, and so the ġāzīs obtained enough to prevent the outbreak of famine. During this operation, the wretched civilian population suffered greatly from the maltreatment of the Takkalūs.⁵⁸ The latter stripped them of money and belongings and drove them out of the city. But they went beyond that; they also searched for hidden articles, and after the inhabitants had left the city, broke into their houses and residences looking for concealed property.

In the end, food supplies ran out for the military too, and the ġāzīs were driven to eating the flesh of dogs and cats; then even that came to an end. The story is told that two trusted retainers of Čāzī Khan quarreled over the corpse of a dog and took their dispute to the Khan for arbitration. Each of them claimed that it was his blow which killed the dog and that the dog was therefore his. Finally Čāzī Khan cut the corpse of the dog in half, and gave half to each. Every day a platter of rice and horsemeat was brought in for Bahrām Mirzā and the Khan; half of it they would distribute, spoonful by spoonful, among the trusted members of their staff, and the other half they shared with their servants. People became so weak from lack of food that they had to walk about with the aid of sticks.

At this point, 'Obeyd Khan sent a messenger to the citadel and opened peace negotiations. Čāzī Khan proposed that 'Obeyd Khan should retire for a distance of one or two days' journey, so that Bahrām Mirzā and the *qezelbāš* garrison might leave in safety and hand the city over to the Uzbegs. 'Obeyd Khan, however, did not agree to these terms. "Let them first come," he said, "and humble themselves by passing underneath my tent ropes, and then go their way." Bahrām Mirzā and Čāzī Khan refused to submit to this humiliation. A few

⁵⁸Dickson, pp. 215ff., has further details.

days later, the personal adviser of Abū Sa'īd Küçüm Kān, the ruler of Samarkand, reached Herat and attempted to conclude the peace negotiations, but without success. Ğazı Khan, despite his extreme weakness, continued the struggle against the enemies of the Safavid religion and state and strove to hold on in the citadel.

When the realities of the situation and the news of the domination of Khorasan by the Uzbeks were brought to the attention of the Shah in Azerbaijan, he decided, in view of the fact that the rebellion of Oläma had finally died down, to march to Khorasan.

In 939/1532-33, the royal army moved off toward Khorasan, and a courier was dispatched posthaste to bring this glad tidings to the Safavid garrison at Herat. This courier reached Herat at a time when famine had reduced the garrison to the most desperate straits. As soon as they heard the joyous news of the approach of the Shah, their spirits were raised and their hearts strengthened. Cries of joy and happiness rose to the heavens and drums were beaten to celebrate the news.

'Obeyd Khan was something of a poet, and during these events he had composed some verses and sent them to the celebrated Kāja Emir Beg Mehr, the *vizier* of Ğazı Khan, who was in the city:

O breeze, if you pass by the people of Khorasan,
Take care to give this message of mine to them;
Tell those people, I pray you,
That we are seeking revenge on you all, both
great and small.

My pen has recorded both your pride and your
ignorance,

In a register which bears the imprint of my name;
O Kāja, henceforth give up all hope of life,
Because the coinage of sovereignty is stamped
with my name.

The Kāja, who was an able and eloquent man, one of the most talented of his day, wrote the following verses in reply:

O Pretender! Have you not heard that our Shah,
Who is like the stars in majesty and is revered
like Jamšid, is approaching?

We are the servants of the Shah, and from the dawn
of eternity, our continued existence has been
recorded on God's scroll.

Let a verse from our sweet-tongued Hāfez speak in
reply to the pretensions of the Khan:
“Other women, tall and slim as cypresses, make play
with amorous glance and words of love,
But pale into insignificance when our mistress comes
into sight, swaying like a fir tree as she walks.”

Qarā Sultan and Jānī Beg Sultan, who had come from Balk to assist 'Obeyd Khan, secretly demonstrated their willingness to enter into negotiations with the *qezelbāš*, and they sent to Bahram Mirzā a fat lamb and a foal. The Uzbegs, secretly and at night, would bring scrawny nags to the edge of the defensive ditch and would sell them at an inflated price. So for some time the Heavenly Quartermaster provided the daily rations of the *gazis* from the flesh of these animals.

When Shah Tahmasp decided to organize the expedition to Khorasan, he sent on ahead to Astarābād Alqāş Mīrzā and Badr Khan Ostājlū. When they reached Besṭām, Badr Khan held a council of war with his companions. In accordance with the saying “war consists in deceiving the enemy,” the best plan seemed to be to march quickly on Astarābād and fall unexpectedly on Qameš Oğlān. The one thousand five hundred veterans in Alqāş Mīrzā’s retinue made a dash from Besṭām and entered Astarābād early one morning, when the Uzbegs were all in the bathhouse. The Safavid troops joyfully sounded the kettle-drums. Every Uzbeg they encountered was relieved of the burden of his head and every Uzbeg as he emerged naked from the bathhouse was destroyed. Qameš Oğlān, stunned by these unexpected events, rushed blindly around the city. Finally, with great difficulty, he succeeded in escaping from Besṭām with seven or eight companions and fled toward Marv. His four brothers, however, together with some five hundred other Uzbegs, lost their lives at Besṭām. Their heads were sent back to welcome Shah Tahmasp as he advanced.

Meanwhile, Şüfiān Kalifa Rūmlū, with three hundred Rūmlū *gazis* and a detachment of Kübiklū tribesmen, had been ordered to Sabzavār, where he made a night attack on Khan Geldī Bahādor, who was garrisoning Sabzavār with four thousand Uzbeg troops. A number of the Uzbegs were slain and the remainder retreated toward Nishapur.

Shah Tahmasp had been informed of the size of the Uzbeg army and had sent Ḥoseyn Khan Šamlū, Ağzivār Khan Šamlū, and Emir Sultan Rūmlū to the assistance of Şüfîan Kalîfa. In the vicinity of Nishapur the two detachments joined forces, gave battle to the Uzbegs, and after defeating them, marched toward Mašhad. Abd al-‘Azîz Khan, who held Mašhad with seven thousand men, did not stay to fight but fled in the direction of Herat as soon as he heard of the approach of the royal army and the proximity of the emirs. Abd al-‘Azîz Khan joined his father at Herat; the latter, when he heard the news in his turn, as usual decided to run rather than fight, and withdrew toward Bokhara. The other Uzbeg sultans also withdrew, each to his own seat of government.

On 22 Jomâdâ II, 939/19 January 1533,⁵⁹ Tahmasp encamped in the Bağ-e Šahr at Herat. The nobles and important dignitaries of Herat, who had been scattered in all directions by the winds of misfortune, reassembled in the reassuring shadow of the Shah's protection, in the hope of finding royal favor. Ğazî Khan was reprimanded by the Shah for appropriating the property of citizens of Herat during the siege of the city by the Uzbegs, and the poor and needy were fully recompensed from the royal treasury.

The Shah spent that winter (1533-34) at Herat. After a few months the Shah, with the intention of invading Transoxania⁶⁰ to chastise ‘Obeyd Khan and discipline the Uzbegs, moved out of the city and encamped at Olang-e Neşîn. The rumor of the coming invasion of Transoxania spread quickly throughout Khorasan, and Ḥoseyn Khan and Mantaş Sultan, with a number of other emirs, were ordered to subjugate Ğarjestân.⁶¹ They successfully conquered this region⁶² and returned. The other emirs set to work preparing for the expedition to Transoxania and generally busied themselves with the preparation of ordnance and arms. At this point, however, the Shah received the alarming news that Sultan Sûlâyman had invaded Azerbaijan and Persian Iraq. The Shah was thus frustrated in his grand design to invade Transoxania and considered it expedient to return to Persian Iraq.

⁵⁹Dickson, p. 243, gives 22 Jomâdâ I, 940/19 December 1533.

⁶⁰As Dickson, pp. 246ff, points out, this was the one and only time during the whole duel for Khorasan between Shah Tahmasp and the Uzbegs that the Shah considered going over to the offensive.

⁶¹An area in the northern foothills of the Hindu Kush, controlled by the Uzbegs from Balk.

⁶²As Dickson, p. 250, points out, the success of this expedition was ephemeral. A year later, Ğarjestân was again under Uzbeg control.

Since the Takkalūs were too exhausted to continue as garrison troops at Herat, and since the civilian population had lodged many complaints about the harsh treatment they had received at the hands of Ğazı Khan and his men, the government of the city was placed in the hands of Sām Mīrzā, with Ağzivār Sultan Şāmlū as his guardian and personal adviser, with the rank of commander in chief of Khorasan. The Shah, with God's aid, then went by forced marches toward Persian Iraq.

The Affairs of Khorasan, and the Sixth Invasion of That Province by 'Obeyd Khan; the Return of the Royal Army, and the Termination of the Career of 'Obeyd Khan, Together with some Miscellaneous Events

My researches among historical chronicles and biographical works have revealed that, after the departure of the Shah, Sām Mīrzā and Ağzivār Khan took up residence at Herat and devoted themselves to administering the affairs of the province of Khorasan and to repairing the shattered fortunes of the underprivileged and poorer classes of the population. 'Obeyd Khan meanwhile sat quietly at Bokhara, closely observing events in Khorasan.

When the news reached Herat of the execution of Hoseyn Khan Şāmlū,⁶³ and the consequent trepidation of the Şāmlūs, Sām Mīrzā and Ağzivār Sultan were filled with apprehension. Urged on by a number of evil men, they conceived the vain idea of opposition to the Shah and rebellion. They began to extort money from wealthy citizens, and raised large sums from their fellow Muslims by means of torture and the rack. Having raised this money, they marched in the direction of Kandahar, intending to capture it. At Farāh, they were joined by Morād Sultan Afšār. On their arrival at Kandahar, they laid siege to the citadel, which was held by Kāja Kalān Čağatāy on behalf of Mīrzā Kāmrān, the brother of the Mogul emperor Homāyūn. Fighting between the besiegers and the besieged went on actively for several months, but the Safavid forces were unable to attain their object. Finally, Mīrzā Kāmrān, who had collected twenty thousand men at Lahore, arrived at Kandahar to relieve the garrison. Sām Mīrzā and Ağzivār Sultan abandoned the siege and withdrew for one or two stages.

When Kāmrān Mīrzā learnt that Sām Mīrzā had laid siege to Kandahar without authority from the Shah, he decided to give battle to the

⁶³In 940/1533-34; see Savory, Offices II, p. 70.

Safavid army. Although Sām Mīrzā and Ağzīvār Sultan had no more than two to three thousand men, they drew them up in battle order. In the ensuing struggle, the *qezelbāš* forces fought with outstanding valor and drove back both wings of the enemy army in confusion. In the course of the battle, the foot of Ağzīvār Sultan's horse caught in a hole; the horse fell, and Ağzīvār rolled off. A Čağatāy soldier rushed upon him and took him prisoner. When he realized that his prisoner was Ağzīvār Sultan, he at once put him to death. This encouraged the Čağatāy army and correspondingly lowered the morale of the *qezelbāš*, and Sām Mīrzā left the battlefield and retreated in the direction of Garmstir.⁶⁴ There, he repented of his actions and put to death several evil persons who had incited him to sedition against the Shah. He sent their heads to court and begged forgiveness for his crimes.

Meanwhile, 'Obeyd Khan at Bokhara, hearing of the defection of Sām Mīrzā and the death of Ağzīvār Sultan, first of all dispatched Seyyedom Mīrzā with a number of Uzbeg emirs and five or six thousand men to raid Khorasan. Seyyedom Mīrzā took four to five thousand men in the direction of Jām, and the remainder went in the direction of Kāf. Şüftān Kalīfa Rümlü, the governor of Mašhad, led his small force against Seyyedom Mīrzā and defeated the Uzbegs at Jām. After this victory, Şüftān Kalīfa moved against the Uzbeg detachment at Kāf and defeated this force too in an engagement in which the Uzbegs suffered heavy casualties.

Beyrām Oğlān, who was governor of Čarjestān on behalf of Kesken Qarā Solṭān b. Jānī Beg Solṭān, arrived to attack Herat. The man who had been left behind at Herat by Sām Mīrzā and Ağzīvār Sultan was Kalīfa Sultan Şamlü, a perplexed and confused commander of eighty years of age. He gathered together a force composed of city dwellers, men from the outlying districts, and soldiers who had become separated from their units. With this motley army he marched out from Herat and came up against the Uzbegs some forty miles from the city. In the ensuing battle, the Heratīs, since they were a scratch force, most of them Persians, and with little confidence in their commander, achieved nothing and were defeated. Kalīfa Sultan had no opportunity to withdraw safely from the battlefield—a course of action which is not held to be uncowardly at moments of extreme danger—but was slain. Those who escaped the sword fled back toward the city, and Beyram Oğlān departed after acquiring much booty.

⁶⁴Şa'bān 942/January 1536 (see Dickson, p. 293).

The *qezelbāš* garrison at Herat was left without a leader by the death of Kalīfa Sultan, and they were afraid of further Uzbeg attacks. With the approval of the local population, therefore, they sent a courier to Şüfiān Kalīfa at Mašhad and summoned him to Herat. Şüfiān Kalīfa left his son in charge at Mašhad and came to Herat. He was a brave and intrepid man, and a dedicated Sufi who was unswerving in his loyalty to the Safavid house; but there was an element of madness in his nature, and he used to undertake many insane actions. Some intelligent men considered him unbalanced, a fool and an imposter. At all events, at Herat he listened to the words of some evil men and began to oppress and harass the people, refusing to listen to their requests that he intercede on their behalf. If he suspected anyone, either in the city or in one of the suburban districts, of having a certain amount of wealth, he extracted it from him by means of fines or punishments.

Either because he was completely mad or because he was a complete fraud and impostor, Şüfiān Kalīfa used to assert that during the night he had been instructed in a dream by one of the Twelve Imams to take a certain sum of money from a certain person and give it to the *gazis* in order that they might repel the enemies of the Imams. "An order from an Imam," said Şüfiān Kalīfa, "has to be obeyed." In particular, he imposed heavy financial burdens, in obedience to the command of the Imams, upon friends who had been eager for him to take over the governorship of Herat and had brought him to the city from Mašhad. He would enter the assembly weeping bitterly, and speaking in a semi-delirious fashion, would say, "However much I implored the Holy Imams saying, 'this man is my friend, absolve me from this heavy duty,' the Imam refused to listen to me." "The commands of the Imams," said Şüfiān Kalīfa, "must be obeyed with scrupulous exactness."

By this stratagem or excessive madness, Şüfiān Kalīfa collected a large sum of gold, and the people were driven to desperation by his tyranny. At this point, 'Obeyd Khan crossed the Oxus. In the course of the year 942/1535-36, he reached Mašhad and commenced the siege of the city. Şüfiān Kalīfa's retainers, together with the inhabitants of Mašhad, strengthened the fortifications of the city and defended them bravely. The greater the effort expended by the Uzbegs in conducting the siege, the less progress they made. They found no way at all of subduing the city. As soon as Şüfiān Kalīfa heard that Mašhad was being besieged, he wrote a letter to his men there in the following terms:

"Be courageous! I am on my way! When I capture 'Obeyd Khan, I will stuff his skin with straw and send it to the Shah!"

Şüftan Kalifa left in charge at Herat his deputy, Kezr Çelebi, whose appetite for money was even greater than his own. Şüftan Kalifa issued orders that a stipulated amount of money should be forcibly levied by means of fines and taxes and handed over to his agents. He then set off toward Mašhad like a madman, with three thousand men, to give battle to the Uzbek ruler. En route, he saw in the distance a pile of straw. He went over to it himself and filled a sack with straw which he took with him, saying that he would need it to stuff the skin of 'Obeyd Khan, and that he would not be able to find any straw near Mašhad because of the depredations of the Uzbegs.

'Obeyd Khan, when he heard of the approach of Şüftan Kalifa pondered deeply. On the one hand, he considered it beneath him to give battle to one of the emirs of the Shah; and on the other hand, he had heard that Şüftan Kalifa, when he fought, was seized by a form of madness which made him completely indifferent to the superior numbers of the enemy. On numerous occasions he had insanely flung himself against a far superior Uzbek force and had been victorious, with only a few *qezelbāş* troops. As a result, he had become quite intrepid in action against the Uzbegs, and there was a danger that something of the sort might happen again. None of the Uzbek emirs was willing to engage Şüftan Kalifa in battle unless their khan was present. 'Obeyd Khan was thus forced to prepare for battle. He sent a detachment on ahead as a patrol and ordered his own son, 'Abd al-'Aziz Sultan, to form the advance guard together with 'Ali Sultan, the governor of Kārazm, Aqeş Sultan, and Sevinjük Mohammad Sultan; he himself followed with the main force.

Şüftan Kalifa came into contact with the leading troops of the Uzbek army and routed them. The commander of the Uzbek detachment, who had been taken prisoner, asked Şüftan Kalifa what sense there was in marching with three thousand men against the Uzbek monarch, who had an army numbering at least thirty thousand. "Be warned," he said, "turn back at once and take refuge in the citadel at Herat." Şüftan Kalifa, however, impelled by his overweening arrogance and dominated by black madness, persisted in giving battle. That night he made his preparations for battle and in the morning, when the Uzbek advance guard appeared, he drew up his men in battle order and fighting commenced.⁶⁵ The *qezelbāş gāzis* hurled themselves against

⁶⁵The date of this battle was 20 Rajab 942/14 January 1536 (Dickson, 313).

that sea of Uzbegs with such fury that the angelic hosts looked on in wonder. 'Obeyd Khan, fearing that the *qezelbāš* might win the day, set the Uzbeg center in motion and brought his main force into action. The *gāzīs* resisted the onset of the Uzbegs to the best of their ability, but in the end were unable to continue the struggle and turned and fled.

Şūfiān Kalifa, however, gaining fresh strength from his madness, hurled himself with a few *gāzīs* who were bound to him by close ties of companionship into a ruined fort which was on the edge of the battlefield, and there, without provisions or supplies, was surrounded by the enemy. 'Obeyd Khan encamped beneath the walls, and the *gāzīs* held out for thirty-five days, living on horseflesh and saddles, which they broke in pieces and ate parboiled. The Uzbegs gradually pushed forward earthworks and palisades and finally stormed the fort. Şūfiān Kalifa was taken prisoner and executed. The *Ahsan al-Tavārikh* records that during the short time he was governor of Khorasan, Şūfiān Kalifa killed on the battlefield some four thousand seven hundred Uzbegs.

When the news of the defeat of Şūfiān Kalifa reached Herat, Keżr Čelebī, Kalifa's deputy, with the assistance of the *qezelbāš* who were in the city, summoned the populace of the city and the suburban districts and made them help in preparing the defenses for a siege. The suburban dwellers refused because they had been reduced to extremities by the exactions and tyrannical behavior of Keżr Čelebī and his financial officials. They adopted a hostile attitude toward the city dwellers and in secret sent couriers to 'Obeyd Khan, who appeared before the city and commenced the siege. The *gāzīs* and inhabitants of the city, despite their total unpreparedness, resisted 'Obeyd Khan for five months. Finally, one of the nobles in the city, seduced by the false promises of 'Obeyd Khan, allowed a group of three hundred Uzbegs to climb up one night into the tower which was in his charge. The Uzbegs poured into the city and the *gāzīs*, after a stout resistance, were overpowered and retreated into the citadel of Ektiār al-Dīn.

The Uzbegs occupied the rest of the city and the people's situation was calamitous. The Uzbegs laid their hands on the property of Muslims and began to exact money and hidden treasure by means of foul play and torture. 'Obeyd Khan sent a messenger to the citadel and proposed the following conditions for its surrender: Keżr Čelebī was to hand over the citadel, together with all the money and property which Şūfiān Kalifa had taken from wealthy burgers and from poor citizens

alike; in return, both the lives and property of Kezr Čelebī and his companions were to be spared. A formal treaty, with binding oaths, was concluded on these terms. The Uzbegs, however, turned the *qezelbāš* loose on the road to Bokhara, naked and stripped of their possessions, and slaughtered them en route.⁶⁶

After the damage had been done, 'Obeyd Khan stopped the Uzbegs from plundering and killing and devoted his attention to the business of governing, and for fourteen months he ruled at Herat. But every day several people were put to death at his order in the main bazaar on a charge of heresy (*rafż*) or of being a Shi'ite, solely on the evidence of a couple of ignoramus. The tyranny and injustice of that bloodthirsty ruler increased daily. The heartrending sighs and laments of the afflicted, and the cries and appeals of the heirs of those unjustly slain, rose to the heavens. Eventually, they reached the ears of the Shah in Azerbaijan, and he determined to put an end to this Uzbeg evil. During the course of 948/1536-37, the royal army set out for Khorasan. Advancing stage by stage, it did not reach Khorasan until 'Obeyd Khan had left Herat and marched to subdue Mašhad, which had remained in *qezelbāš* hands.

At Bākarz, 'Obeyd Khan received confirmed reports that the Shah had reached Nesā and Abīvard, and that his standards would shortly appear on the horizon within sight of Herat. The same day, 'Obeyd Khan left Bākarz for Herat, he called together all the Čengizid sultans, both senior and junior, and convened a formal council of war. The question was, he said, whether they should retreat or stand and fight. The *qezelbāš*, he said, had endured the hardships of a winter march to Khorasan; they had covered great distances, and had suffered much. "Moreover," he said, "we are superior in numbers and in a greater state of preparedness than ever before. If we stay and fight, the chances are that this time we will win." However, the Uzbeg sultans and the senior men of the tribes all felt that they did not have the strength to oppose the Shah, and nothing 'Obeyd Khan said on the subject had any effect.

In the depths of winter, therefore, when the sun was in the station of Aquarius, 'Obeyd Khan was forced, under protest and deeply chagrined, to cross the Mālān Bridge and head for Bokhara by the Balk road,⁶⁷ and the Shah's protective shadow was cast over the people

⁶⁶For additional background to these events, see Dickson, pp. 315ff.

⁶⁷On January 29, 1537; see Dickson, p. 337.

of Herat. The Shah camped at Herat, with great pomp and circumstance, and those who were afflicted and distressed as a result of the Uzbeg occupation found rest and repose beneath the shadow of the royal banners.

Since Sām Mīrzā had gone to Ṭabas⁶⁸ and was there in the citadel, Šahqolī Kalīfa *mohrdār*⁶⁹ Zu'l-Qadar was ordered by the Shah to proceed to Ṭabas with a number of other emirs and bring Sām Mīrzā back to court. Sām Mīrzā hung his head in shame in the presence of the Shah, and wept tears of remorse. The Shah pardoned his offenses, but put to death some of his retainers who were the authors of the seditions and cause of the mischief.

The Shah then conferred the governorship of Khorasan on Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā,⁷⁰ and Mohammad Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oğlū Takkalū was appointed his guardian, and also commander in chief of Khorasan. Winter came to an end and the exhilarating season of spring came again. Although Sām Mīrzā had disobeyed orders in going off to Kandahar and had failed to achieve anything, nevertheless the Shah's sense of honor was stirred, and his fraternal feelings moved him to take his revenge on the Čağatāy forces which had acted so audaciously in attacking the *qezelbāš* by marching to subdue Kandahar and Zamīn Dāvar.⁷¹ When he reached the river Hirmand, the Shah sent on ahead the Emir Sultan Rūmlū with a large force. Kāja Kalān, the Mogul governor of Kandahar, withdrew hastily toward Send when he heard of the Shah's advance, and left Ganjī Kāja, one of his relatives, in the citadel at Kandahar. When the royal army reached Kandahar, Ganjī Kāja saw no course but to tender his submission to the Shah. Accordingly, he hastened to the royal court and handed over the keys of the city and the citadel to officials of the court.

The Shah awarded the position of governor of the province of Kandahar to Būdāq Khan Qājār, and returned in triumph to Herat. When 'Obeyd Khan and the Uzbeg sultans heard of the Shah's return from his Kandahar expedition, they were filled with alarm and sent ambassadors with gifts and presents from Balk, from Samarkand, and from Bokhara to the Safavid court to congratulate the Shah on the

⁶⁸After his act of disobedience to the Shah in 1536.

⁶⁹I.e., keeper of the seal.

⁷⁰His eldest son; born in 938/1531-32. Mohammad Mīrzā was thus five years of age at the time of his appointment to the governorship of Khorasan.

⁷¹The broad valley, west of Kandahar, through which the river Hirmand (or Helmand) flows down from the Hindu Kush to the city of Bost.

capture of Kandahar. The Shah spent a few days at Herat, settling problems and dealing with the affairs of petitioners. Then, having put the affairs of Herat in satisfactory order, he departed for Persian Iraq in the course of 944/1537.⁷²

At Herat, Mohammad Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oğlū and the young prince Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā devoted themselves to setting to rights the affairs of those in distressed circumstances throughout Khorasan,⁷³ and made great efforts to improve the lot of the peasants and the people in general. From this time on, 'Obeyd Khan behaved in a more civilized manner and desisted from his fruitless attacks on Khorasan, and for a year or two no movement was observed on his part. In 946/1540,⁷⁴ 'Obeyd Khan, overcome by the sighs of the oppressed people of his realm, fell sick, and after a severe illness died at Bokhara, having sacrificed his life to his ambition of annexing Herat and crossing the Malān Bridge. The people of Khorasan were thus freed from the tyranny and oppression of this irreligious and bloodthirsty man.

As a result of having devoted considerable space to describing events in Khorasan, and because of a desire to preserve the continuity of the discourse, I have neglected to give an account of various affairs which were happening during this period in other parts of the country. Now the moment has come to narrate the astonishing events which occurred on the borders of Azerbaijan, and to describe the Shah's expedition against the Ottomans in that area. After doing this, I shall go back and complete my account of events in Khorasan.

The Invasion of Iran by Sultan Sülaymān, the Ottoman Emperor, and His Contest with Him who Graced the Throne of Kosrow and Jamšid

Reference was made previously to the fact that during the reign of Shah Tahmasp, Sultan Sülaymān, the Ottoman emperor, instigated by the machinations of evil and villainous men, invaded Iran on four occasions and commenced hostilities against the Shah.

The first occasion was when Sülaymān invaded Iran as a result of the intrigues of Olāma Takkalū. A brief account of the circumstances

⁷²Dickson, p. 364, gives the date of departure as 9 Rabī' II, 944/15 September 1537.

⁷³Dickson, p. 364, mentions the placing of price controls on foodstuffs and grain, and the redistribution of lands devastated by the Uzbeg campaigns in order to bring them once again under cultivation, among the measures taken by the Safavid governor.

⁷⁴Dickson, p. 387, gives the date of 'Obeyd Khan's death as March 18, 1540.

follows: During the reign of Shah Esma'il, Olāma was enrolled in the ranks of the gentlemen-in-waiting.⁷⁵ He gradually rose through the ranks in the royal service and eventually, as a reward for his excellent military services, was made an emir. At the time when Čūha Sultan was the virtual ruler of the state,⁷⁶ Olāma was appointed commander in chief of Azerbaijan. After the death of Čūha Sultan, Olāma became puffed up by ambition and aspired to become *vakīl* and chief executive in matters of state, in place of Čūha Sultan. When he failed to attain his object, as has already been mentioned, he forgot the debt of loyalty he owed to the Safavid house for his upbringing, and defected and went to Anatolia. There, he set about fomenting mischief and aroused Sultan Sūlāymān's enthusiasm about the idea of invading Iran.

To begin with, the Ottoman emperor sent Fil Pasha to Iran with fifty thousand men. Šaraf Khan Rudakī the Kurd, governor of Betlīs, was a vassal of the Safavid house and the first to face Fil Pasha's advance. He drove him out of that region. Then, Fil Pasha planned to move against Vān. But Shah Tahmasp led the royal army against him, and Fil Pasha retreated, abandoning his cannon.

After the rout of Fil Pasha, the royal army marched to Khorasan to put down the sedition of 'Obeyd Khan Uzbeg. At the time when the Shah had left Herat and was on his way to invade Transoxania, Olāma repeatedly sent envoys to the Ottoman Sultan informing him that the *qezelbāš* king⁷⁷ had led his army into Transoxania to engage the Uzbegs, and was preoccupied with his campaign against the Mongol and Tartar forces. "Meanwhile," said Olāma, "Azerbaijan and Persian Iraq lie undefended."

Sultan Sūlāymān, at his suggestion, set out from Istanbul with a huge army, making for Azerbaijan. He sent ahead as the vanguard of this force Ebrahim Pasha the grand vizier, with eighty thousand men, and he himself followed with the main army. Ebrahim Pasha, having made contact with Olāma, dispatched him in the direction of Ardabil and

⁷⁵The text has simply *yasāvolān*, but I assume, in view of Olāma's rank and family connections, that the reference is to the *yasāvolān-e sohbāt*, "gentlemen-in-waiting," and not to the *yasāvolān-e majles*, who were merely ushers and were not of noble birth (see *TM*, p. 133).

⁷⁶933-937/1527-31 (see Savory, *Offices II*, pp. 68 ff).

⁷⁷An interesting title that perhaps indicates the extent to which the *qezelbāš* Turkman elements overshadowed the Tajik (Persian) elements in the Safavid state at that time; or it may reflect a typically arrogant *qezelbāš* attitude, which ignores the existence of the Tajiks.

sent his pashas to various regions of Azerbaijan, most of which they brought under their control.

When this news reached Shah Tahmasp at Olang-e Nešin, he abandoned his plans for the invasion of Transoxania and returned from Khorasan to Iraq by forced marches. In twenty-one days' march he reached Kabūd Gonbad, near Rayy. When Ebrahim Pasha heard the news, he became alarmed, despite the size of his army, and sent a message to Sultan Sülaymān to the effect that the Shah had returned from Khorasan to Rayy in twenty-one days, and was advancing against him by forced marches. "Servants," he said, "cannot withstand the full might of kings."

Sultan Sülaymān marched to Tabriz with all haste, and joined forces with Ebrahim Pasha. On the Safavid side, most of the horses of the *gāzis* were jaded as a result of their punishing forced march since they had come back from the Khorasan campaign. The army was therefore not prepared. The *gāzis* had dispersed to their homes to ready their gear for the Azerbaijan campaign, and put themselves in a state of readiness to engage the Ottomans. As a result, Shah Tahmasp had at his immediate disposal not more than seven thousand men. He sent on ahead to Tabriz Bahrām Mīrzā and Alqāş Mīrzā,⁷⁸ with Ḥoseyn Khan Šamlū and some other emirs. The Shah himself followed later, and when he reached Abhar,⁷⁹ he received the news that Sultan Sülaymān had left Tabriz and was advancing on Iraq. The report further stated that Bahrām Mīrzā and the *qezelbāš* advance guard had come into conflict with Ebrahim Pasha and the Ottoman advance guard. A battle had been fought on this side of the Qezel Üzen River,⁸⁰ and Bahrām Mīrzā and the emirs, fighting desperately, had been driven back to the mountains. Now a vast Ottoman army was advancing.

This news caused consternation in the Safavid camp. Those who were really devoted to the Safavid cause remained of stout heart, and their faith in the destiny of the Safavid house did not falter. But the waverers were of a different mind. At this point, Alvand Khan Afšār, the governor of Kūh Gilüya, arrived with his forces and presented himself to the Shah, and groups of men began to arrive from every direc-

⁷⁸His brothers.

⁷⁹West of Qazvīn.

⁸⁰The name of a section of the Saft Rūd, which rises in the mountains of Kurdestan and flows along the borders of Azerbaijan and empties into the Caspian in the province of Gilān.

tion and join the royal camp. Encouraged by this, the Shah planned to go by forced marches to the assistance of Bahram Mirza and his emirs. Then the news arrived that Sultan Suleyman had passed Miyanej and had reached Soltniya.⁸¹ Bahram Mirza and his emirs had meanwhile made their way back to the royal camp.

At this juncture, Mohammad Khan Zu'l-Qadar oglu, the son of Kur Sahrok, the son of Alal-Dowla Zu'l-Qadar, who had been brought up and trained in the service of the Shah and was treated by the latter like a son, revealed the secret hostility he had nurtured against the *qezelbas* because his father had met his death at their hands. He defected to the Ottomans, along with Hoseyn Khan the son of Buren Sultan Takkal, and a group of others. Moreover, the Shah was uncertain of the loyalty of some of the other emirs, like Hoseyn Khan Samlu, Gazi Khan Takkal, and Malek Beg Joveyni, who had repeatedly been guilty of acts of disloyalty. The Shah therefore postponed action for a few days until more of his men assembled at the rendezvous. Then was revealed the secret of the verse of Holy Scripture: "To God belong the hosts of the heavens and the earth,"⁸² and unseen hosts took a hand in driving back the mighty Ottoman army. On the 13th day of Scorpio, heavy snow fell at Soltniya, as Kamal-e Esfahani has said:

The forms of the mountains were hidden in snow,
Like cotton-seeds set within cotton.

The outlines of the Ottoman tents disappeared under the snow, and many Ottoman soldiers were stranded and died from exposure because of the severity of the cold. A certain poet has composed the following verse concerning this event:

When I went to Soltniya, that splendid pasturage,
I saw two thousand corpses lying there without grave
or burial shroud;
I said, "Who slew all these Ottomans?"
The morning breeze replied, "It was I."

Sultan Suleyman was unable to remain longer in Iraq. To return by way of Azerbaijan was impossible because of the lack of foodstuffs en route, and so he set off by way of Shahrzur,⁸³ where supplies were still to

⁸¹The former capital of the Mongol rulers of Iran; situated southeast of Zanjan, and only a short distance from Abhar, where the Shah was.

⁸²Koran: 48, verses 5 and 8.

⁸³In Kurdestan.

be had, intending to spend the winter in the vicinity of Mosul. Oläma and Zu'l-Qadar-oğlū were dispatched in the direction of Tabriz. The Shah marched rapidly against them, but Ğazı Khan Takkalū, who had also defected from the royal camp, reached Tabriz and warned Oläma and his companions of the Shah's approach. The renegades fled toward Vän, where they shut themselves up in the fortress. The Shah executed Ḥoseyn Khan Šamlü, whom he suspected of friendship with Säm Mırzä, and therefore distrusted, as the latter was thinking of defecting to the Ottomans.⁸⁴ The Shah then marched on Vän and laid siege to the renegades in the fort, encamping at the foot of the walls for the winter.

At the time when Sultan Sülaymān set off in the direction of Mosul, Ebrahim Pasha sent an envoy to Mohammad Khan Šaraf al-Din-oğlū, the governor of Baghdad, and to the Takkalū garrison there, summoning them to allegiance to the Ottoman sultan, and calling on them to hand over the keys of the citadel at Baghdad. Mohammad Khan refused, but the chiefs and elders of the Takkalū tribe, who were apprehensive about the Shah's attitude toward them because of the execution of Čüha Sultan and the defection of Oläma and Ğazı Khan, both of them Takkalū emirs, all agreed to obey and show friendship toward the Ottoman sultan. They sent the key of the citadel to Sülaymān and invited him to occupy the city. The Sultan at once left his winter quarters at Mosul and marched to Baghdad. Mohammad Khan Šaraf al-Din-oğlū, who was a genuine Sufi and a single-minded supporter of the Safavid house, on orders from the Shah abandoned the city and the citadel, cut the bridge, and with about three hundred followers who were loyal to the Shah (*sâhi-sevan*), went via Basra to Dezful and from there to Shiraz. The rest of the Takkalū garrison of Baghdad went out to welcome Sultan Sülaymān and escorted him into the city, where he spent the winter.

Sultan Sülaymān's Second Invasion of Iran

The following year, 941/1534-35, Sultan Sülaymān invaded Iran for the second time and led an army from Baghdad toward Iran. Entering the province of Iraq, he reached DargozIn.⁸⁵ Shah Tahmasp abandoned the siege of Vän and marched toward Tabriz. There he put to death Malek Beg Joveynī, who was still enrolled in the ranks of the trusted emirs, and who was the only one of the seditious emirs still at court.

⁸⁴The execution of the powerful emir Ḥoseyn Khan Šamlü in 940/1533-34 signaled the Shah's determination henceforth to rule de facto as well as de jure (See Savory, Offices II, p. 70).

⁸⁵North-northeast of Hamadan.

The Shah then marched in the direction of the Ottoman camp. The Safavid skirmishers made contact with the Ottoman advance guard near Dargozin, gave battle to them, and overcame them. When Sultan Sülaymān saw the triumph of the *qezelbāš* troops, and the rout of his own forces, he flared up in rage, and upbraided his emirs: "If you are beaten by a small force of skirmishers and advance patrols," he said, "how can you hope to give battle to the *qezelbāš* monarch?"

In a towering passion, he abandoned all idea of confrontation with the Shah, and leaving Dargozin, withdrew, or rather retreated in disorder, in the direction of Anatolia. Shah Tahmasp pursued him; when he reached Vān, he ordered Bahrām Mīrzā and a group of emirs to continue the pursuit while he himself encamped in the pastures around Vān. The Ottoman garrison, not equal to the struggle against the might of the royal army, fled. Before this happened, however, Sultan Sülaymān had dispatched Moḥammad Pasha, the commander in chief of Diār Bakr, with Olāma and a group of other emirs and pashas and two thousand Janissaries, to the assistance of the garrison at Vān.

The Ottoman force had reached Vastān⁸⁶ before the Shah received news of their approach. On hearing, he moved against them by forced marches. By the time the black mass of the Ottoman army came in sight, the majority of the *qezelbāš* troops had fallen out to get some sleep because of the exhausting nature of the forced march, and thus no more than two thousand men had kept up with the Shah and were still with him. Olāma caught sight of the gilded globe that surrounded the Shah's own personal standard, which was distinguished from the other royal standards and was known as "*yükrük*," meaning "swift courser." Olāma said to Moḥammad Pasha, "The Shah is here in person. It is wiser for us not to give battle, for we will not be able to withstand the fury of his assault." Moḥammad Pasha, however, made over-confident by the size of his own army and the smallness of the *qezelbāš* force, drew up his men in battle array. But the first attack by the Safavids, led by Čāzī Khan Zu'l-Qadar,⁸⁷ the governor of Shiraz, and a number of men from the royal bodyguard, shattered the Ottoman ranks. In the twinkling of an eye, large numbers of them were killed and many trusted officers of the Ottoman sultan were taken captive.

The survivors fled toward the fortress of Arjīš⁸⁸ and sent a courier to

⁸⁶On the southern shore of Lake Vān. The city of Vān was situated on the eastern shore of the lake.

⁸⁷Not to be confused with the renegade, Čāzī Khan Takkalū.

⁸⁸On the north side of Lake Vān.

the Sultan asking for assistance. In response, Sultan Sülaymān sent Senān Pasha with a large number of emirs and *sanjāq-beys*.⁸⁹ This relief force was intercepted by the *qezelbāš* commander Būdāq Khan Qajar, and a major engagement was fought in which Senān Pasha was killed and most of his men either killed or taken prisoner. On receiving this news, Sultan Sülaymān sent a second relief force under Ebrāhīm Pasha, with the cream of the Ottoman army, and this army marched against Bahrām Mīrzā and the *qezelbāš* emirs who were with him, moving toward Arjīš. The advance patrols of both armies clashed and the Ottomans were routed. After this setback, Ebrāhīm Pasha declined to give battle to the *qezelbāš*, but incorporated in his army all the Ottoman troops who had taken refuge at Arjīš, and marched to rejoin Sülaymān's camp. Thus the fortress at Arjīš fell into Safavid hands, and Ahmad Sultan Şüfî-oğlū was appointed commandant.

The Third Invasion of Iran by Sultan Sülaymān, the Ottoman Emperor, This Time at the Instigation of Alqāş Mīrzā⁹⁰

The commanders of the battlefield of eloquence have marshaled the armies of history in the following manner and narrate as follows: Olāma Takkalū had represented Iran in such alluring and enticing terms to Sultan Sülaymān that the latter spent night and day considering how he might draw her into his embrace. The defection of the Shah's brother, Alqāş Mīrzā, gave him another opportunity. Alqāş, that ignoramus, that ingrate, seduced by the words of a number of persons even more ignorant than himself, shortsightedly ruined his chances of happiness either in this world or the next by deserting a brother who treated him so lovingly and going to Anatolia. Sultan Sülaymān regarded his presence as an invaluable piece of good fortune, as presenting him with the means of subjugating Iran. Lured onward by this vain idea and beguiled by the baseless arguments of Alqāş Mīrzā, Sultan Sülaymān launched another invasion of Iran. The background to this story is as follows:

Shah Tahmasp loved Alqāş Mīrzā more than his other brothers and always treated him with great kindness and tenderness. After the subjugation of Šīrvān,⁹¹ the Shah elevated him above his other brothers and distinguished him by giving him the title Šīrvānshāh,⁹² and placing the government and administration of that province in his hands, so that

⁸⁹Governors-general of the provinces.

⁹⁰The younger brother of Shah Tahmasp, born 921/1515-16.

⁹¹945/1538-39.

⁹²I.e., king of Šīrvān.

his brothers envied him because of these marks of royal favor and kindness. But the foolish prince, at the instigation of certain seditious persons, converted the debt he owed his brother to disobedience and rebellion. In Šīrvān he found ready a numerous army and all the necessities for temporal rule and sovereignty. He at once rebelled and committed certain acts which were displeasing to the Shah, whose attitude toward him changed radically. He therefore took steps to suppress the revolt. Alqāş Mīrzā, brought somewhat to his senses by a realization of what the loss of royal favor involved, displayed remorse and contrition for his unworthy behavior and sent his mother, together with his son Sultan Aḥmad Mīrzā, to intercede with the Shah. Shah Tahmasp laid down as a condition that Alqāş Mīrzā should never again rebel against him; on this understanding, the Shah forgave him and pardoned his offenses.

The Shah then sent a number of the great emirs and elders of the state, including Seyyed Mohammad Kamūna, Sevendük Beg the *qūrčibāšī*,⁹³ Ma'sūm Beg Ṣafavī, Ṣahqolī Beg Kalīfa *mohrdār*, and Badr Khan Ostajlū, together with Alqāş Mīrzā's mother, to exact a solemn oath from the prince that he would never again be guilty of rebellion. The emirs carried out their orders and returned to court. It was agreed that in the course of that winter, a two-pronged attack should be made on the territory of the infidels,⁹⁴ and that they should engage in plundering raids and holy war: the Shah would raid Georgia; and Alqāş Mīrzā, Circassia.

After the emirs had returned to court, however, Alqāş Mīrzā minted coinage in his own name and included his name in the *koṣba*,⁹⁵ and displayed even more signs of hostility and rebellion than before. Shah Tahmasp, on his return from the Georgian expedition, learned that his fickle brother had broken his oath and shown disrespect for the Shah. The Shah decided that he had to be punished and chastised. While Alqāş Mīrzā was still in Circassia, Tahmasp dispatched an army by forced marches to Šīrvān to take possession of the province; this army, commanded by Ḵājeh Ebrahem Khan Zu'l-Qadar, Gökča Sultan Qājār, and Ṣahverdī Sultan Zīād-oğlū,⁹⁶ laid siege to the fortress of Golestan. When

⁹³See Savory, *Offices II*, p. 79.

⁹⁴I.e., Christians. The Georgians belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church.

⁹⁵The *koṣba* was the address delivered each Friday at the principal congregational mosques throughout the Islamic world. It was mandatory to include in this address mention of the name of the legitimate ruling authority of the region. Omission of the ruler's name was the classic sign of defiance, and was tantamount to rebellion.

⁹⁶The Zīād-oğlū were a clan of the Qājār tribe.

he heard this news, Alqāş Mīrzā marched back from Circassia and reached Darband. The loyal army launched two attacks on him, and on each occasion he was defeated. In these two engagements a considerable number of those seditious *qezelbāš* who had been responsible for corrupting the mind of the prince were killed. When these preliminaries were reported to the Shah, he sent additional emirs to reinforce the loyal army, and the great emirs again marched against the prince while the Shah himself marched against him from the other direction.

The news of the approach of the Shah and of the renowned emirs threw Alqāş Mīrzā into a panic, and he fled toward Kenalıq.⁹⁷ His men began to desert him, troop by troop, to join the royal camp. The emirs pursued him and caught up with him near the river Samūr. The prince lost his head completely; without even stopping to put on his riding boots, galloped off with forty or fifty companions toward Dāgestān, where he took refuge with Qerem Şamkāl.⁹⁸ From there he went by ship to Kaffa,⁹⁹ and from Kaffa to Istanbul, where he presented himself to the Ottoman sultan. The fortresses of Darband and Golestān, which were held by Alqāş Mīrzā's men, resisted for a time, but were eventually captured by the loyalist army. Mehtar Dowlatyār¹⁰⁰ and certain other ill-fated men were put to death. The government of the province of Šīrvān was entrusted by the Shah to Esma'il Mīrzā,¹⁰¹ and he ordered Gökča Sultan to remain in Šīrvān in attendance on that prince. The Shah then returned to his capital.

When Alqāş Mīrzā had been in residence at Istanbul for a while, he succeeded in arousing Sultan Sülaymān's ambitions with lying words and false arguments. In 955/1548-49, the Sultan marched forth for Iran with a vast army recruited from Anatolia, Syria, Egypt, Qaramān, Diār Rabi'a,¹⁰² and Arab Iraq, accompanied by large quantities of artillery, gun carriages, and light cannon, and countless Janissaries. Shah Tahmasp left Tabriz to face the threat and spent a month mobilizing his forces, which assembled at the rendezvous of Šanb-e Ğazān.

⁹⁷See V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband*, Cambridge 1958, p. 173 (map).

⁹⁸The Şamkāl was the local ruler of Tarkı (Tarqu; Tarqi), near modern Petrovsk. *TM*, p. 163, n 5, mentions an İldırım-Kān Şamkāl, whose grandson was *vazır* to Shah Sultan Hoseyn (1694-1722).

⁹⁹In the Crimea. Its former name was Theodosia.

¹⁰⁰Lit.: friend of good fortune—an ironic name in the circumstances!

¹⁰¹The future Shah Esma'il II. He was the second son of Shah Tahmasp, and was born in 940/1533-34.

¹⁰²The area of Upper Mesopotamia centered on Mosul.

There, he was joined by Esma'il Mīrzā with the army of Šīrvān, and by other emirs and governors from all parts of the Safavid empire.

Shah Tahmasp dispatched reliable men to lay waste the entire area between Tabriz and the Ottoman frontier so that no trace of grain or grass remained. The people of Tabriz blocked up the underground water channels so that no drinking water could be found. Similarly, measures were taken to deny the enemy all forms of food. The Safavid advance guard, consisting of the great emir 'Abdollāh Khan Ostājlū together with Badr Khan Ostājlū, Hoseyn Khan Sultan Rūmlū, Sāhverdī Sultan Ziād-oğlū and others, was dispatched in the direction of Marand. The Shah himself went to the summer quarters of Aškanbar and camped in the rich pastures there.

When the Ottoman sultan reached the Persian frontier, he sent Olāma Takkalū with a detachment of Ottoman troops to lay siege to the fortress of Vān, and from Koy he dispatched Alqāş Mīrzā with some of the pashas and *sanjāq-beys*, about forty thousand men in all, against the Safavid advance guard at Marand. He himself, with the main force, marched on Tabriz. Meanwhile, the great emirs who had gone in the direction of Marand had sent Ziād-oğlū and his men ahead as scouts. They came up against the Ottoman advance guard and a stubborn engagement ensued in which Ziād-oğlū distinguished himself by his valor. The emirs who had remained at the pasture grounds at Marand thought it prudent to retire toward the mountains in the face of the overwhelmingly superior Ottoman force, which kept on arriving, company by company. However, they left a detachment at Marand for intelligence purposes.

When Alqāş Mīrzā and the Ottomans reached Marand, the *qezelbāš* who had been left behind to give warning to their fellows showed themselves to the enemy, and as though confident of victory, advanced with drawn rein and gave battle to the enemy in regular military fashion. The Ottomans, deceived into thinking that this small detachment must have a large supporting force lying in ambush, fought only half-heartedly. Nevertheless, a stubborn contest developed between the two sides and ultimately the *qezelbāš*, still fighting hard, succeeded in rejoining the emirs, leaving the Ottomans amazed at the determination and bravery of this small band.

Since 'Abdollāh Khan and the *qezelbāš* emirs had left the Marand pasture grounds, the Ottomans too considered it expedient to retire.

They rejoined Sultan Sülaymān at Čarandāb near Tabriz. Abdollah Khan and the other emirs rejoined the Shah in his summer quarters at Aškanbar. The Shah disposed his forces on all sides of the Ottoman encampment and achieved some notable successes. The enemy were not left in peace night or day, and every day they suffered a number of casualties. As a result, the Ottomans were not able to set foot outside their camp in search of food. Foodstuffs and fodder for the animals were as scarce as dragon's teeth, and rich and poor alike were afflicted by the lack of bread. Driven by starvation, the Ottomans took to plundering the city, but they could find nothing edible. During the four days that Sultan Sülaymān occupied Tabriz, several thousand horses and mules died from lack of food.

Sülaymān began to regret this expedition to Iran and sought only a means of retreat. On the night when the royal army struck camp at Aškanbar and a rumor spread among the Ottomans that it was approaching Tabriz, Sultan Sülaymān beat the retreat. Sending the baggage on ahead, he himself remained in the saddle until daybreak and then left. The Tabriz mob at once set to plundering and killing the Ottomans, and a considerable number of the latter fell victim to the knives of the mob. It is strange to relate that during the few days the Ottomans were encamped at Čarandāb, thunderstorms and high winds stirred up so much dust, and the sky became so dark, that it was difficult to distinguish night from day. After the Ottomans had left, the sky cleared and fair weather set in.

At the Shah's command, the royal army marched in pursuit of the Ottomans, and at every stage of their retreat, they achieved some success against them. Sultan Sülaymān himself marched to Vān and set up his heavy siege guns in preparation for laying siege to the fortress. Shah Ali Sultan Čegani,¹⁰³ the commandant, terrified by the size and strength of the Ottoman army, handed over the fort and marched away. The Ottoman sultan installed Rostam Pasha as commandant.

The Ottomans had previously restored the fortress at Qārṣ,¹⁰⁴ located between Čokūr-e Sa'd and Erzerum. This fort, connected on one side with the Meskhia district of Georgia, had been ruined by the constant passage of armies. The Ottomans had restored it and had settled there some four or five thousand people from the bazaars and officials of

¹⁰³A Kurdish tribe.

¹⁰⁴Qārṣ, in Georgia, was situated at a distance of two days' journey southwest of Tiflis.

various types from Amāsiya, Erzerum, Tūqat, Sivās, Āq Šahr and other foreign parts. Sultan Sūlāymān now sent ‘Osmān Čelebī, the *qollar-āqāsī*,¹⁰⁵ with four or five thousand cavalry, to guard the place while the Sultan himself proceeded toward Muš.¹⁰⁶

Shah Tahmasp did not relax his pursuit; he sent Esma’il Mīrzā and Gökčā Sultan Qājār against the Ottoman detachment at Qārş. The Safavid force arrived before the walls of Qārş with the speed of lightning, having come by forced marches, and gave battle to the *qollar-āqāsī* and his men in the vicinity of the fort. The Ottomans were defeated; some two or three thousand soldiers and some four or five thousand of the bazaar people, and people from other parts whom the Ottomans had brought to Qārş to restore its prosperity, were slain by the *gāzis*. The survivors, in fear of their lives, shut themselves up in the citadel, which was immediately besieged by the victorious Safavid troops. Within three days, the position of the defenders had become so desperate that they sued for quarter. Quarter was granted to ‘Osmān Čelebī and the rest of the defenders, who numbered about six hundred men. As they left the fort, the *qollar-āqāsī* struck Tabgūn Beg Qājār on the shoulder with his sword—an insane action. The rest of the Ottomans drew their swords and charged at Esma’il Mīrzā and those who were present with him to receive the surrender of the garrison. A general massacre ensued, and not one of the Ottomans escaped with his life. The *gāzis*, on orders from the Shah, then dismantled the fort and rejoined the royal camp.

Meanwhile, Bahrām Mīrzā had arrived with his troops from his fief of Hamadan, and the Shah sent him, together with Esma’il Mīrzā, in the direction of Bāybord; another detachment was sent to Aklāt, and yet another to ‘Ādeljavāz. The Shah himself, advancing victoriously through the districts of Kamīs and Māsīs, proceeded towards the region of Muš. When Sultan Sūlāymān saw that the Shah did not call off the pursuit, but that on the contrary, the *qezelbāš* forces were being augmented daily by units which kept arriving from all directions, he remembered Alqāş Mīrzā’s words. “The *qezelbāš* tribes,” Alqāş had said, “in their hearts support me. I have only to set foot on Persian soil, and they will flock to me.”

The Ottomans therefore devised the plan of sending Alqāş Mīrzā

¹⁰⁵Officer in charge of the *qollar*, or slaves, of the Sultan. These were men, at this time mainly of non-Turkish origin, recruited for service in the Ottoman army or imperial administration.

¹⁰⁶West of Lake Van; in Armenia.

and Olāma in different directions; they hoped that the *qezelbaş* would pursue them in order to prevent any mischief which might ensue, and the Sultan and the main Ottoman army would thus be able to get out of Iran in safety. Accordingly, Alqāş was sent with five thousand men, by way of Karkūya and Šahrazūr, toward Persian Iraq; and Olāma, with twelve thousand men, was dispatched toward the same province, accompanied by the Pasha of Erzerum. Sultan Sülaymān, with all the tents and baggage, passed by Betlīs¹⁰⁷ and entered Diār Bakr.¹⁰⁸

Shah Tahmasp reached the region of Muš, which he ravaged and burned, leaving no sign of cultivation in that area. When the news reached him that Olāma had been detached from the main Ottoman army and was moving from Terjān toward Erzerum with a body of Ottoman troops, the Shah marched in that direction with the greatest possible speed, pitching and striking camp like the wind. The main body of his men followed, company after company. When Olāma and the Ottoman troops who were with him heard of the Shah's approach, the officers were panic-stricken and abandoned Terjān without a blow having been struck. They took to their heels, thus leaving Terjān vacant for the royal army to enter. The *gazis* pursued the fleeing Ottomans for several days and brought back booty from the enemy they slew.

From Terjān, the Shah turned toward Arzenjān, in which region he camped for a while. There, he was rejoined by groups of emirs whom he had dispatched on various missions: Šāhqolī Sultan Afšār and his companions returned from raiding the tribes in the Aklāt region; they brought back with them about five thousand horses, one hundred thousand sheep, and fifty thousand cattle. Maḥmūd Khan Afšār, the governor of Kūh Gilüya, "Bald"¹⁰⁹ Šāhverdī Ostājlū, and others who had been out on patrol, had collided with a group of Ottoman household troops and scouts and a fierce engagement had been fought in which the Ottomans were defeated. 'Alī Sultan Tāti-oğlū Zu'l-Qadar, who had been sent with ten thousand men from the royal army to ravage the 'Ādeljavāz district, had come up against a strong Ottoman force at Güzel Dere. This force, which had separated from the main Ottoman army, was led by a considerable number of pashas and high-ranking Ottoman officers. Here too, the Safavids were victorious. The two princes, Bahrām Mirzā and Esma'il Mirzā, who had been sent with a detachment toward Bāybord, had encountered Moḥammad Pasha

¹⁰⁷Southwest of Lake Van.

¹⁰⁸I.e., northern Mesopotamia.

¹⁰⁹Lit.: scald-head.

Tebek-oğlū, and the soil of Bāybord was stained with the blood of the Ottoman dead.

In short, all the *qezelbāš* commanders returned victorious to Erzērum and presented the Shah with numerous enemy heads, together with the booty and equipment they had acquired in their various battles. Each of them was rewarded by the Shah with appropriate marks of favor. The losses and damage Iran had suffered at the hands of Sultan Sūlaymān in this campaign had been repaid tenfold. The Ottomans had lost twenty thousand men killed. The Shah began his return march, moving from Arzenjān to Erivān, and thence toward Qarābāg. From Qarābāg, he dispatched Esma'il Mīrzā, Abdollāh Khan, and Gökča Sultan to Šīrvān, and Sevendük Beg the *qūrčibāšī*, with a detachment of the royal bodyguard, to ravage Šakkī.¹¹⁰ At this juncture, the Shah received the news that Alqāş Mīrzā, who had been sent to Arab Iraq by Sultan Sūlaymān, had entered Iran via Šahrazūr on his way to Hamadan,¹¹¹ where he had captured Bahrām Mīrzā's sons. His arrival in Persian Iraq had fanned the flames of sedition and revolt. The Shah at once recalled Esma'il Mīrzā and the *qūrčibāšī*, and the royal army departed for Iraq to suppress the revolt of Alqāş Mīrzā.

The Coming of Alqāş Mīrzā to Iraq with Ottoman Support, His Return and the End of His Career

After Alqāş Mīrzā had descended on Hamadan and seized possession of Bahrām Mīrzā's household, he marched to Qom and extended his sway over that area. From Qom, he sent a band of rascally Kurds to raid Rayy, while he himself moved to Kashan, which he occupied. Then he developed the ambition to take Isfahan, whose people and nobles refused to extend recognition to him, and strengthening their towers and fortifications, prepared for battle. Shah Tahmasp, meanwhile, was marching south from Kalkāl through Tārom to Qazvin. From Qazvin, he dispatched Bahrām Mīrzā and Ebrahim Khan Zu'l-Qadar, the governor of Shiraz, against Alqāş.

Alqāş Mīrzā, when he heard that the Shah was marching against him and that Bahrām Mīrzā and Ebrahim Khan were close on his heels, felt the ground quake beneath his feet. Despairing of winning over the Isfahanis, he headed south for Fārs. On the way, he took possession of the fort at Yazdīkāst¹¹² and, so that the townspeople would not close the gates of other fortresses against him, carried out a gen-

¹¹⁰The region lying northwest of Šīrvān.

¹¹¹I have supplied these words, which seem to be required by the sense.

¹¹²On the main route from Isfahan to Shiraz.

eral massacre there and put many poor wretches to death. Despite this, the gates of Band-e Amīr were closed in his face and he was denied access to Shiraz. Turning aside, he passed through Deh 'Alī in the district of Ardakān,¹¹³ and arrived before the walls of Qal'a-e Safid, the White Fort. This fort was held by Joneyd Beg, the brother of Ebrahim Khan, and in the fort were women and children of the Zu'l-Qadar tribe.

Since the task of capturing the fort presented great difficulties, Alqāş did not tarry there either but marched away via Šūlestān and Behbehān toward Šūštar. Here too he was foiled, for Mīr 'Abd al-Vahhāb Šūštarī and the people of Šūštar closed the gates of the city and the citadel and entered into bitter and acrimonious dispute with him. Despairing of winning over the people of Šūštar either, he went to Dezful, but could achieve nothing there. In utter despair, he set off back to Baghdad, where he remained for some time.

The following year, 956/1549–50, he received an order from Sultan Sūlaymān recalling him. Since his disloyalty had closed all avenues to him, his fortunes began to wane. He now began to indulge in devious schemes and crafty intrigues against the Ottoman sultan and declined to go to Anatolia. He sent back Bahrām Mīrzā's family, whom he had brought with him. The Ottoman authorities realized that Alqāş was not going to achieve anything and that his continued presence in the Baghdad region would lead to nothing but revolt and sedition, causing insecurity and instability in the province and general disturbance among the people. They therefore expressed their opposition to Alqāş and urged Sultan Sūlaymān to get rid of him. The Sultan thereupon sent a large force against him and launched an unexpected assault on his camp.

In desperation, Alqāş Mīrzā fled from Arab Iraq and with a small number of men reached the territory of the Ardalān tribe.¹¹⁴ When Shah Tahmasp heard the true facts of the situation, he sent against Alqāş, Bahrām Mīrzā Šāhqolī Kalifa *mohrdār*, and Ebrahim Khan Zu'l-Qadar, with twenty thousand men. This force overtook Alqāş near the fortress of Marīvān and routed him. At his wits end and full of remorse for his actions, Alqāş took refuge in the fortress of Marīvān with Sorğab Ardalān. The Shah at once issued an imperial order, in the name of Sorğab, demanding that he surrender Alqāş. Sorğab had no choice but to obey the Shah's order. Alqāş Mīrzā begged that Shah Ne'matol-

¹¹³See *Nozhat al-Qolub* (trans. G. Le Strange, Leyden and London 1919, p. 127, n 4).

¹¹⁴A Kurdish tribe.

lāh Yazdī, who was his brother-in-law, should be allowed to come and fetch him. At the Shah's order, Shah Ne'matollāh took possession of Alqāṣ from Sorkāb and brought him to the Shah.

When Shah Tahmasp laid eyes on Alqāṣ, he said: "O my unkind brother! What harm have I ever done you, that you should turn away from your allegiance to your father's house, and should cast yourself down from the zenith of honor to the nadir of baseness, and should make overtures to the enemy, and be responsible for so much sedition, rebellion, and bloodshed?" Alqāṣ had no answer except shame and regret, and hung his head in remorse. Fraternal feelings moved the Shah to have compassion on him, and he spared his life. However, since Alqāṣ had stirred up sedition among the *qezelbāš* tribes and was unworthy of trust, and since the elders of the exalted Sufi class were not willing that he should be released, Shah Tahmasp, trying to please everybody, sent him to the fortress-prison of Qahqaha. It was arranged that his son, Sultan Ahmād Mīrzā, should be with him. Eventually, Sām Mīrzā and his son were also imprisoned in this fortress, and all four princes spent their days there.¹¹⁵ Thus the great revolt which this foolish, disloyal brother stirred up was put down, and the flames of his rebellion subsided. God be praised!

Sultan Sūlaymān's Fourth Invasion of Azerbaijan Contemporary Events and the Conclusion of Peace Between Those Two Imperial Monarchs

In the year 961/1553–34, five years after the suppression of Alqāṣ Mīrzā's rebellion, when all was peaceful and quiet in Iran, Eskandar Pasha, the governor-general of Erzerum, stirred up trouble, and once more Sultan Sūlaymān, at his instigation, took the field against Iran.

When the Ottoman sultan retired from his third invasion of Iran, which had been inspired by Alqāṣ Mīrzā, as has already been related, Shah Tahmasp had pursued him to the borders of Diār Bakr and Arzenjān, harassing him as he retreated, and inflicting the maximum possible damage on him. Sultan Sūlaymān delayed his return to Iran for some time, being occupied with campaigning in Europe. The Shah too forebore to send his armies against the Islamic world, and occupied himself with raids against Georgia. Mankind enjoyed four or five years of undisturbed prosperity, and perfect peace prevailed on the frontiers. If some minor acts of insubordination were observed on

¹¹⁵According to Shah Tahmasp's own account, Alqāṣ Mīrzā was imprisoned at Alamut and killed a few days later, ostensibly as the result of a private feud.

the part of the Kurdish chiefs, they were overlooked and not treated as a major revolt or as a reason for breaking the peace. Indeed, the Shah, mindful of the welfare of God's servants, opened peace negotiations, and sent a friendly letter to Sultan Sülaymān by the hand of Mīr Šams Valīkānī, a *seyyed* who was known as Šams-e Falak-e dāvvār ("the sun of the revolving heaven").

Eskandar Pasha, however, was a seditious man and a troublemaker. Initially, he was governor of Vān, and had no great reputation for reliability. Without any warning, he marched from Vān to Koy, and there put to death Hājjī Beg Donboli, who was an ally of the Safavid royal house, together with a number of the people of Koy. He received recognition for this action by his appointment as governor-general of Erzerūm. The same year, he spread abroad along the frontier the fame of his prowess and boldness, and marched against Hoseyn Khan Sultan Rümlü, who was in command at Erīvān. Hoseyn Khan considered it prudent not to give battle; turning aside so as not to confront him, he waited for developments. Eskandar Pasha entered Erīvān, where he did a certain amount of damage and killed a number of people; then he returned. Merely on the strength of these two improper acts and because the Shah, mindful of the welfare of his people, did not want to break the peace, and thus no Safavids came to take punitive action against him, he began to behave in an unreasonable manner. Puffed up with pride, he addressed insolent communications to the Safavid frontier emirs and dared to commit acts which exceeded all bounds, thus stirring up trouble. In one instance, when the Shah sent a force of Qājār emirs to raid Georgia, in the direction of Dādiān, Eskandar Pasha took a large force and attacked the *qezelbāš* camp when the emirs were absent on a raid, and killed many Qājār *gāzis*. His unbridled and intemperate behavior exceeded all reasonable limits, and he became a disturber of the peace.

At this point, in reply to a letter from the Shah in which he made certain promises in return for a treaty of peace, Sultan Sülaymān, urged on by Eskandar Pasha, sent a threatening communication announcing his imminent invasion of Iran. This letter aroused the Shah's anger, and he gave orders for the mobilization of his army. In a short space of time, the *qezelbāš* tribes assembled from all parts of the empire at the Shah's summer quarters at Āq Mesqāl. The Shah decided on the following course of action: before the Ottoman army could set out, he would march to the frontier, and lay it waste. In addition,

he would fittingly punish Eskandar Pasha, and give him a rude awakening from his arrogant fantasies.

The Shah therefore divided his army into four corps, each corps under the command of an emir of the highest rank, and dispatched each in a different direction. He himself marched on Aklāt and besieged the fort there. His emirs ravaged and burned the districts of Vān, Betlis, Māsīs, ‘Ādeljavāz, and as far as the plain of Muš. Wherever they met any groups of Ottomans or Kurds who offered resistance, they gave battle and defeated them, and many emirs and trusted leaders of the Ottomans and Kurds were killed or captured. Laden with booty, the *qezelbāš* emirs returned to the royal camp.

After their return, the Shah turned his attention to the punitive expedition against Eskandar Pasha. He dispatched to Erzerum, under the supreme command of Esmā’īl Mīrzā, an army of leading emirs such as Badr Kān Ostājlū, Şāhqolī Solṭān Ostājlū, who was now the governor of Çokür-e Sa’d, Mohammad Kān Mowsellū Torkmān, Şāhverdī Solṭān Ziād-oğlū, the governor of Qarābāg, with other emirs, a group of the *qürçüs* of the royal bodyguard, and other troops. Eskandar Pasha, on hearing of the approach of the *qezelbāš* army, took counsel with the Ottoman emirs and governors-general who had joined him from Arzenjān, Bāybord, Kāk, Mar'aş, Trebizond, Georgia, Dadiān, and Kūrbāl.

Eskandar Pasha asked his emirs whether they should go out and fight, or prepare for a siege. The Ottoman emirs considered it inexpedient to fight a pitched battle: “The prince,” they said, “has come with an extremely large army, and we do not have the strength to oppose him.” But Eskandar Pasha, who had a large army of Ottomans and Kurds, and whose own conceit and arrogance had been increased by the spreading of the tales of his exploits along the frontier, would not listen to the advice of prudent men of sound judgment. Determined to give battle, he sent on ahead a body of young veterans as an advance guard, while he himself drew up his forces in battle array some two miles outside the city of Erzerum. In front of his army he stationed five hundred Janissaries, armed with muskets, together with twenty gun carriages, light cannon, and Frankish¹¹⁶ guns.

When the Safavid skirmishers caught sight of the Ottoman advance patrols, they charged them and dealt with them in a satisfac-

¹¹⁶I.e., of European pattern.

tory manner; those who escaped the sword rejoined the Ottoman center. This caused considerable panic in the Ottoman ranks, and the *qezelbāš* skirmishers then launched an attack on the Ottoman center. The commanders of both the Safavid right and left wings then entered the fray, and a hot battle developed along the whole length of the Ottoman line. The *qezelbāš* forces began to gain the upper hand and to inflict heavy casualties on the enemy. Eskandar Pasha, seeing the impetuosity and valor of the *qezelbāš* troops and not to be outdone, led a large force from the Ottoman center and attacked the Safavid skirmishers. At the height of the battle, the Safavid center, led by Prince Esma'il in person, came into view. The sight of this formidable new force, arriving at a time when his own men were beginning to waver, made Eskandar Pasha resolve to break off the engagement, and he retreated in disorder and took refuge in the citadel.

The Safavid forces pursued the defeated Ottoman troops to the walls of Erzerum, and the losses of the Ottoman cavalry, the Kurds and the Janissaries, amounted to some three thousand men killed. Among those taken prisoner were Ramażān Beg, the brother of Eskandar Pasha; Moḥammad Beg, the *qollar-āqāsi*, or officer in command of the slaves of the Sultan; and a number of trusted emirs, such as the governor of Mar'aş, the governor of Malatıya, the governor of Trebizond, and a certain Mahmūd Beg. The latter was the nephew of Keybar Beg, who had been governor of Aleppo in the time of Sultan Qānsūh, the ruler of Egypt and Syria.¹¹⁷ Keybar Beg had severed his ties of loyalty to that dynasty,¹¹⁸ gone to Sultan Selim, and incited him to subjugate Egypt, Syria and the Ḥejāz. Also among the prisoners were the emir of Māsīs and the emirs of the Kurdish provinces. After their victory, the *qezelbāš* plundered and burned the region and returned laden with booty. The command was then given to strike camp and rejoin the royal camp, which they found at Arjiş, which the Shah was besieging after his capture of Aklāt. The *qezelbāš* emirs were received by the Shah, and those who had distinguished themselves by their exploits, particularly Şahverdi Sultan Ziād-oğlū, were the recipients of his special favor. The prisoners were brought before the Shah, and the majority of them were put to death.

The circumstances of the capture of Aklāt are as follows: when

¹¹⁷Reigned 1501-17.

¹¹⁸I.e., the Mameluke sultans.

the Shah arrived before the walls and laid siege to the fort, the defenders resisted for a few days, but then felt themselves unable to continue to defend the fort and the town. They found persons to intercede for them, and handed over the fort. The Shah gave orders for the fort to be dismantled, and despite its strength, it was razed to the ground within a short time.

The Shah then marched to besiege the fort at Arjīš. Here the commandant, relying on the strength of the fortifications and on his plentiful stock of supplies, defied the Shah. Ottoman gunners and musketeers poured their fire on the Safavid camp, and both sides fought with great determination. Gradually the *gāzis* pushed their breastworks right up to the walls, thus allowing a huge siege gun which Darvīš Beg, a royal artilleryman, had placed beneath the walls, to play on the towers and battlements and to shake the foundations of the fort.

For three months the defenders put up a stout resistance, but in the fourth month they began to weaken. Among the defenders were a number of Kurds. It is a characteristic of the men of this tribe that, when they are in a crisis, they think only of their own interests; in this way they remain friends of fortune and are ready to deal with the vicissitudes of fate. These men were no exception; they killed the commandant of the fort and hoisted *qezelbāš* troops up over the walls. In this manner, the fort at Arjīš fell into the hands of the Safavids, and it too, at the Shah's command, was destroyed.

From Arjīš, the Shah marched to lay siege to the fort of Nārgīrī. The besieged defended the fort valiantly, and for a number of days there was hot fighting between the two sides. Finally, however, the defenders lost heart and sued for quarter, which was granted. The commandant of the fort left the fortress on promise of quarter, and his life was spared.

After the capture of Nārgīrī, the Shah sent Esma'il Mīrzā and Sevendūk Beg the *qürčibāšī* to raid Kurdestan. He also sent a number of emirs on a punitive expedition against some rebellious Maḥmūdī tribesmen. Both forces, after killing and plundering the perfidious Kurds, returned to camp with abundant booty.

Sultan Sūlaymān, who had planned to invade Azerbaijan and had advanced as far as Aleppo, was unable to advance farther that year

because of the shortage of provisions. He therefore spent the winter at Aleppo, making his preparations for the invasion of Iran the following year. Since it was the season to go into winter quarters, the Shah, returning in triumph from his campaign in Armenia, wintered at Nağčevān.

The following year (961/1553-34), Sultan Sülaymān marched from Aleppo with a large army. The Shah moved from Nağčevān to his summer quarters at Bāzār-čāy and sent one group of men under the command of Esma'il Mīrzā, Ma'şūm Beg Şafavī, *amīr-e dīvān*, and Sāhqolī Kalīfa *mohrdār* in the direction of Vān and Vastān. Another group, under the command of Sultan Ḥoseyn Mīrzā, the son of Bahram Mīrzā, who relied on the experience of the veteran officer Šāhverdī Sultan Ziād-oğlū, was dispatched in another direction. Their object was to burn the land in the path of the Ottoman army and to leave no cultivation in that area. Both groups carried out their orders and rejoined the royal camp at Bāzār-čāy.

When Sultan Sülaymān reached the borders of Iran, the summer season had already passed. The Shah sent out scouts in every direction to obtain intelligence on the enemy; these scouts were under the command of his most experienced and brave officers, who had orders not to lose any opportunity of harrying the enemy. The crafty old soldiers in these *qezelbāš* detachments licked their lips in anticipation of Ottoman loot and, at every stage, they scored local successes against the Ottomans and inflicted casualties upon them. Not a day passed without their sending back to the Shah enemy heads, booty, and prisoners. By the time Sultan Sülaymān reached Nağčevān, he had suffered not inconsiderable losses at their hands.

When the Ottoman sultan camped at Nağčevān, Shah Tahmasp reviewed his troops. About forty thousand¹¹⁹ cavalry, men who received regular salaries, passed in review before him, mounted on Arabian horses and fully equipped; they were followed by the rest of the men who were in the royal camp on a comparable basis. After reviewing his army, the Shah set out from his summer quarters at Bāzār-čāy with all the pomp of Kosrow and the majesty of the Keyānd monarchs, to meet the enemy. Sultan Sülaymān had found it impossible to remain at Nağčevān because of the shortage of provisions, so he burned the city and retired in the direction of Erzerum.

¹¹⁹Contrast his position in 940/1533-34, when he had only seven thousand loyal men with him.

The Shah's army pursued him, killing and taking prisoner a number of Ottomans at every stage of their retreat.

In the course of his retreat, Senān Beg, who was one of the Sultan's intimate companions and special favorites, while out on patrol, came into conflict with a group of Safavid scouts and was taken prisoner after a skirmish. Sultan Sūlāymān was distressed by the capture of Senān Beg and regretted his fruitless expedition to Iran. As a result, he expressed his desire for peace to Moḥammad Pasha, the grand vizier, who was an upright, well-disposed man, and was constantly urging him to open peace negotiations. Accordingly, Moḥammad Pasha wrote letters to the frontier emirs informing them that peace negotiations were under way. At the same time, he entreated the Shah to release Senān Beg and to send him back with an envoy empowered to enter into negotiations. Shah Tahmasp, in response to the appeal of Moḥammad Pasha, and influenced by the intercession of well-disposed persons on the Safavid side, released Senān Beg.

Since on the one hand hostility and conflict between monarchs bring ruin to the realm, and on the other peaceful relations between just rulers bring security and stability in the affairs of both military and civilians alike, the Shah became disposed to make peace, with the specific object of improving the lot of the ordinary people who had suffered blows from both sides, being trampled underfoot by the passage of the armies. Accordingly, the Shah sent back with Senān Beg Šāhqolī Beg, an elder of the Qājār tribe, who was a member of the royal bodyguard. Sultan Sūlāymān, now disposed to making peace, sent Šāhqolī Beg back laden with gifts and favors. The Shah thereupon called off the pursuit of the Ottoman army and led his forces in a raid against Georgia. An account of Shah Tahmasp's raids against Georgia and of his subjugation of that country will be given in an appendix to this section.

After the return of Šāhqolī Beg, the Shah, on the advice of Moḥammad Pasha, sent a friendly letter to Sultan Sūlāymān with Farroḵzād Beg Qarādāglū the *eşik-āqāsi*¹²⁰ and entered into formal negotiations for a peace treaty. For his part, Sultan Sūlāymān sent trusted ambassadors bearing cordial greetings to the Shah. An official treaty of peace was concluded, attested by sworn oaths and agreements and ratified by the exchange of documents and gifts. Of

¹²⁰*Eşik-āqāsi* was a blanket term denoting a variety of officials of widely differing rank (see *TM*, index).

the disputed border areas, some were allocated to the Ottomans, some to the Safavids. The frontier was determined, and rules laid down in regard to it. Muslims who had been tormented by the constant passage of the armies of both sides were left in peace. Talented scholars in Iran have devised the following chronogram to mark the date of this peace treaty: "Peace is a boon."¹²¹

Peace remained unbroken for the remainder of the lifetime of Shah Tahmasp. In 974/1566, Sultan Sūlāymān died and was succeeded by his son Sultan Selīm II. Following his father's example, he pursued a policy of friendship toward Shah Tahmasp, with whom he maintained a father-son relationship. Communications and embassies were constantly going to and fro between them, and gifts and presents were exchanged. Selīm II reigned for eight years and died in 982/1574. He was succeeded by his son Sultan Morād who, during the lifetime of Shah Tahmasp and the reign of Esma'il Mīrzā,¹²² did not deviate from the path of friendship and sworn peace. After the death of Esma'il Mīrzā and the accession of Sultan Mohammad Pādešāh, he broke the covenants and pledges of his forefathers, threw the tranquil world into a tumult, and brought down calamity upon the heads of ordinary people. My account of these events will be given at the appropriate place. For the moment, I will direct my pen to describe the various campaigns conducted by Shah Tahmasp against the infidels of Georgia.

The Subjugation and Annexation of Šīrvān

The first of the kingdoms to be subjugated by Shah Tahmasp was that of Šīrvān.¹²³ The *vālis*¹²⁴ of Šīrvān are descendants of Kosrow

¹²¹This chronogram appears to give the year 969/1561, whereas the Treaty of Amasya was signed in 962-63/1555.

¹²²This chronicle always refers to Shah Esma'il II as Esma'il Mīrzā (Prince Esma'il), possibly because his reign was of such short duration (15 months).

¹²³Šīrvān had first been conquered by Shah Esma'il I in 915/1509-10, and since that time the rulers of Šīrvān had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Safavid shahs. In 945/1538, however, Shah Tahmasp brought Šīrvān under direct Safavid rule and gave the province to his brother Alqāṣ Mīrzā as a fief. The ancient dynasty of the Šīrvānshāhs was thus brought to an end, although various descendants of Shaikh Shah made attempts to regain their territory with Ottoman assistance. Šīrvān, the subject of dispute between Persians, Turks, and Russians during the 17th and 18th centuries, was finally incorporated into Russian territory in 1820.

¹²⁴In Safavid usage, the term *vāli* (lit.: governor) denoted the ruler of a frontier province who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Safavid shah but enjoyed a large degree of independence. In many cases, these *vālis* belonged to local minor dynasties of considerable antiquity, and it was sound Safavid policy to leave them as far as possible undisturbed. In later Safavid times, there were four *vālis* ruling the provinces of 'Arabestān (Kūzestān), northern Lorestān, Georgia, and Kurdestān.

Anūšīrvān,¹²⁵ and are known as Šīrvānshāhs. Among the *vālis* of Šīrvān who had ruled that country in unbroken line of descent was Farrok Yasār b. Farāmarz b. Goštāsb b. Farroķzād b. Amīr Kalilollāh b. Solṭān Ebrāhīm b. Solṭān Moḥammad b. Farroķzād b. Manūčehr, styled Kāqān (the poet Kāqānī obtained his pen name by virtue of being his panegyrist). Farrok Yasār was hostile toward the Safavid dynasty, as has been already related, and fought against Sultan Joneyd and Sultan Heydar,¹²⁶ who were both killed in battle. Finally, Farrok Yasār was killed by the avenging sword of Shah Esma'il, and the house of Šīrvān fell into disorder.

Sultān Kalīl b. Šeyk Šāh b. Farrok Yasār visited the court of Shah Esma'il and declared his submission and obedience to the Shah. He was well received and honored by a marriage alliance with the Safavid royal house.¹²⁷ Sultan Kalīl was also confirmed in his position as ruler of Šīrvān. After the death of Esma'il, he continued to be regarded with favor by Shah Tahmasp, and enjoyed prosperity until his death in 942/1535, in the twelfth year of his reign. Since he left no offspring, the emirs of Šīrvān placed his nephew, Šāhrok b. Solṭān Farrok b. Šeyk Šāh, who was still an infant, on the throne. Because of the ambition and egotism of the emirs, the administration of Šīrvān was thrown into confusion, the dynasty was rent by dissension, and the country lapsed into disorder.

At this point, a young man, a *qalandar*,¹²⁸ put forward the claim that he was Sultan Moḥammad b. Šeyk Šāh. A large army gathered around him, and he seized possession of Sāliān.¹²⁹ From there he marched on Šamākī,¹³⁰ where the supporters of Šāhrok, because the emirs were out of control and the army disunited, did not have sufficient strength to oppose him. They retired to the fortress of Bīqord,¹³¹ allowing the

¹²⁵The validity of the claim of the Šīrvānshāhs to descent from the celebrated Sassanian monarch Anūšīrvān is open to doubt (see V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband*, Cambridge 1958, p. 129 hereinafter quoted as Minorsky, *Darband*).

¹²⁶Eskandar Monšī is mistaken here: Sultan Heydar fell in battle against a combined force of Āq Qoyūnlū and the troops of the Šīrvānshāh Farrok Yasār in 1488, but his father Joneyd was killed in 1456 fighting against the Šīrvānshāh Sultan Kalīl b. Šeyk Ebrāhīm.

¹²⁷Sultan Kalīl b. Šeyk Šāh married Shah Esma'il's daughter, Parī Khan Kānom.

¹²⁸*Qalandars* were wandering dervishes not belonging to any of the regular Sufi orders.

¹²⁹In Šīrvān, "near the delta of the Kūr" (TM, p. 167).

¹³⁰The capital of Šīrvān, located on a western headwater of the Pīr-Saqat River, some 40 kilometers to the east of Ak-Su (Minorsky, *Darband*, p. 75).

¹³¹At the source of the Gök-čay (see Minorsky, *Darband*, p. 138).

qalandar to take possession of Šamākī, the Šīrvānshāh's capital. Since the *qalandar*'s supporters were disorganized vagrants, with not an intelligent, experienced man among them, in their stupidity and because of their lack of planning, they evacuated Šamākī and returned in the direction of Sälän. When the nobles of Šīrvān in the fortress of Bīqord heard that they had left, they accompanied Sāhrok in pursuit of the rebels. They caught up with them near Sälän and fought an engagement in which Sāhrok's men were victorious. The *qalandar* was taken prisoner by the Šīrvānis and Šeyk-e Pādār¹³² put him to death.

The emirs of Šīrvān, however, resumed their excessive and immoderate behavior and carried it to even greater lengths than before. They began to lay hands on the property and damage the reputation of Muslims. Sāhrok, because of his tender years, was unable to check them. Eventually, the people came to the end of their tether in the face of this oppression, and appealed for assistance to the Safavid court. The *qūrčibāši*-ye *pādār* and a number of ordinary soldiers also came and asked for help.

Shah Tahmasp considered it his kingly duty to subjugate Šīrvān and to suppress the authors of sedition and revolt who were oppressing the people. In 945/1538-39, the Shah dispatched an army of twenty thousand men to Šīrvān under the command of Alqāş Mīrzā, who was accompanied by Mantaşā Solṭān Ostājlū, a number of Qājār and Tavāleš emirs and men of Qarābāğ, as well as the *qūrčibāši*-ye *pādār*. The royal army crossed the river Kor by boat and invaded Šīrvān. The people of Šīrvān were in a refractory, hostile, and rebellious mood, and they strengthened their forts with garrisons of seasoned troops and prepared to fight. The Safavid assault troops first captured the fort of Sorkāb Goldenglān,¹³³ then the fort of Qabala. The Shah's ambition was then directed toward the reduction of the fortress of Golestān, the strongest fort in Šīrvān, and he ordered a detachment to lay siege to it.

Since Sāhrok himself was in the fortress of Bīqord, the Shah led

¹³²The meaning of *pādār* is obscure. See Savory, Development, p. 244 and n 7. I am now inclined to think that Pādar may be the proper name of a tribe: Olearius, ii, 37, refers to Pādar as "ein Räubervolke," and one of the tribes of Turkman stock living northwest of Šamākī in Soviet Azerbaijan is named Pādar.

¹³³See B. Dorn, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kaukasischen Länder und Völker aus morgenländischen Quellen*, I, p. 598.

his main force in that direction. Hoseyn Beg, the lieutenant¹³⁴ of Šahroķ Mīrzā, came out to meet the *qezelbāš* army and an engagement was fought in the valley of Bīqord. The royal army soon filled the valley with the blood of the enemy; a defeated Hoseyn Beg retired to the castle, where he strengthened the fortifications and prepared to resist a siege. The *qezelbāš* commenced the siege, with fighting every day between the two sides. The Šīrvānīs persisted in their opposition and defiance, and the siege dragged on for four months. Darvīš Mohammad Khan, the ruler of Šakkī,¹³⁵ came to the aid of the Šīrvānīs. Approaching the *qezelbāš* camp with a view to making a night attack on it, he beat the war drums and sounded the horns. A group of Safavid warriors and *qurčīs* rushed to meet the attackers and beat them off. Darvīš Mohammad Khan, having lost a lot of men, retired without having accomplished anything.

The Šīrvānīs, since there was no one else from whom they could solicit aid, gave up. They sent a message saying they were ready to surrender the fort to the Shah in person, whenever he should arrive. The emirs reported this faithfully to the Shah, who at once marched toward Šīrvān from Marand. The day after he camped before the walls of the fort at Bīqord, Hoseyn Beg the *vakil* came forth with the other nobles, bringing Šahroķ, and they handed over to the officers of the court the key of the fort and the keys of the treasury and store-houses. The commandant of the fort of Golestān also came forth to surrender. Hoseyn Beg the *vakil*, together with most of the Šīrvānī army chiefs, were put to death for their opposition, presumption, and rebellion. Shortly afterward, Šahroķ Mīrzā also died,¹³⁶ and Alqāş Mīrzā was appointed governor of Šīrvān by the Shah, who returned to Azerbaijan. The court poets devised the chronogram "the conquest of Šīrvān" to mark this event.¹³⁷

For nine years, Alqāş Mīrzā governed Šīrvān with full independence. Then, led astray by the enjoyment of an abundance of kingly pomp and circumstance, and by the possession of increasing power

¹³⁴I am not sure whether the word *vakil* is used here in a specific or in a general sense. In Safavid usage, of course, it was a technical administrative term, and the precise meaning is determined by the context.

¹³⁵A principality lying northwest of Šīrvān.

¹³⁶Münejjem-bāşı, quoted in Minorsky, *Darband*, p. 133, states that Šahroķ Mīrzā was first imprisoned and then put to death by Shah Tahmasp.

¹³⁷This ingenious chronogram involves the deduction of one hundred years from the numerical value of the phrase: *fath-e Šīrvān*. This gives 1055 minus 100 equals 955. The correct date (945/1538) can only be obtained by reading *Šārvān* instead of *Šīrvān*, thus omitting the letter *yā*, which has a numerical value of 10.

and an expanding army, he rebelled against his benefactor the Shah, as has been recounted, and committed himself to everlasting apostasy. The Shah gave the province of Šīrvān to his son, Esma'il Mīrzā, and left Gökča Solṭān Qājār in attendance on the prince. After the prince had established himself in Šīrvān, someone called Borhān, the grandson of one of the sultans of Šīrvān,¹³⁸ who had been living among the people of Qeytāq,¹³⁹ entered Šīrvān in the year 954/1547-48¹⁴⁰ and took up residence at Qolhān.¹⁴¹ A number of seditious persons and scattered groups of the Šīrvānī army rallied round him, and he felled trees and constructed palisades in the forests, in preparation for a fight.

Esma'il Mīrzā and Gökča Sultan marched with a large force to suppress the rebels, and fierce fighting took place between the skirmishers on both sides. When Esma'il Mīrzā came up with the main force, the Šīrvānī forces were unable to continue their resistance and were defeated. Borhān Mīrzā escaped to Dāgestān after suffering much hardship and affliction, but many of his supporters were killed. When the news was confirmed that the Ottoman sultan was marching on Iran with the apostate Alqāş, Esma'il Mīrzā and Gökča Sultan, on orders from the Shah, left Šīrvān and joined the royal camp. Borhān Mīrzā, finding Šīrvān stripped of *qezelbaš* troops, came to Šamākī and took possession of Šīrvān. He reigned there for a while, but the fortunes of his dynasty were on the wane and he died not long afterward.¹⁴²

In 956/1549-50, after Sultan Sūlāymān had returned to Turkey and Alqāş Mīrzā had been captured, the governorship of Šīrvān was awarded to 'Abdollāh Khan Ostājlū, the son of Qarā Khan and a relation of Khan Moḥammad Ostājlū.¹⁴³ 'Abdollāh Khan was both the

¹³⁸Borhān 'Alī Sultan was the grandson of Shaikh Shah (see Minorsky, *Darband*, p. 133).

¹³⁹Probably a region of southern Dāgestān; see Minorsky, *Darband*, index, s.v. Khaydāq.

¹⁴⁰According to Münejjem-bašt (quoted in Minorsky, *Darband*, p. 133), Borhān had already made one attempt to establish himself in Šīrvān in 951/1544, when he had attacked the Safavid governor Alqāş Mīrzā.

¹⁴¹A dependency of Qūta in southern Šīrvān.

¹⁴²In 958/1551, after ruling Šīrvān for two years (Minorsky, *Darband*, p. 133, quoting Münejjem-bašt). According to this source, Borhān Mīrzā owed his success in seizing power in Šīrvān to the support of Ottoman troops.

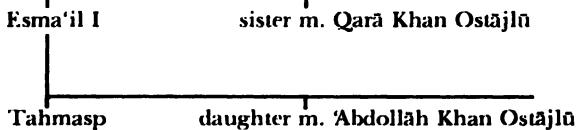
¹⁴³He was his brother.

nephew and the son-in-law of Shah Esma'il.¹⁴⁴ The Šīrvānīs, because they had acquiesced in and supported the ephemeral reign of Borhān Mīrzā, were apprehensive of 'Abdollāh Khan; they gathered at a rendezvous and agreed to put on the throne a youth named Mehrāb, who was a relative of Borhān Mīrzā, and prepared to oppose 'Abdollāh Khan. The latter marched against them, overcame the resistance of the Šīrvānīs, and defeated them. Mehrāb Mīrzā escaped, but most of his men were killed.

The Šīrvānī survivors, because of their ill-starred destiny, made yet another attempt at revolt; they nominated Qorbān Alī Mīrzā, a kinsman of Mehrāb, as their ruler, and sought refuge on an offshore island in the Caspian Sea. 'Abdollāh Khan made repeated attempts to win back their allegiance, but they rejected his overtures and persisted in their rebellious attitude. 'Abdollāh Khan marched against them once again, and the *qezelbāš gāzis* rode their horses into the water, crossed to the island, and came to grips with that seditious band. They slew most of them and returned laden with large quantities of loot. After this, 'Abdollāh Khan established himself firmly as governor of Šīrvān, and his fame spread in those parts. For some years he enjoyed prosperity and good fortune.

In the year 961/1553-54, when Sultan Sūlāymān invaded Azerbaijan for the fourth time, a man named Qāsem was sent to Šīrvān with an army, passing through Kaffa on his way. This man was descended from the former rulers of Šīrvān and had taken refuge at the Ottoman court. When he passed Darband and set foot in Šīrvān, the people again rebelled, withdrew their allegiance from 'Abdollāh Khan, and rallied around Qāsem. 'Abdollāh Khan led his forces against the rebels, and the two armies met at Tanga, a place of great strength. Because of its strength, 'Abdollāh Khan was unable to achieve anything and returned to Šamākī. Qāsem then occupied the fortress of Biqord and prepared for battle. When he was ready, he marched against 'Abdollāh Khan with twelve thousand¹⁴⁵ Ottoman troops, Šīrvānīs, and Janissaries. The *qezelbāš* elders who were with

¹⁴⁴



'Abdollah Khan Ostājlu was therefore the nephew of Shah Esma'il I, the son-in-law of Shah Esma'il I, and the brother-in-law of Shah Tahmasp.

¹⁴⁵MS. has ten thousand.

the Khan, lost their nerve because of the overwhelming numerical superiority of the enemy and hesitated to give battle.

But 'Abdollah Khan, relying on the support of the celestial hosts and the good fortune of the Shah, prepared to meet the enemy with the two¹⁴⁶ thousand men he had with him. The armies met near the fort of Golestān, and heavy fighting went on all day. Toward nightfall, the rebels' star finally began to wane and the enemy broke. The gāzīs slew great numbers of the enemy, piling up their heads into pillars. The survivors fled in the direction of Tabarsarān.¹⁴⁷ The fate of Qāsem is unknown: he may have been killed in the battle, or he may have fled to some unknown spot. Qāzi Ahmad Čaffārī states in the *Tārik-e Jahān-ārā* that when his forces were finally routed, Qāsem left the battlefield, but his eventual fate is unknown.

After this victory, 'Abdollah Khan's rule was established more firmly than ever. Rebellious elements were chastised by his sharp sword, and the peasants and common people were protected by his justice and compassion. Stability characterized the affairs of the province; 'Abdollah Khan's presence inspired such awe and fear in the hearts of the people of Širvān, Tabarsarān, and Dāgestān that no thought of rebellion entered the mind of anyone, great or small. In 974/1566-67, when he had been governor of Širvān for sixteen years, 'Abdollah Khan died, and Aras Khan Rūmlū was appointed to succeed him. The latter continued to hold this post during the remainder of Shah Tahmasp's lifetime.

The Conquest of the Province of Šakki in 958/1551

Another province conquered by Shah Tahmasp was Šakki.¹⁴⁸ This province is bounded on two sides by Širvān, on the third side by Georgia, and on the fourth side by Dāgestān and the Alborz Mountains. Hasan Beg, who was descended from a long line of rulers of Šakki, a dynasty forming one of the side branches of the dynasty of the Širvānshāhs, had been expelled from his country by the Georgians. In his flight he had sought refuge at the court of Shah Esma'il I, where he had been favorably received and granted assistance. In the same year as the death of Shah Esma'il (930/1524), Lavand Khan,

¹⁴⁶I follow the MS. here. The printed text has "twelve," which makes no sense in the context.

¹⁴⁷See Minorsky, *Darband*, pp. 91-92.

¹⁴⁸Lying west of Širvān and east of the Kakhetia district of Georgia.

the ruler of the Kakhetia district of Georgia, brought an army to Šakkī. In a battle fought between him and Ḥasan Beg, the latter was killed. The nobles of Šakkī made his son, Darviš Mohammad, their ruler, but he, reversing his father's policy, adopted a hostile attitude toward the officers of the Safavid empire. On numerous occasions he displayed signs of opposition, and in the year Shah Tahmasp dispatched an army to subjugate Širvān (945/1538-39), Darviš Mohammad Khan, as has already been related, made a night attack on the *qezelbāš* camp.

In the year 958/1551, the royal army marched to subjugate Šakkī. News of the approach of the Shah cast terror into the hearts of the rulers of those regions, and Lavand Khan the Georgian visited the court with a view to offering his services to the Shah. Lavand Khan was received in audience by the Shah in the region of the Aras River, and was honored by marks of royal favor.

The Shah then sent letters, couched in winning terms and containing promises of royal favors, to Darviš Mohammad Khan, calling on him to submit and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Shah. That ill-starred man, however, turned his face away from the bliss which contains the assurance of everlasting happiness and, trusting in the strength of his fortresses, prepared to resist the Shah. Some of the Šakkī nobles prepared to defend the fort of Kiš, while Darviš Mohammad Khan himself went to the fort of Gelesen-göresen, which had hitherto been impregnable because of the immense strength and the height of its fortifications. There he busied himself with preparations for withstanding a siege. An additional group occupied another stronghold in the foothills of the Alborz Mountains, and stood ready to do battle.

The Shah's anger was inflamed by the obstinacy of the rebels, who were as insignificant as a speck of dust in the sunlight. He dispatched Sevendük Beg, the *qürçibāši*, with Badr Khān and Šahqolī Khan Ostājlū, to reduce the fortress of Kiš. 'Abdollah Khān Ostājlū and Lavand Khan the Georgian were ordered to subdue the fort of Gelesen-göresen; Šahqolī Kalifa the *mohrdār*, with another detachment, was ordered against the Alborz stronghold.

The Safavid emirs applied themselves to their various tasks, and by bombarding the forts with cannon, light artillery, and heavy siege guns, they succeeded in breaching castle walls and toppling

towers. The defenders of the castles saw their position deteriorating. The commandant of the fortress of Kiš tendered his submission to the Shah, bringing with him sword and shroud, and handed over the keys of the castle, for which he received a royal pardon. At the Shah's order, the castle was destroyed and the towers and battlements razed.

After the capture of Kiš, the royal army proceeded to the Alborz Mountains. The defenders of the stronghold there, overawed by the fall of Kiš and the approach of the Shah, hastened company by company to the royal court and surrendered. Darviš Moḥammad Khan, repenting of his actions, left the fort of Gelesen-görenen secretly at night, looking for some asylum to save himself from the dire calamity that threatened him. As ill luck would have it, the route chosen by Darviš Moḥammad Khan and his four hundred companions took them close to the camp of 'Abdollah Khan and Lavand Khan. The *gazis* raised the alarm and set off in pursuit. Darviš Moḥammad Khan and his men were overtaken before they had gone far, and the majority of them fell victim to the swords and daggers of the *gazis*. Darviš Moḥammad Khan himself was engaged in single combat by Kūsa Pirqolī, a retainer of Čarandāb Sultan Sāmlū. Kūsa Pirqolī, after overpowering and decapitating him took the head back to camp and cast it at the feet of the Shah's horse, for which he was suitably rewarded. After this, the whole of the province of Šakkī was occupied by the officers of the Shah and the province was annexed to the Safavid empire.

The Shah's Expeditions to Georgia, His Extirpation of Infidels, and the Subjugation of Georgia

The necessity of conducting a holy war against the infidel had always been in the back of the mind of Shah Tahmasp, the defender of the Faith and upholder of the canon law. Because of his more important preoccupations with his powerful enemies to the east and to the west, he had been forced to postpone such an operation. Nevertheless, when the opportunity arose, he turned his attention to raiding the Christian peoples of Georgia and to capturing castles and other installations there. During his reign, he led four expeditions to Georgia, and on several other occasions he sent armies there. The governors of all the seven districts of Georgia were appointed by the Shah and became his subjects, contracted to pay the poll tax and the land tax, and were instructed to have the name and exalted titles

of the Shah included in the *koṭba* and stamped on the coinage. Thus the infidels of those regions were reduced to submission by the sharp swords of the warriors of Islam.

The land of Georgia consists of Kakhetia, Kartlia,¹⁴⁹ and Meskhia. I will give here some brief background information to events in this region. The provinces closest to the Georgian provinces were Šakki and Širvān. When the rulers of Šakki and Širvān were weak, the Georgian infidels used to descend on those provinces and harass the Muslims there. The local rulers would do their best to repulse them and there was constant enmity and conflict between the two sides. When Shah Tahmasp subjugated Šakki, Lavand Khan the Georgian, as has already been mentioned, sought sanctuary at the Shah's court, tendering his submission to the Shah and agreeing to pay taxes to his overlord. Another Georgian ruler, Key Kosrow the son of Qwar-qwaré, entered Safavid service and was enrolled among the retainers at court. He was in constant attendance on the Shah and was warmed by royal favor. But Lüärsäb, the ruler of Kartlia, and Bagrät, the ruler of Baši-Āčūq and Dādiān, adopted a hostile attitude and did not show satisfactory signs of submission.

They ravaged the territory of the above-mentioned Key Kosrow, who was the loyal and obedient servant of the Shah. On several occasions, the Shah had sent punitive expeditions against them, and the ruler of Baši-Āčūq and Dādiān was severely chastised and induced to show greater respect. Lüärsäb, too, had repeatedly forgotten his position and had ravaged the Muslim lands on his borders. Consequently, the Shah deemed it necessary to discipline these rebellious Georgians; the prospect of obtaining spiritual rewards for a campaign in defense of the faith reinforced the Shah's intention.

Shah Tahmasp's First Campaign in Georgia

In 947/1540-41, Shah Tahmasp first conceived the plan of conducting a foray and declaring a holy war against Georgia. He set out toward Qarabāğ, ostensibly with only pleasurable pursuits and hunting in mind. From Qarabāğ, he marched rapidly toward Georgia with a body of experienced men. On a night which was even darker than the hearts of men before the advent of Islam, they stormed into the city of Tiflis, which they subjected to fire, the sword, and plunder. The men were put to death and the women and children were taken

¹⁴⁹Kakhetia is the eastern and Kartlia the western part of Georgia.

captive by the *gāzīs*. Golbād the Georgian, who was governor of Tiflis on behalf of Lūārsāb, fled into the fort with a number of followers; later, he came out of the fort on a promise of quarter and embraced Islam. A number of Georgian emirs, in fear of the royal army, took refuge in an extremely strong and well-fortified castle named Bintrisi, where they were besieged by the Safavid forces and saw no alternative but to surrender the castle.

The *gāzīs* subdued all the infidels living in those regions, and all those who were blessed by good fortune and divinely guided to make the twin professions of the Muslim faith¹⁵⁰ were spared; the rest packed their bags and took up their abode in hell. Lūārsāb withdrew to a mountain named Dīdgor, which vied with Mount Alborz in height and could be climbed only in the imagination. Tahmasp, the *gāzī* king, was not to be deprived of his prey, however; he determined to net the leader of those wicked men. The Shah's soldiers scaled the heights and reached the peak of the mountain, which was like Mount Alvand¹⁵¹ in altitude, and overpowered the Georgians. Many of the enemy were slain in the ravines and gullies on the mountainside. The survivors were scattered in defeat. Lūārsāb himself escaped into mountainous and thickly forested country and eluded the *gāzīs*. Since Lūārsāb had been chastened to some extent at least, the Shah returned to Tiflis and cleansed that region of the impure presence of rebellious infidels. He then returned to Iran.

Shah Tahmasp's Second Campaign in Georgia

In 953/1546-47, when Alqāṣ Mīrzā displayed signs of revolt, the Shah dispatched a punitive expedition against him, as I have already recorded. Alqāṣ sent his mother to court to intercede for him, and he received a royal pardon. The Shah canceled his plans to march to Šīrvān, and instead led his army, in the depths of winter when the sun was in the station of Capricorn, on a raid against the infidel Georgians. Leaving Šūra Gel, the Shah marched to Āq Šahr, where he encamped. Lavand Khan, ruler of Zagam¹⁵² and Gremi in Kakhetia, and Malek Baqrāt of Bāšī-Āčūq, generally known as Bagrāt, presented themselves to the Shah with gifts, tribute, and taxes. They joined the Shah's retinue and accompanied him on his campaign. At that season, the cold was so intense that the river Kor froze over; the ice became so thick that it was as hard as iron. Snow fell night and day in such

¹⁵⁰I.e., "There is no god but God" and "Mohammad is the Prophet of God."

¹⁵¹Mount Alvand, 11,800 ft, rises southwest of Hamadan.

¹⁵²A district of northern Kakhetia.

quantities that, to the eye of the beholder, mountain and plain seemed as one.

In conditions like these, the armies of Islam marched against the wicked infidels. When they reached the Georgian centers of habitation, the swords of the *gazis* began lopping off heads, and they reddened the ground with the blood of infidels and priests. They destroyed by fire the houses of those impious people, and returned laden with booty to Tianeti. En route, the ruler of Baši-Āčūq sought permission to leave. He returned to his own territory after the Shah had conferred on him robes of honor and other marks of his favor. Lavand Khan remained in attendance on the Shah until the royal army reached the region of Ganja. There the Shah, having tested Lavand Khan's repeated assurances of loyalty and service and found them to be genuine, released him to return to his own province, laden with sumptuous robes of honor and numerous other gifts, such as gold-embroidered garments, Arabian horses, and articles studded with gems. And God knoweth best!

Shah Tahmasp's Third Expedition to Georgia

In 958/1551, when the province of Šakkı was brought under the control of officers of the Safavid state, the royal army was still stationed there when Key Kosrow, the son of Qwarqvaré, sent a petition to the Shah. The burden of his communication was that Lüārsāb, Vanjūš, and Šaramzān Gorjı had been making incursions on his territory and had in fact occupied part of it. Further, Eskandar Pasha had marched from Erzerum and had seized the fortress of Ardanuç. Since Key Kosrow was a vassal and tributary of his, the Shah enlisted his aid in conducting a holy war against the Georgians. He marched from Šakkı and reached Georgia by an extremely mountainous and difficult route. The infidels, steeped in error, adopted guerrilla tactics and retreated to the mountains and caves, every group taking refuge in some inaccessible mountain. The Georgian nobility, on the other hand, fortified their castles. The warriors of the army of Islam, who were fighting a holy war, demonstrated their valor by penetrating to the retreats of the polytheists,¹⁵³ slew thousands of wrongdoers with arrows and the sword, and dispatched them to an evil destination.¹⁵⁴ Several forts in the area were captured, and many

¹⁵³Mošrekān, literally, "those who attribute a partner to God," was a term frequently applied to Christians by Muslims, who alleged that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity made Christians guilty of this practice.

¹⁵⁴I.e., hell. The phrase is taken from the Koran, 58:9, which reads: "Sufficient for them is Hell, wherein they will burn; and a most evil destination it is!"

Georgian women, beautiful as the maidens of paradise, and many youths, handsome as Joseph, of the breed of the youths of paradise, were taken prisoner; in addition, much booty fell into the hands of the victors.

A group of Georgian nobles took refuge in the fortress of Vardzia¹⁵⁵ and in the church there, which were situated on a mountainside and hewn out of the solid rock—a place of outstanding strength. Shah Tahmasp dispatched Badr Khan Ostājlū and Šāhverdī Sultan Ziād-oglū, with a detachment of troops, against this fort. The *qezelbāš* surrounded the fort and, with leather¹⁵⁶ aprons round their waists and holding their broad shields over their heads, stormed the walls. With immense courage, and with God's help, they succeeded in securing a footing on top of the walls. By a clear miracle of the Islamic faith,¹⁵⁷ the defenders found every way barred to them; they had neither any means of escape nor the power to resist. The men were all put to the sword, and the women and children taken prisoner.

The church located within the fortress was one of God's great works of art. Even the most intelligent find it impossible to believe that such craftsmanship could be the work of man. Within the fortress, in a hollow of the mountainside, the solid rock had been hewn to a height of ten cubits, and a church had been constructed consisting of four long, spacious halls. Both the inner and outer walls were adorned with idols¹⁵⁸ of gold and lapis lazuli. A dais had been placed in the middle of the second chamber, and on this dais was set an idol fashioned out of red gold, adorned with lustrous jewels. Two flashing rubies of great price had been placed in the eyes of this lifeless statue—each ruby valued by expert jewelers at fifty *tomān*.¹⁵⁹ Outside the church, an extremely narrow passage about one-hundred-and-fifty cubits in length, hewn, like the halls of the church, out of the solid rock, led to two secret chambers designed as a hiding place in troubled and turbulent times. Steel doors had been erected at the entrance of

¹⁵⁵"A few miles west of Khertvisi on the main road from Akholtzikhe to Akhalkalaki" (see W.E.D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932, p. 58; hereinafter referred to as Allen).

¹⁵⁶Both printed text and MS. have *yalti*, which seems not to make sense. I have conjectured *yalabi*, "leather," and also "of steel." The assault troops are clearly wearing additional clothing to protect them from missiles, boiling liquids, etc., hurled down by the defenders.

¹⁵⁷*Din-e mobin*. An echo of the phrase used repeatedly in the Koran to describe the Muslim scriptures: *al-Ketab o'l-mobino*, "the clear, perspicuous book."

¹⁵⁸Presumably statues and ikons. The reader must remember that the author is a Muslim!

¹⁵⁹The *tomān* in 1574 was worth twenty scudi.

the outer chambers of the church, and a single door of gold within.

Shah Tahmasp walked to inspect the church, and in that infidel place of worship, he put to death twenty irreligious priests and sent them to perdition. The church bell, which had been cast of the finest bronze, was smashed and destroyed like the lives of the Georgians. The steel doors and the gold door were torn down. Together with the rest of the luxury items, ornaments and untold wealth which had been amassed in the treasuries of those ill-starred evildoers, they were transported back to the royal treasury. The fortress was smashed and razed to the ground.

The Georgian emirs who had crawled into holes in the castle and into hiding places, men like Amān Beg and Levāy and Šaramzān and others, emerged one by one and came to prostrate themselves before the Shah. Key Kosrow the son of Qwarqwaré, who had been relieved of the threat of harassment by Eskandar Pasha as a result of the arrival of the royal army, came to court, bringing appropriate gifts, and was received by the Shah with kindness and favor. Vānjūš and Šaramzān-oğlū, who were two hostile chiefs, were both executed, and the districts of Kūmak and Āq Šahr, which had belonged to them, were granted to Key Kosrow. The Shah then moved to the Kartlia region, which he ravaged, putting to death any follower of Lüārsāb who fell into his hands. From this region too, the *gāzīs* collected much wealth, countless prisoners, and flocks of sheep, goats, and other animals. From there, the Shah returned to Qarābāğ, where he spent the winter.

The Shah's Fourth Expedition to Georgia

I will give a brief account of this, the Shah's fourth expedition to Georgia. In the year 961/1553-54, the year in which peace was concluded between Shah Tahmasp and Sultan Sūlaymān, the ruler of Asia Minor, Egypt, and Syria,¹⁶⁰ the frontier between the Ottoman and Safavid empires was clearly demarcated, and regulations regarding the frontier areas were laid down. The provinces of Samtzhé (Meskhia), Kartlia, and Kakhetia were allotted to Iran, and the provinces of Bāšī-Āčūq, Dādiān, and Gūrlān, as far as the borders of Trebizond and Tripoli, became part of the Ottoman empire.

Lüārsāb, the ruler of Kartlia who had retreated to the mountains out of fear of the *qezelbāš* warriors, took every opportunity to show

¹⁶⁰By this date, the Ottoman empire covered a very much larger area than this! But Eskandar Monši is not concerned with events in Europe.

disrespect toward his sovereign, acts which were noted and observed by the Shah. He repeatedly ravaged the region of Tiflis, and areas which had been occupied and subjugated by *qezelbāš* forces. The people of those regions too, because of their religious and ethnic affinities, returned to their allegiance to him. Consequently, Shah Tahmasp decided to take an army to Kartlia, subdue those impious, misguided men, and incorporate the whole province into the lands of Islam. In conformity with the injunction contained in the Koran: "Kill those who ascribe partners to God, one and all,"¹⁶¹ they would slay any of those irreligious polytheists (the offspring of Gog and Magog who commit mischief on the earth)¹⁶² who refused to accept the burden of the poll tax, and would sweep from the surface of that province those who were in error.

With this intent, the Shah set his army in motion and marched toward Kartlia. When the army of Islam reached Trialeti, the infidels of that region, terrified by the swords and spears of the *gäzis*, fled to the woods and forests, through which progress was difficult both for infantry and cavalry. Some took refuge in the mountains, or in strong, impregnable fortresses. The Safavid warriors in this holy war, shielding themselves with their trust in God and with their own courage, plunged into the woods and forests and, as they came upon group after group of the enemy, put them to the sword. The women and children were taken prisoner and innumerable sheep and goats were taken as booty. Lüärsäb himself, by many different stratagems, escaped from that death trap and found a refuge somewhere.

When the province of Trialeti had been cleansed of the presence of those who ascribe partners to God, Shah Tahmasp marched toward Gori, which was Lüärsäb's capital. After marching over difficult routes and through densely wooded defiles, he cleared that province too of the presence of vile infidels.

Since the Georgian nobility had fortified a number of castles and taken up stations there, each fort garrisoned by a detachment of

¹⁶¹Koran, 9:36 reads: "*wa qatelu'l-mošrekina kaffatan*," "but fight those who attribute partners to God one and all." Eskandar Monṣī not only makes the significant change from *qatelu* (fight) to *aqtolu* (kill), but he omits the restrictive clause which follows in Koran 9:36, "as they fight you one and all."

¹⁶²Koran, 18:95. The legendary *Zu'l-Qarneyn*, traditionally but erroneously identified with Alexander the Great, is said to have built a great wall of iron covered with copper or brass between two mountains, to keep out Gog and Magog. The location of the wall was probably in the Caucasus. The Abbasid caliph al-Wāsq (A.D. 842-847), is said to have sent an envoy to inspect this wall.

determined men, the Shah next turned his attention to these. First, he laid siege to the fortress of Mardānqūb (Martqopi). Its defenders, confident in the strength of the fort, resisted stoutly, but the *gāzis*, keeping up patrol activity all around, reduced the garrison to serious straits. The Georgians, recognizing their plight, sued for quarter; the commandant of the fort, Pārsīdān Beg, came forth and surrendered the castle.

After the capture of this fort, the Shah marched against the fortress of Āmedīn,¹⁶³ the strongest of the forts in those parts; Lūārsāb's mother was in this fort. You would say that the Eternal Architect had placed this fort on the circular vault of the heavens, because the bird of the imagination, soar as it might, could not reach the top of its lofty battlements, and the hand of fate, though it extend itself ever so much, could not touch its earthworks. The garrison of the fort prepared to repulse the *gāzis* and heavy fighting ensued. The *gāzis*, blessed by good fortune, stormed the fort with little effort, and the mother of Lūārsāb was captured, together with the majority of the Georgian nobles. These irreligious men were dispatched to hell, the evil abode, by the sword of holy war.

Several other forts and strongholds were also captured through the valiant efforts of Šāhverdī Sultan Zīād-oğlū, and fell into the hands of Safavid officers. In this campaign, more than thirty thousand prisoners were taken by the Safavids. The wives, daughters, and sons of the Georgian nobility were set aside for Shah Tahmasp in lieu of his one-fifth share of the booty.¹⁶⁴ On this occasion, Lūārsāb covered his tracks so effectively that no sign of his whereabouts could be discovered. The Shah therefore returned to Qarābāg and, after enjoying some hunting along the way, reached his capital, Qazvin.

The Death of Lūārsāb, through the Good Fortune of the Shah and the Will and Decree of God

Among the rulers of Georgia, Lūārsāb was distinguished by his personal bravery and by the number of his supporters and men experienced in war. For this reason, he was in a constant state of revolt, and

¹⁶³The reading is uncertain. Dorn, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kaukasischen Länder und Völker*, III, 339, n 2, tentatively identifies this place with Ateni, in Kremo-Kartlia.

¹⁶⁴After the battle of Badr (January 623), Mohammad received a revelation (see Koran, 8:42) in regard to the division of the spoils of war: one-fifth (*koms*) was allotted to "God and the Prophet, the Kindred of the Prophet, orphans, the needy and wayfarers." Presumably this principle had been transferred to the Shah in his capacity as the "Shadow of God upon earth."

continually refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Shah and pay tribute to him. Although the Shah made great efforts to crush him and conducted several campaigns in Georgia, as has been narrated, Lüärsäb, since his time had not yet come, eluded his grasp.

After the Shah had returned from his fourth campaign in Georgia, Lüärsäb returned to Gori,¹⁶⁵ and the survivors of previous campaigns gathered round him. A year or two passed uneventfully. Then, since he had reached the end of his allotted span, he once again began to make plans to revolt, and he remained obdurate in his opposition to Shah Tahmasp. In 963/1555–56 he emerged from Gori, occupied the fortress of Küs (Kaspi ?) and other places which fell within the area of the Safavid protectorate in Georgia and were administered directly by the central *dīvān*, and came out in open revolt. Şahverdi Sultan Ziäd-oğlū Qajär, the *beglerbeg* (governor-general) of Qarabag, who was entrusted with the security of the frontier, on hearing of Lüärsäb's rebellion, mobilized the Safavid forces in Qarabag and marched against him.

Lüärsäb, partly as a ruse, partly as a prudent move since he lacked the strength to confront the Safavid army in a pitched battle, retreated shortly before the Persians reached him. The Georgians were pursued by the *qezelbāš*, who fanned out across the length and breadth of the province, plundering as they went. Meanwhile, Lüärsäb emerged from his ambush with a group of Georgian nobles and charged Şahverdi Sultan's center. Most of the *qezelbāš* forces were dispersed in the pursuit, but the small force remaining with Ziäd-oğlū, despite stout resistance, was defeated. Ziäd-oğlū, following the normal practice of army commanders, extricated himself safely from the battlefield, but was hotly pursued by the Georgians, and some eight hundred *qezelbāš* were slain.

Lüärsäb himself, with a number of gospel-reciting priests, climbed a small hill nearby and was standing there when Mohammad Sultan Mir Čapnī and a group of *gazis* suddenly encountered him. Forced to give battle, Lüärsäb mounted his horse and attacked. Lüärsäb's horse stumbled, he fell, and one of the Čapnī *gazis*, Zäker by name, inflicted several mortal wounds. The Georgians then led a counter-charge, but Mohammad Sultan seized Lüärsäb's horse and escaped. Zäker, however, with a number of other Čapnī *gazis*, was killed by the Georgians.

¹⁶⁵A town in Kartlia, "at the junction of the Liakhvi with the Mtkvari" (Allen, index, p. 407).

Lüärsäb died on the battlefield, and the Georgians removed his corpse and laid it in their own burial place. His son Simon was appointed to succeed him, and on his accession made Gori his capital.

Affairs in Georgia after the Death of Lüärsäb, and the Capture of His Son Simon by Safavid Officials

When Simon succeeded his father as ruler of the Christians of Kartlia, he resided in Gori for four or five years. The scattered Georgian forces rallied round him, and ultimately a group of respectable size assembled. Simon followed his father's policy of hostility and opposition toward the Shah.

In the year 968/1560–61, he marched forth from his seat of government with the vain idea of subjugating Tiflis. He sought men and assistance from the other Christian rulers of the area, and large numbers of men came to his aid. From Kakhetia came Gorgin Khan, the son of Levan,¹⁶⁶ with his father's permission¹⁶⁷ or on his own initiative, acting from motives of religious zeal and national solidarity.

In short, a large force assembled in the Georgian camp. When the news reached Ziäd-oğlū, he mobilized the emirs in Qarabag and the *qezelbās* forces in neighboring regions and marched against the heretics.¹⁶⁸ The *gazis* filled in a ditch the Georgians had dug across a narrow defile, and marched on. When they came upon the enemy, they drew themselves up for battle. Meanwhile, the skirmishers from the army of Islam flung themselves on the Georgians and engaged in hot fighting. On both sides, brave heroes performed prodigies of valor, and the infidels, standing their ground, resisted the *gazis'* attacks. Şähverdi Sultan, observing the severity of the fighting and the stubborn resistance put up by the Georgians, ordered his center to charge. Clouds of dust arose from the battlefield and the Georgians, unable to resist the charge, broke in flight.

Levan's son Gorgin and one thousand infidels were killed in battle, and the remainder scattered in all directions. Simon, with a small band, fled back to Gori, while Ziäd-oğlū returned to Ganja in triumph. Kajosta Beg, a trusted Georgian emir, was taken prisoner together with a number of other Georgian nobles, and sent to the

¹⁶⁶Levan I, ruler of Kakhetia, 1520–1574.

¹⁶⁷According to Allen, p. 140, Levan I played a clever double game; he maintained good relations with Shah but was not averse to harassing him if this could be done without endangering these good relations.

¹⁶⁸Lit.: those who ascribe partners to God.

Shah's court. Levan, in mourning for his son, put on a black robe of coarse cloth, and the nobles and trusted men of Kakhetia wore black in sympathy with him.

After these events, David, the son of Lūārsāb, together with a group of nobles, decided to go against his father's policies. Guided by his own intellect and divine inspiration, he took the nobles to the Safavid capital at Qazvin, where they prostrated themselves before the Shah and embraced Islam. The Shah received David warmly and appointed him governor of the province of Tiflis and its dependencies, which were under the administrative control of the central *dīwan*. One of the emirs of the Safavid court was appointed commandant of the fortress at Tiflis to act as guardian of David (now known as Dā'ūd Khan) and manager of all his affairs. Yet Simon and his followers still maintained their stance of revolt and hostility, and continued to try to capture the fortress at Tiflis and seize its dependencies, a vain enterprise they never abandoned. On several occasions they set out to seize Tiflis, but returned without accomplishing anything.

In 975/1567–68, Simon gathered another army of infidels and marched on Tiflis with a force of both infantry and cavalry. Dā'ūd Khan, with a group of Georgian nobles who supported him, and with the forces of Islam, marched out to give battle to his brother. When the two armies came face to face, the *qezelbāš* and the Georgian nobles were confronted with an enemy superior in numbers, and thus were of the opinion that they could not withstand them in the open field. Accordingly, they advised returning to the fort and preparing to withstand a siege. But Ebrāhīm Kalīfa Qarāmānlū, the commander of the *qezelbāš* detachment, in his folly and arrogance launched an attack on the enemy and was killed. Dā'ūd Khan's supporters, shouting "O David! We have no power today against Goliath and his forces,"¹⁶⁹ turned back, forcing Dā'ūd to flee to Tiflis.

Simon defeated his brother and his supporters on two occasions, and this naturally strengthened his rebellious attitude. Believing that the inhabitants of Tiflis were on his side and that consequently the fort at Tiflis would easily fall into his hands, he collected another Georgian army, marched on Tiflis in strength, and laid siege to the fortress. When a detachment of *qezelbāš* stood to arms and organized the defense and management of the fort, Simon saw that he was too weak to take it. Further disappointed in his hopes of support from the citizens, he beat the retreat and retired to Gori.

¹⁶⁹Koran, 2:250.

When the news of Simon's insurrection and incursions against the frontiers of Islam were reported to the officials of the Safavid court, a royal decree was issued to the effect that Šamkāl Sultan Čerkes, the governor of Šakki, with Qajār and other emirs, should march to Georgia to the aid of Dā'ūd Khan and repulse Simon from these frontier regions. The great emirs, obeying their orders, led an army to Georgia in 976/1568-69. On hearing of their approach, Simon decided he was not strong enough to stand and fight, and retreated into the high mountain ranges of that region. The *gāzīs* marched toward those mountains, which were as high as Mount Alborz or Mount Qāf,¹⁷⁰ and occupied the surrounding regions. The irreligious infidels who had made this stronghold their refuge and retreat came out to give battle to the *gāzīs*, and fighting broke out between the two armies. Simon and a group of followers charged the *gāzīs* and slew several of them. One of the *golāms* of Šamkāl Sultan, Jamšīd by name, attacked Simon and unhorsed him with a thrust of his lance; another *gāzī* came to his assistance, and Simon was taken prisoner. When the Georgians saw that their leader had been captured, they fled the battlefield. Of the followers who had charged with Simon, some were slain, others captured. The great emirs returned in triumph from their expedition to Georgia and sent Simon and the other prisoners to the Shah.

Simon was brought before Shah Tahmasp at Qazvin and was kept at court for a while, in the hope that he would embrace Islam; but he remained steadfast in his Christian faith. Finally, he was sent to the fortress-prison of Alamūt, where he remained as long as Shah Tahmasp was alive.¹⁷¹ He was released from prison by Shah Esma'il II, and during the reign of Mohammad Kodābanda,¹⁷² was finally converted to Islam. Moreover, the Shah, mindful of the Koranic text: "Believers are indeed brothers,"¹⁷³ exalted him by styling him "my brother," and by investing him as ruler of his ancestral lands in Georgia. Simon returned to Kartlia and demonstrated his gratitude for the Shah's favors by his loyalty to him. His subsequent career will be narrated in the appropriate place.

¹⁷⁰A fabulous mountain, said to encircle the whole earth (see the *Nozhat al-Qolub* of Ḥamd Allah Mostowfi, translated by G. le Strange, London and Leyden, 1919, p. 182).

¹⁷¹I.e., until 984/1576.

¹⁷²1578-1588.

¹⁷³Koran, 49:11.

The Conquest of the Province of Kandahar, Zamīn Dāvar and the Lowlands along the Banks of the Hirmand River,¹⁷⁴ together with Some Details of the Earlier History of That Province

Among the provinces conquered by Shah Tahmasp was Kandahar and its dependencies. During the reign of Sultan Ḥoseyn Mīrzā b. Bāyqarā,¹⁷⁵ Kandahar was governed by Emir Zu'l-Nūn Arğūn and his son Šojā' Beg, under orders from Sultan Ḥoseyn Mīrzā and his son Badi' al-Zamān Mīrzā. After the death of Sultan Ḥoseyn Mīrzā and the extinction of the Tīmūrīd dynasty and the annexation of Khora-san by Šāhī Beg Khan Uzbeg, Šojā' Beg entered the service of the latter and was treated with favor. In the same year (1506), the late Emperor Moḥammad Bābor Mīrzā b. 'Omar Seyk b. Solṭān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā b. Solṭān Moḥammad b. Mīrzā Mīrānshah b. Amīr Tīmūr Gürkān, led an army from Kabul to Kandahar. Šojā' Beg and the sons of Emir Zu'l-Nūn, with men of the Arğūn clan, marched out against him but were defeated, and the province of Kandahar and Zamīn Dāvar, together with Emir Zu'l-Nūn's treasures and secret hoards, fell into the hands of Bābor. The latter appointed his brother, Nāṣer Mīrzā, governor of the province, and then returned to Kabul.

When Šeybak Khan Uzbeg heard the news about Kandahar, he marched there with a huge army. The sons of Emir Zu'l-Nūn came out to welcome him and, making themselves the advance patrol of his army, they marched together on Kandahar. Nāṣer Mīrzā, after enduring a siege for a few days, abandoned the region and joined his brother at Kabul. Šeybak Khan formally placed the reins of government in the capable hands of the Arğūnīds and returned to Khorasan.

After the accession of Shah Esma'il I, when Šeybānī Khan¹⁷⁶ met his death in battle with that monarch, the province of Khorasan was annexed to the Safavid empire.¹⁷⁷ Šojā' Beg sent gifts and a letter pledging his fealty, and for a while he was allowed to retain possession of Kandahar, subject to the jurisdiction of whichever Safavid prince and governor-general was in residence at Herat. Eventually, Zahīr al-Dīn Moḥammad Bābor again brought an army from Kabul and laid siege to Kandahar.¹⁷⁸ Šojā' Beg defended the city for a time, but, when the

¹⁷⁴Or Helmand.

¹⁷⁵The Tīmūrīd ruler of Khorasan, 1470-1506.

¹⁷⁶The Uzbeg leader is variously referred to as Šāhī Beg Uzbeg; Moḥammad Šeybānī (or Šibānī) Khan; Šeybānī Khan; Khan-e Šeybānī; Šeybak Khan (Uzbeg); etc.

¹⁷⁷In 1510.

¹⁷⁸In 1519.

siege continued unabated, sought help from Dürmiš Khan Šämlü, who had come to Khorasan as governor-general in 926/1519–20, and who resided at Herat. Dürmiš Khan asked the Mogul emperor not to meddle in affairs at Kandahar, since relations between the emperor and the Shah were regulated by treaties of friendship and alliance, and Shah Šojā' Beg had declared he was a loyal servant of the Shah. The emperor Bābor acceded to Dürmiš Khan's request, raised the siege of Kandahar, and returned to Kabul.

Šojā' Beg left a trusted officer named Mollā Bāqī in charge at Kandahar, and went to Khorasan. During his absence, that trusted officer declared his fealty to and support of Emperor Bābor and handed Kandahar over to the latter's officers. Bābor appointed his son, Mīrzā Kāmrān, governor of Kandahar, and from that date¹⁷⁹ Kandahar remained in the hands of Mīrzā Kāmrān's officers.

After the accession of Shah Tahmasp, in the year 941/1534–35 (the eleventh year of his reign), when Sām Mīrzā conceived the desire to subjugate Kandahar and proceeded to invest the city, Kāja Kalān, the governor of the city on behalf of Mīrzā Kāmrān, put the fortress in a state of defense and held out for eight months. At Lahore, Mīrzā Kāmrān mobilized a large force and came to his relief. He fought a fierce engagement against the Safavid forces. Because he had mounted this expedition against the wishes of his spiritual director,¹⁸⁰ Sām Mīrzā achieved no success, and Ağzīvār Khan was killed in the battle. Sām Mīrzā therefore returned to Herat without having achieved his object, and Mīrzā Kāmrān, leaving Kāja Kalān as governor at Kandahar on the same basis as before, returned to Lahore.

In 943/1536–37, when Shah Tahmasp led his sixth expedition to Khorasan against 'Obeyd Khan, he marched from Herat toward Kandahar, intending both to take the city and to wreak vengeance on the Čagatāy forces which had acted with such temerity in the previous action against the *qezelbāš*. Kāja Kalān, as I mentioned in the section on Khorasan, did not have the ability to oppose the Shah, and retired to Sind. Ganjī Kāja, whom he had left behind at Kandahar, went out to receive the Shah, and handed over to him the keys of the castle. The province of Kandahar was thus incorporated into the Safavid empire, and Būdāq Khan Qajār was appointed governor.

¹⁷⁹ 1522.

¹⁸⁰ I.e., the Shah; for an explanation of this term, see Savory, Offices, I.

After the Shah had left for Iraq, Mīrzā Kāmrān collected yet another army and marched in great strength from Lahore to Kandahar. The Shah by that time was fully occupied with important matters in Iraq and Azerbaijan—namely, an Ottoman invasion and the rebellion of Alqāṣ Mīrzā—and hence was unable to mount an expedition to Khorasan. Būdāq Khan did not act as the rules of war demanded in such a situation. Instead of shutting himself up at Kandahar to withstand a siege, he evacuated the fortress and withdrew.

In 951/1544–45, when the Emperor Mohammad Homāyūn b. Bābor was driven out of India by the Afghans and came to Iran, where he was received by Shah Tahmasp, he felt deeply sorry about the improper behavior of Mīrzā Kāmrān. It was agreed that, when Homāyūn regained control of Kandahar, he would hand it over to the Shah's officers. Homāyūn kept his promise. At the first opportunity after Kandahar had been retaken through the efforts of Safavid troops, and 'Askarī Mīrzā, who was governor of Kandahar on behalf of Mīrzā Kāmrān, had been taken prisoner, he handed over the city to Būdāq Khan, who commanded the Safavid army in that campaign and had been appointed guardian to Sultan Morād Mīrzā.

Shortly afterward, however, Sultan Morād died, before the affairs of Emperor Homāyūn had been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. Homāyūn, in order to find a base for a group of Čaḡatāy troops who were his supporters, took Kandahar back from Būdāq Khan and gave it to Beyrām Khan Torkmān. Since the latter was a supporter of both sides,¹⁸¹ he was to hold the city until such time as the affairs of Homāyūn should be settled and he should gain some elbow room in the management of his kingdom.¹⁸² For several years, Homāyūn was engaged in the struggle against Mīrzā Kāmrān in Kabul and Bādakšān, and during the period Beyrām Khan continued to hold Kandahar. Shah Tahmasp turned a blind eye toward the matter of Kandahar and did not press for its restitution, partly out of consideration for Homāyūn and partly because Beyrām Khan demonstrated his loyalty and desire to serve the Shah.

¹⁸¹Presumably, of the Safavid shah and the Mogul emperor!

¹⁸²The *Ahsan al-Tavāriḵ*, a contemporary chronicle, states that the Safavid army under the command of Budāq Khan Qājār was under orders to proceed to Kabul after the capture of Kandahar, to expel Kamran Mīrzā from Kabul and Gazna, and install Homāyūn there. The *qezelbāš* emirs did not carry out this latter part of their orders, and Homāyūn, no doubt angered by this, yielded to pressure from his nobles to seize control of Kandahar.

Finally, Homāyūn's efforts were crowned with success, and he became the independent ruler of Čazna, Kabul, and Hindustan. But Kandahar had still not been handed back to the *qezelbāš* at the time of Homāyūn's death,¹⁸³ when he was succeeded by his son Jalāl al-Dīn Moḥammad Akbar. Meanwhile, Shah Moḥammad Qalātī governed Kandahar on behalf of Beyrām Khan. In 963/1556, Bahādor Khan Uzbēg, ruler of Zamīn Dāvar,¹⁸⁴ marched against Kandahar with the object of wresting it from the hands of Shah Moḥammad. The latter sent a courier to Shah Tahmasp with the request that, since Kandahar belonged to servants of the royal court,¹⁸⁵ the Shah mobilize a *qezelbāš* army against Bahādor Khan, who had conceived the ambition of occupying Kandahar and taking possession of the province himself.

In compliance with this request, Shah Tahmasp sent to the assistance of Shah Moḥammad Qalātī Sultan Hoseyn Mīrzā b. Bahrām Mīrzā,¹⁸⁶ with 'Alī Yār Sultan Afšār, Valī Kalīfa Šāmlū, and a number of other emirs. Šāhverdī Kalīfa Šāmlū, the son of Valī Kalīfa, marched rapidly against Bahādor Khan with a detachment of Šāmlūs and fell upon him by surprise. After a sharp engagement, Bahādor Khan fled in the direction of India. Shah Moḥammad Qalātī, however, now showed his cunning and deceit; he denied the above-mentioned prince and the emirs access to the fortress of Kandahar and made preparations to withstand a siege. The great emirs occupied the province of Zamīn Dāvar and reported to the Shah the situation regarding Kandahar.

In 965/1557–58, Shah Tahmasp sent an army under the command of 'Alī Sultan Tātī-oğlū Zu'l-Qadar to subjugate Kandahar, and placed the government and administration of that province in the hands of Sultan Hoseyn Mīrzā. The Safavid forces surrounded the city and commenced siege operations. Shah Moḥammad Qalātī fought back, and for six months arrows whistled to and fro and musket fire was exchanged. At last, Shah Moḥammad was forced to sue for quarter. After sworn documents had been exchanged, he handed over the fort and departed for India. Sultan Hoseyn Mīrzā now ruled with full authority in the province of Kandahar; for nearly twenty years he continued to govern the province and to enjoy power and prosperity. He died a natu-

¹⁸³In 1556.

¹⁸⁴The broad valley through which the Helmand flows down from the Hindu Kush Mountains to Bost (see Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 345).

¹⁸⁵Rather stretching a point! The argument, however, was calculated to appeal to the Shah.

¹⁸⁶Shah Tahmasp's nephew.

ral death during the reign of Shah Esma'il II.¹⁸⁷ The career of his sons will, I hope, be given in Book II of this history, in the course of the narration of the reign of Shah Abbas. I will now give an account of other related events in Khorasan, and then turn to a description of the remaining events of the reign of Shah Tahmasp.

A Supplementary Account of Events in Khorasan after the Death of 'Obeyd Khan

As previously recorded, 'Obeyd Kān b. Maḥmūd Solṭān b. Abu'l-Keyr Kān, throughout his life, continued to encroach on Safavid territory in Khorasan, and this province suffered greatly from the constant passage of the Uzbeg armies. After his death, Khorasan enjoyed peace and security for a number of years under the just government of Moḥammad Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oğlū Takkalū, who had Sultan Moḥammad Mīrzā under his care. Moḥammad Khan led an army to Čārjastān¹⁸⁸ and fought several major battles there against Uzbeg leaders, especially Beyrām Oğlān, the governor of Čārjastān. Moḥammad Khan was victorious in these campaigns, and for a long while the Uzbeg sultans did not dare to enter Khorasan. In 957/1550-51, eleven years after the death of 'Obeyd Khan, his son 'Abd al-'Azīz Khan, who had succeeded his father as ruler at Bokhara, also died. Borāq Kān b. Sevīnjük Solṭān b. Abu'l-Keyr Kān, together with 'Abd al-Lātīf Sultan and Shah Moḥammad Sultan, led armies from Tashkent and Samarkand and Hesār-e-Šādmān, invaded Khorasan, and arrived before Herat in great strength.

Moḥammad Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oğlū had not placed his reliance solely on the strength of the citadel at Herat, but had barricaded all the streets in the outlying parts of the city. Behind every barricade he stationed seasoned officers, with gunners and musketeers. For a considerable time, battles raged at the barricades between the *qezelbāš* and the Uzbegs, but the Uzbegs failed to storm a single barricade. Shah Moḥammad Sultan, who was the most courageous of the Uzbeg leaders, departed to ravage the province of Sīstān and Farāh. When he returned, he began to taunt Borāq Khan for not having at least carried the barricades. "Tomorrow," he boasted, "I shall not dismount from my horse until I have razed those barricades."

The following day, Shah Moḥammad Sultan, determined to make

¹⁸⁷In 1576.

¹⁸⁸The region lying east of Herat, around the headwaters of the Murgab River (see Le Strange, *Lands*, pp. 415-16).

good his boast, mounted with a group of renowned warriors, and made for the barricade near Mazār-e Šāh. Bravely he charged the defenders of the barricade who, unable to stand their ground, retreated behind the barricade. Shah Moḥammad Sultan and the Uzbegs had actually reached the opening in the barricade when a stone flung by fate struck the Sultan on the head, and he fell stunned from his horse. Simultaneously, one of the retainers of Mohammad Khan reached him and struck off his head. Several Uzbeg warriors of note were taken prisoner. When Borāq Khan heard the news of the death of Shah Moḥammad Sultan, he was filled with fear and consternation; he beat the retreat and withdrew to Transoxania.

After the death of Mohammad Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oğlū¹⁸⁹ and the arrest of his son Qazāq,¹⁹⁰ Sultan Moḥammad Mīrzā¹⁹¹ went to court, where his appointment as head of the Khorasan administration was renewed. Šahqolī Sultan Yakān Ostājlū was appointed guardian to the prince, and they left for Khorasan together. Abdollāh Khan, the son of Eskinādar Kān b. Jānī Beg Solṭān, together with Kosrow Sultan, who had crossed the Oxus and invaded Khorasan, fell upon the royal party as it was proceeding toward Herat. Since they were not accompanied by any large body of troops from the army of Khorasan, the prince and the Sultan were not in a position to put up a fight. They withdrew to the fort at Torbat-e Heydarīya,¹⁹² to which the Uzbegs laid siege. The Khorasan emirs mobilized and hastened, each from his own station, to meet the enemy. Before these troops had joined forces, however, the approach of the army of Iraq was announced, and the Uzbeg sultans began to retreat. First to leave was Kosrow Sultan; the following day, Abdollāh Khan beat the retreat and withdrew to Bokhara.

After their departure, none of the sultans of Transoxania aspired to invade Khorasan. On one occasion, Pīr Moḥammad Kān b. Jānī Beg Solṭān advanced from Balk to the neighborhood of Mašhad, but then returned. He sent his paternal uncle, Tülek Bahādor, to the Persian court with gifts and presents to ask the Shah's forgiveness. Tülek Bahādor was received in a conciliatory manner by the Shah, and returned to Balk.

¹⁸⁹In 1556.

¹⁹⁰In 1564. He had been guilty of rebellion.

¹⁹¹Shah Tahmasp's eldest son.

¹⁹²A city lying to the south of Mašhad.

On another occasion, Uzbeg Kān b. Rostam Solṭān b. Jānī Beg Solṭān, in the year 967/1559–60, marched from Andeḵūd and Šoborgān¹⁹³ with eight thousand men,¹⁹⁴ reached the area of Saraks, Zūrābād and Jām, and returned after ravaging that area. Zeynal Khan, the son of Ebrāhim Khan Zu'l-Qadar, the governor of Jām, summoned Mīr Hoseyn Solṭān Fīrūz-jang, and consulted with him about how best to deal with the Uzbegs. Mīr Hoseyn and the celebrated Ḥajjī Sultan Kūtval, who was a Čağatāy emir, joined Zeynal Khan with their forces. Encouraged by the arrival of these reinforcements, Zeynal Khan was keen to pursue the Uzbegs, but the other two emirs considered pursuit unwise. Zeynal Khan, despite the fact that a detachment he had already sent in pursuit of the Uzbegs had not met with success, in his inexperience and arrogance set off in pursuit with two thousand five hundred *qezelbāš* and Čağatāy troops, and caught up with the enemy at Pol-e Kātūn.

Uzbeg Khan left two or three thousand men to face the *qezelbāš* and placed his main force of some seven thousand men in ambush. The smaller force was routed by the first *qezelbāš* charge, and Zeynal Khan's men turned to plunder. At that moment, Uzbeg Khan emerged from ambush; his charge shattered the *qezelbāš* ranks and threw them into confusion. Nevertheless, the *qezelbāš* fought on with great courage, and about one thousand men, *qezelbāš* and Čağatāys, were slain, together with their leaders Zeynal Khan and Mīr Hoseyn Sultan. Ḥajjī Sultan and the remaining men fought their way out with great difficulty. This misfortune befell the *qezelbāš* because of the inexperience and arrogance of Zeynal Khan. After his victory, Uzbeg Khan returned to his own territories.

Shah Tahmasp's Expedition to Baghdad and Kūzestān and His Subjugation of Various Rebels, by the Grace of God

Earlier in these pages, in the course of describing the events of the reign of Shah Tahmasp, I mentioned that, at the beginning of his reign, many of the rebellious and seditious individuals who had slunk into a corner because of their fear of Shah Esma'il I renewed their rebellious activities. Shah Tahmasp, as has already been briefly recorded, was for a time kept fully extended in putting down his enemies, punishing rebels, and ordering the affairs of the kingdom. These tasks necessi-

¹⁹³Two towns situated west of Balk, between Marv al-Rūd and the Oxus River.

¹⁹⁴This appears to come to nine or ten thousand men, whereas we were told that Uzbeg Khan had crossed the Oxus with eight thousand men.

tated his traveling constantly from place to place, and involved him in continual military operations.

Among the major expeditions he was forced to undertake was the expedition to Baghdad to suppress the revolts of the governors of Baghdad, Dezful, and 'Arabestān.¹⁹⁵ At the beginning of Tahmasp's reign, Ebrāhīm Sultan Mowsellū, grandson of Şüfi Kalīl Torkmān, was governor of Baghdad, and Zu'l-Faqār, the son of Nokūd Sultan, his cousin, was governor of Kalhor. The latter conspired to rebel and seize control of the government and administration of Baghdad. At a time when Ebrāhīm Sultan was in his summer quarters in the plain of Māhīdašt,¹⁹⁶ Zu'l-Faqār made a rapid dash with two hundred fully-armed men and reached Ebrāhīm's camp. Zu'l-Faqār's intemperate arrival caused Ebrāhīm Sultan's retainers to smell treachery: "His arriving in such haste, unheralded and unannounced, bodes no good," they said.

Ebrāhīm paid no heed to their forebodings, and was sitting at his ease in his audience hall when Zu'l-Faqār appeared on the outskirts of the camp and rushed at him. Ebrāhīm Sultan, thrown into a panic, had no chance to gather his men together or defend himself. Fearing for his life, he dashed into the women's quarters. Zu'l-Faqār pursued him on foot with a number of his men, cut the ropes of the harem tent so that the tent enveloped him, and cut to pieces the Sultan and a few people who were inside. The camp broke into an uproar. Most of Ebrāhīm's retainers, who had assembled in the meanwhile, on seeing that the Sultan was dead, decided to enter the service of Zu'l-Faqār. Seyyed Beg Kamūna, the son of Seyyed Soleymān, who was one of the Arab emirs, arrived with four hundred men. He too was obliged to join Zu'l-Faqār.

After this incident, Zu'l-Faqār entered Baghdad with full pomp and assumed control of the city. He put to death a large number of his own relatives and kinsmen, and issued a writ of exclusive ownership embracing the whole of Arab Iraq. When Shah Tahmasp heard the news, in 935/1528-29 he sent the royal army toward Arab Iraq and soon reached Baghdad. When he arrived, the sun was in the station of Cancer and the weather excessively hot. Zu'l-Faqār, relying on the assistance of a group of evil men, closed the city gates and prepared to defend the city. The Safavid troops therefore surrounded Baghdad, and every day there was skirmishing between the two sides.

¹⁹⁵I.e., Kūzestān.

¹⁹⁶Near Kermānsāh.

Zu'l-Faqār's brothers, 'Alī Beg and Aḥmad Beg, looking to the future, decided to put an end to him. Awaiting their opportunity, they fell upon him and cut off his head, which they sent to the Shah. Thus, more through divine providence than anything else, the fortress at Baghdad was taken. Zu'l-Faqār's retainers, fearing the royal wrath, dived into the Tigris in the hope of reaching the other bank unharmed; but most of them drowned.

The Shah entered Baghdad with full pomp and circumstance, and the rays of his justice shone on all. He decreed that no one should suffer the harassment of being questioned about his actions during the regime of the usurper Zu'l-Faqār. The common people prayed for the continuance of the Safavid dynasty, and the chiefs of the Arab tribes sent envoys with gifts to congratulate the Shah on his capture of Baghdad. The Shah did not linger in the region because of the excessive heat and the onset of a bout of fever. He placed the government and administration of Baghdad in the hands of Moḥammad Šaraf al-Dīn-oğlū, whom he promoted from the rank of sultan to that of khan. The Shah then returned from Arab to Persian Iraq, and reached his capital, Tabriz.

The reason for the expedition to Kūzestān was as follows: 'Alā al-Dowla Ra'nāšī, the ruler of Dezful (Ra'nāš is a village in that area), rebelled, and a punitive expedition against him became necessary. In 948/1541–42, in the eighteenth year of Tahmasp's reign, the Shah led his armies to Kūzestān. When he reached Korramābād in Lorestan, he graciously received Emir Jahāngīr Abbāsī of Lor-e Kuček.¹⁹⁷ The news of the Shah's approach aroused trepidation in the hearts of the rebels in the Dezful area, and 'Alā al-Dowla fled like the wind to Baghdad. When the Shah reached Dezful, Seyyed Šoja' al-Dīn Badrān Moša'šā'i, the ruler of Ḥavīza,¹⁹⁸ visited him and was received with favor and confirmed in his position as governor of that province. Ebrāhīm Khan Zu'l-Qadār, the governor of Shiraz, was dispatched with a detachment of emirs and *qezelbāš* troops on a raid against a group of rebels in the fortress of Bayāt.¹⁹⁹ When he had settled the affairs of that region to his satisfaction, the Shah returned to Iraq.

After Shah Tahmasp had been dealing successfully with the problems of state for some thirty years, he selected Qazvin as his capital

¹⁹⁷That part of Lorestan lying north of the Kārūn River.

¹⁹⁸The rulers of Ḥavīza were independent governors (*vāli*) in Safavid times. They belonged to the Moša'šā'i dynasty, which established itself in the area about 1436.

¹⁹⁹West of the river Karka.

city in place of Tabriz; the latter was too close to Vān, which had recently been occupied by the Ottomans. At Qazvin, the Shah laid out the plan for the palace and the Bāğ-e 'Āli. After some three or four years, the buildings were completed, and for the last twenty years of his life, Tahmasp did not stir far from his palace at Qazvin. The splendor of his reign daily increased, and rulers from all parts had recourse to his court.

Visits by Foreign Princes to Tahmasp's Court, Especially That of the Mogul Emperor Mohammad Homayun

Since the genealogy of the Safavid family, which possesses both temporal and spiritual authority, is traced back to the house of 'Āli, the rulers and powerful princes of the world have had recourse to the strong support of the Safavid house. From the farthest reaches of India and Europe, rulers have demonstrated their homage and devotion by sending embassies and gifts, seeking to renew ties of friendship and alliance. All those who approached the Safavid house with sincerity of intent and purity of purpose were rewarded by the granting of their wishes, and through the material favors and spiritual support of rulers of the phenomenal and spiritual worlds, they gained success in important affairs and consequent high rank and status. But those who were influenced solely by corrupt material motives did not inspire credibility, and their hopes did not materialize.

Good examples of what I mean are to be found in the auspicious visit of the Mogul emperor, Mohammad Homayun b. the Emperor Bābor b. 'Omar Şeyk Mīrzā b. Solṭān Abū Sa'īd Gürkān, and in the calamitous visit of the faithless Solṭān Bāyazīd b. Solṭān Sūlāymān b. Solṭān Selīm the Ottoman emperor. Both these princes sought refuge from the vicissitudes of fortune at the court of the Shah. The Mogul emperor, who was a man of integrity and loyal in all his dealings, succeeded in obtaining all he desired. Sultan Bāyazīd, on the other hand, who was insincere in his negotiations with the Shah, did not receive what he sought and his affairs ended in disaster.

The emperor Homayun, who was the ruler of northern India, from Kandahar and Kabul and Badakšān to Bengal, but had to contend with the disaffection of his disloyal brothers, was severely defeated on the banks of the Ganges by Şir Khan Afgān, who was not one of his vassals. In their confusion, the Mogul forces spurred their horses into the river. Mohammad Zamān Mīrzā, the grandson of Sultan Hoseyn Mīrzā Bāy-

qarā, who was fighting at the Emperor's side, was drowned, along with a number of Čağatāy emirs and men. The Emperor himself was swept off his horse by the current. He was saved by a water carrier who plunged into the water and dragged him out. Homāyūn retreated headlong to his capital, Āgra, where he regrouped his forces to continue the struggle. His brother, Mīrzā Kāmrān, feigned illness and went to Lahore, and many of Homāyūn's men proved disloyal and disbanded.

Nevertheless, Homāyūn fought another engagement with Šīr Khan on the banks of the Ganges. But, because of the enemy's superiority in numbers, Homāyūn suffered a worse defeat than before, and fell back on Āgra in a parlous state. With the realm in disorder, revolts occurred on all sides, and the Emperor, unable to remain in Āgra, went to Lahore. For a variety of reasons, he could find no resting place there either and fled to the province of Sind. The sons of Emir Zu'l-Nūn Arğūn, who had usurped the ruling authority there, gave him a hostile reception. Yād-eğär Nāşer Mīrzā, Homāyūn's cousin, who was accompanying the Emperor, deserted him and joined forces with the Arğūnids. Homāyūn was forced to proceed toward Kandahar.

When he reached the district of Šāl (Quetta) and Mastang, 'Askarī Mīrzā, his younger brother, who was governor of Kandahar, hearing of the weakness of Homāyūn's position and of his friendship for Mīrzā Kāmrān (who was the elder brother and patron of both himself and Homāyūn), also acted in a hostile manner. Moreover, he resorted to treachery and deceit and conspired to seize Homāyūn and render him powerless. With this object in view, he left Kandahar with a strong detachment of men and made for Homāyūn's camp. His plan, however, was given away by someone loyal to Homāyūn. The latter, thus buffeted by fate, had no alternative but to go to Iran and have recourse to the Safavid family.

Homāyūn left his baggage at his camp. Because of the difficulty of transporting him, he also left behind his infant son, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, in the care of nurses and servants. The boy had been born while Homāyūn was in the province of Sind and was still not weaned. But he took along with him Akbar's mother and a number of servants of the harem, together with some sixty or seventy emirs and personal retainers who had proved their loyalty to him. The most senior of the emirs was Beyrām Khan Bahādor, the grandson of 'Alī Šakar Beg Torkmān,²⁰⁰ whose father and grandfather had left Iran during the

²⁰⁰'Alī Šakar was originally a Qara Qoyūnlū name.

decline of the Turkman regime and had accompanied Bābor to Kabul. His excellent services to the Mogul dynasty had led to his rapid promotion, and it was he who at this time directed Homāyūn's affairs. Homāyūn's party arrived in Sīstān by way of Āz̄, and from there he wrote a letter in his own hand to Shah Tahmasp. The text of this letter follows:

After the obligatory expressions of goodwill and devotion, which constitute an agreeable custom between intimate friends, although I regard myself as merely an insignificant mote in the sunbeams of your Majesty's splendor, I will proceed.

Although I have never enrolled myself formally among your Majesty's servants, nevertheless strong ties of love and devotion have always drawn me to you. Now, through the caprice of fate, my realm has been reduced from the broad lands of India to the narrow confines of Sind, and you are familiar with the misfortunes which have befallen me.

Now, my hopes are directed toward a meeting with Your Majesty, which in itself will fulfill many of my desires. And I trust that, when we meet, I may be able to explain my situation to you.

When Homāyūn neared Sīstān, the governor of the province, Alīmad Sultan Šāmlū, sent his brother, with an appropriate baggage train, to welcome him. Alīmad Sultan himself also went with his fellow nobles to meet the Emperor and placed himself at his service. Alīmad Sultan then sent a full report concerning the circumstances of the Emperor's arrival to the governor-general of Khorasan, Moḥammad Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oğlū. The latter sent a swift courier to court, announcing Homāyūn's arrival and presenting his letter of friendship to the Shah. Such was Shah Tahmasp's joy at the news that he wrote a reply in his own hand. The kindness Shah Tahmasp displayed toward Emperor Homāyūn is illustrated by a *farmān* regarding that scion of the house of Tīmūr which the Shah issued to Moḥammad Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oğlū; this *farmān* has been preserved in its entirety by Shaikh Abu'l Fażl, the son of Shaikh Mobārak, in the text of his *Tārīk-e Akbarī*.

In the course of 951/1544-45, Homāyūn proceeded by easy stages to Herat, where he indulged in hunting to drive away the melancholy

induced by his bad fortune. Moḥammad Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oglū, in accordance with the Shah's *farmān*, paraded his troops and marched out of Herat with full pomp and circumstance to meet the Emperor at Pol-e Malān. On the day the Emperor reached the Bāğ-e Šahr, Sultan Moḥammad Mīrzā received him in the manner in which he had been instructed. When the prince neared the Emperor, he dismounted and saluted him. The Emperor then dismounted and embraced the prince warmly, and displayed gentlemanly diffidence regarding the order of precedence in the cavalcade. The prince, however, adopting a filial role, maintained his humble and courteous attitude.

The Emperor spent some time refreshing himself in the pleasant gardens of Herat, especially the Bāğ-e Morād, the Bāğ-e Zāgān, and the Bāğ-e Jahān-ārā. Moḥammad Khan made the Shah's *farmān* his daily rulebook, and presented fitting gifts to the Emperor. When he was fully rested, Homāyūn began his journey toward Iraq to meet the Shah. In every city through which he passed, the local governors and nobility offered their services and greeted him with gifts. In the capital, Qazvīn,²⁰¹ the residences of Kāja 'Abd al-Āqā, the *kalāntar* of the region,²⁰² were reserved for the use of the Emperor. Once installed there, Homāyūn sent Beyrām Khan to request an audience with the Shah. The request was accompanied by a number of verses alluding to the story of the miraculous rescue of Salmān by Alī from the grip of the lion, and the aptness of this allusion will not be lost upon intelligent persons.

After the arrival of Beyrām Khan, the Shah moved to the summer pastures of Sūrloq, where the historic meeting between the two monarchs took place. When Homāyūn was only a *farsak*²⁰³ from the royal camp, the Shah sent a party to meet him. This party consisted of the Shah's brothers, Bahrām Mīrzā and Sām Mīrzā; Qāzī Jahān the vizier; Sevendük Beg Afšār the *qūrcībāst*;²⁰⁴ Badr Khan Ostājī; Šah-qolī Kalīfa Zu'l-Qadar the *mohrdār*;²⁰⁵ and other emirs and principal officers of the state. Behind them, troop after troop, came the centurions and *qūrcīs*, followed by the different categories of servants and retainers, all fully armed and equipped, to carry out the ceremony of greeting and salutation.

When Homāyūn reached the place of audience, he dismounted and

²⁰¹An anachronism! Qazvin did not become the capital of Iran until 960/1552-53.

²⁰²On the functions of the *kalāntar*, see *TM*, index, s.v.

²⁰³About 3 1/2 miles.

²⁰⁴I.e., commander of the *qūrcīs* or royal bodyguard.

²⁰⁵I.e., the keeper of the seal.

walked between the ranks of the royal bodyguard. The Shah emerged from his private tent, entered the royal audience pavilion, and welcomed Homāyūn with all the ritual and ceremonial of the ancient kings of Iran and embraced him warmly. The Shah led the Emperor into his private tent, where the two monarchs conversed together in a friendly and frank manner. Among Homāyūn's gifts to the Shah were several rubies from Badaķšān, and a diamond the weight of which Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū, the historian, who was in the Shah's entourage on this occasion, and Qāzī Ahmad Čaffārī, the author of the *Tārīk-e Jahān-ārā*, give as four and two-thirds *mesqāls*.²⁰⁶

For several days, Shah Tahmasp held private conversations every day with Homāyūn, and royal banquets and feasts were arranged. The Shah's friendly and sympathetic attitude gradually alleviated the Emperor's melancholy. At Sūrloq, a *battue* was organized for which beaters rounded up the game from miles around. The Emperor Homāyūn, at a word from the Shah, opened fire with arrows, together with Bahrām Mīrzā and Sām Mīrzā, and each strove to the utmost to display his prowess. Then the Shah took his bow in his hand and, before the Emperor Homāyūn and those young Čagatāy warriors who were in attendance on him, who boasted that they were unexcelled in their skill at archery, he bagged no less than thirty gazelles. When they tired of archery, they slaughtered many fat-rumped deer and other animals.

When they had had enough of hunting and target practice,²⁰⁷ they set a day for the banquet. At the conclusion of the feast, the Shah showered the Emperor with gifts fit for such a guest and such a host, including money, jewels, crowns, and bejeweled belts; Iraqi, Turkish, European, and Chinese brocades; weapons and equipment, including armor, Dā'ūdī coats of chain mail, and muskets decorated with jewels; Arabian horses; Barda'ī riding mules; camels in abundance; numerous tents suitable for harem and audience pavilions; canopies of satin and velvet and silk, both plain and embroidered; workshops and factories complete with the appropriate tools and equipment; drums, banners, and military band equipment. Homāyūn's emirs and close companions were given splendid robes of honor and gifts of money, as was appropriate to their station. Beyrām Khan received a standard and a military band and was promoted to the rank of *kān-e kānān* in the Mogul hierarchy.

²⁰⁶One *mesqal* equals 71 grams.

²⁰⁷*Qabaq-andāzi*; the well-known pastime of shooting at a ring or other target placed on top of a pole.

Shah Tahmasp then detailed the following to accompany Homāyūn: Sultan Morād Mīrzā, who was younger than Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā and Esma'il Mīrzā, but older than the other princes, and twelve thousand *qezelbāš* under the command of Būdāq Khan Qajār, who was his guardian; Sāhqolī Sultan Afšār, the governor of Kerman; Ahmād Sultan Sāmlū, the governor of Sīstān, and his brother, Ḥoseynqolī Sultan; together with other emirs, and three hundred men from the *qūrčīs* of the royal bodyguard and court retainers, under the command of Kačal Sāhverdī Ostājlū. The Shah decreed that as long as these men were attached to Homāyūn, they should consider the latter's orders and commands second only in importance to the orders of their own spiritual director and benefactor (i.e., the Shah himself), and they should not disobey any of his orders, but discharge with their lives if necessary any task he commanded them to carry out; until they were dismissed by Homāyūn, they were not to return.

Heydar Sultan, one of the Šeybānīd princes of the line of Jočī, who had taken part in the battle of Jām with Küçüm Khan and 'Obeyd Khan, had joined Tahmasp with his two sons after the Safavid victory. Heydar wished to acquire high rank among the *qezelbāš*, and even take precedence over the Shah's own brothers, Bahrām Mīrzā and Sām Mīrzā. During the hunt at Sūrloq, he had forgotten his place as a servant of the Shah and had tried to take part in the *battue* with the princes, contrary to the Shah's order. Ḥoseyn Beg Ostājlū had lashed his horse back with his whip, thus making Heydar extremely angry. Consequently, when on this occasion Heydar expressed the wish to accompany the Emperor Homāyūn, the Shah placed no obstacle in his way, and Heydar, with his two sons 'Aliqolī and Bahādor, set off with the Emperor. Later, through the help of Beyrām Khan, they rose to high office in India. After the death of Homāyūn, however, his sons were guilty of acts of disloyalty and improper conduct toward the Mogul dynasty. But this is not the right place to go into detail about this.

Since Homāyūn had expressed the desire to visit Tabriz, and to circumambulate the tomb of Shaikh Šafī,²⁰⁸ he obtained permission from the Shah and set off. The inhabitants of Tabriz, in accordance with the Shah's order, decorated the city with flags and bunting, and the market buildings were decorated as gaily as a bridal chamber. They welcomed Homāyūn with due ceremony and proffered their services. For the delectation of the Emperor, they arranged polo games and other

²⁰⁸The first leader of the Šāfāviya Order of Sufis, and the ancestor of the Safavid dynasty. Shaikh Šafī's tomb is at Ardabil.

forms of sport in the Šāhebābād Square, and they set up amusement and refreshment booths, as is the custom of Tabrizis. From Tabriz, Homāyūn traveled to Ardabīl to visit the tombs of the ancestors of the Safavids. There the Šeykāvand²⁰⁹ seyyeds offered him their services and escorted him for several stages on his return journey.

From Ardabīl, Homāyūn rejoined the royal camp, which was in the meadows of Miānej.²¹⁰ Here, he took his leave of the Shah and departed with high hopes and firm resolve. As long as he was on Safavid territory, he was received in a fitting manner at every stage. When he reached Khorasan, he was joined by the prince²¹¹ and the Safavid expeditionary force, to whom he expressed his gratitude for the friendly help given to him by the Safavid house and the military support it had provided. According to the detailed accounts of the Indian historians, within a short time Homāyūn had brought his rebellious brothers to heel, had crushed the revolts in the provinces of Kabul, Ghazna, and Badakšān, and had established his rule in northern India. Since his subsequent history does not properly form part of the history of Iran, I will conclude at this point.

The Arrival of Sultan Bāyazīd b. Sultan Sūlaymān, the Ottoman Emperor, at the Court of Shah Tahmasp

Sultan Bāyazīd had been appointed by his father governor of Kütahīya.²¹² In 961/1553-54, Sultan Sūlaymān dismissed him from the governorship of this province, replacing him with his elder brother Selim, who was at Konya, so making the latter his heir-apparent. Bāyazīd's envy (because he wanted to become emperor) caused him to forget his fraternal feelings; in his rage, he paid out large sums of gold and collected a motley army. He refused to obey his father's order dismissing him, and marched against Sultan Selim. Selim reported his brother's rebellion to the Emperor. The latter, angered by Sultan Bāyazīd's temerity and disobedience, sent trusted pashas with a large army against him. They were to eliminate a man who, although his son, was a source of insurrection and revolution and a threat to the security of the state.

Sultan Selim, following his father's orders, marched against his brother with a large army, and a fierce battle raged between them for

²⁰⁹The Šeykāvand were descendants of a side branch of the Safavid royal house.

²¹⁰Modern Miāna, southeast of Tabriz.

²¹¹Sultan Morād Mīrzā.

²¹²Southeast of Borsā.

two days. On the first day, the fighting went on from dawn to dusk; eight thousand infantry on both sides were slain. On the second day, Sultan Bāyazīd determined to break the enemy lines. Leading a group of intrepid men in a charge, he shattered both wings of Selīm's army in such devastating fashion that the troops did not check their flight until they reached Istanbul. On that day, Sultan Bāyazīd performed such prodigies of valor that even now, fifty years after the event,²¹³ his exploits are still talked of with awe. At this point, however, Sultan Selīm, with the troops remaining to him in the center, led a counter-charge that overthrew Bāyazīd. Since Bāyazīd's position was a false one, he fled in panic to Amasya. There, he came to his senses and repented of his actions. Putting to death three of four of his retainers who had incited him to revolt, he sent their heads to Istanbul and sued for pardon.

The blood of these few men, however, was not enough to assuage the wrath of Sultan Sūlāymān, and he sent another army against him, this time under the command of Eskandar Pasha. Sultan Bāyazīd, unable to confront this large force, abandoned his baggage train and retreated, taking with him his four sons and about ten thousand supporters, including pashas, Janissaries, and other retainers. The Emperor's forces pursued him for several days, and a running fight ensued at every stop. Qodūz Farhād and Aqsāq Seyf al-Dīn, together with a group of devoted retainers, got Sultan Bāyazīd and his sons safely away from the battlefield, fighting all the way, and brought them to the Persian frontier. They entered Persian territory and sent a courier to the Shah to inform him of their situation. The Shah dispatched Hāsan Beg Ostāj-lū, an officer attached to the court,²¹⁴ to receive him with arms and equipment worthy of a king.

The Shah ordered Hāsan Beg, together with the frontier emirs and the nobility of the neighboring provinces, to place himself at the service of Bāyazīd and to provide him, at every stage of his journey, with appropriate hospitality. Mīrzā 'Aṭā Allāh Eṣfahānī, the *vizier* of Azerbaijan and Šīrvān, was authorized to draw government funds for his essential daily expenses as long as the court officials were with him. These two officers carried out their orders faithfully. The leading citi-

²¹³If this is to be taken literally, it means that Eskandar Monṣī was writing this portion of his history in 1011/1602-03.

²¹⁴The *moqarrabs* were divided into two categories: *moqarrab al-kāqān* and *moqarrab al-hāzrat*. Hasan Beg clearly belonged to the second category, which comprised *aides-de-camp*, couriers, and officers charged with special duties of all kinds, who were attached to the court and subject to the personal orders of the Shah.

zens of Tabriz decorated the city and the markets, and organized a reception on a scale rarely seen. When the cavalcade left Tabriz and neared the royal camp, the *vakil Ma'sum Beg Şafavî*,²¹⁵ with a regal retinue, was sent to meet Bâyazîd. The Shah organized a magnificent reception in Sa'âdatâbâd Square at Qazvîn: gaily-colored carpets, tents of brocade, and embroidered canopies, contributed to an unforgettable spectacle.

On the day when the royal cavalcade entered the city, the great emirs, various army contingents, a great throng of people from the markets, and residents from within and outside the city flocked to welcome Bâyazîd, covering the plain with people. Bâyazîd, however, was an arrogant, reticent, and cold-natured man; it has reached me from a variety of sources that, at the official receptions at Tabriz and Qazvin, despite all the special displays put on by skilled craftsmen, despite all the performances put on by entertainers, despite the festive crowds and the lavish hospitality, he looked neither to right nor to left as he rode, but gazed straight ahead between his horse's ears.

So Sultan Bâyazîd arrived at the Sa'âdat Square in Qazvin, with ten thousand men—infantry, Janissaries, and cavalry—all fully armed and equipped in the Ottoman fashion. When he reached the place of audience, he dismounted; Shah Tahmasp advanced a few paces and shook hands with him, greeted him with warmth and affection, and displayed the utmost friendliness. But Bâyazîd maintained his haughty and arrogant demeanor: he spoke not a word, and did not join in that cultured dialogue which every occasion of this sort demands. After the official ceremonies were over, Bâyazîd was taken to pleasant quarters and provided with everything he needed.

A few days later, when he had rested from the fatigue of the journey, a feast was arranged in this same Sa'âdat Square. The entire surface of the square was carpeted with rugs of gold and silver, and presented a scene which surpassed the gardens of paradise. Sultan Bâyazîd, his sons, his emirs, his personal staff, and his retainers, were invited to the banquet. To divert him, all sorts of astonishing entertainments were provided. Hour after hour, people demonstrated the warmth of their friendship and their desire to please him. Waiters dashed to and fro bringing drinks, preserves, fruits, and food fit for such an occasion. Gold coin, bejeweled weapons, precious stuffs, and equipment of all kinds, to the value of ten thousand royal Iraqi *tomân*, were lavished on

²¹⁵On the precise status of this official, see Savory, *Offices II*.

him; his followers, according to their rank, were made the guests of the great emirs and governors, who were charged with seeing to their needs and acting as their hosts.

While Bāyazīd was the guest of the Shah, apart from the cost of the daily supply of fodder, the cost of the items given to him at several advance receptions accorded him before he reached Qazvin, and the cost of the gifts given to him on this occasion at Qazvin, at the various other meetings with the Shah and festive occasions which took place, another fifteen thousand *tomān* worth of coins, jewels, bejeweled weapons, gold and silver plate, and other choice gifts, such as rare books, carpets from Kerman and Jowšaqān woven with gold thread, pieces of felt in various colors, precious stuffs from many regions, were lavished on him. In short, the Shah exceeded what was appropriate in his treatment of the son of the Ottoman Sultan and was prodigal with his royal favors. Bāyazīd, however, had a deceitful and obstinate nature and was possessed of an overweening pride, and so his affairs ended in disaster.

Bāyazīd tried to persuade Shah Tahmasp to lead an army against Ottoman territory in his support, and thus to disturb the existing state of peace. The Shah was opposed to this plan on several grounds, but especially because the Safavid and Ottoman empires, after so much warfare and bloodshed and devastation of territory, were now at peace. Covenants and guarantees of peace had been exchanged. With the cessation of hostilities, the running sore of constant warfare was healed, and peace and prosperity prevailed.

Shah Tahmasp, mindful of the Koranic passage: "Those who fulfill God's covenant and break not the compact,"²¹⁶ did not consider it right to break his covenant. He did not wish to be responsible for breaking the peace presently enjoyed by Muslims, an action for which he would surely incur the blame for not following the Koranic injunction: "Do not break your oaths after you have made them firm."²¹⁷ In the second place, the Shah was of the opinion that hostility toward and rebellion against one's parents is a mark of ingratitude, and results in misfortune both in this world and the next. Bāyazīd had been guilty of disloyalty to and rebellion against his father. It would therefore ill become the Shah, who was descended from a line of shaikhs endowed with miraculous powers, and was himself the repository of spiritual guidance, to lend assistance in such a false cause.

²¹⁶Koran, 19:20. Such persons are assured of entry into paradise.

²¹⁷Koran, 16:93.

Since Bāyazīd had sought sanctuary with the Safavid house, however, the Shah decided to devote his efforts to effecting a reconciliation between father and son, and to placate the wrath of the Ottoman sultan by exhortation and expectations of friendship. Accordingly, he sent trusted envoys to Istanbul to ask the Sultan to pardon the sins of his son. But Sultan Sūlāymān was so filled with resentment against his son that he could not be persuaded to spare his life; as long as Bāyazīd was alive, the Sultan considered him a potential danger to the fabric of the Ottoman state. Sultan Sūlāymān sent a return embassy, led by Senān Beg, who had been instrumental in negotiating the peace, to speak to the Shah. Senān Beg presented the Sultan's letter, which after the exchange of mutual expressions of friendship, and confirming the binding nature of the peace treaty, went on to make a detailed statement of the charges against Bāyazīd, supported by proofs and decisive evidence.

Written legibly in the margin, in the Sultan's own hand, was the request that Bāyazīd be handed over to his officers. If the Shah hesitated to hand him over alive and unharmed, he should first deprive him of his sight. Shah Tahmasp, who considered this suggestion contrary to the laws of chivalry, put Senān Beg off. Sūlāymān then sent a second embassy, which pressed the Shah strongly to yield. This time, the ambassadors suggested that the Shah allot Bāyazīd a fief somewhere or other; then, if he committed any further act of rebellion, no scruple need deter the Shah from removing him from the scene.

At this juncture, Sultan Bāyazīd revealed his secret self. With his confidants, he contemplated an act of treachery against the Shah, in violation of the bonds of friendship, and conspired to inflict injury on the Shah's person. If the conspirators were successful in this vain scheme, they would fortify themselves in Qazvin, seek reinforcements from the Ottoman Sultan, and Bāyazīd would become ruler of Iran. If matters went awry, they would go in the direction of Ağrıča, among the Šā'en-Kānī Turkmans.²¹⁸ From there they would take ship to Kaffa. Two of Bāyazīd's confidants, Qarā Oğūrlū and Maḥmūd Čerkes, disclosed the plot to the Shah, but the latter, in his innocence, thought it nothing but the idle chatter of mischievous persons who were trying to curry favor with him, and gave no credence to the story. Bāyazīd, hearing of the secret meeting between his confidants and the Shah, seized them both, and placed them in confinement.

²¹⁸The Šā'en-Kānī Turkmans were a tribe belonging to the Čagatāy group and lived in northeast Iran (see *TM*, p. 17).

The Shah, in order to allay any suspicions Bāyazīd might have, arranged a meeting with the latter in the Sa'ādatābād Garden at Qazvin. The Shah himself, with a group of his personal officers, was standing in one corner of the garden. All were wearing cook's aprons, made of brocade, and before the eyes of Bāyazīd they proceeded to enjoy themselves by doing the cooking, while chatting to Bāyazīd in a friendly and informal manner. 'Arab Muḥammad Tarabozūnī, one of Bāyazīd's personal staff, went up to the Shah and, speaking in a whisper, said: "I would like to say a few words to you—words I feel I must utter in return for all the favors and benefits I have received from you. I would like to speak to you in private." Sultan Bāyazīd noticed this, and put 'Arab Muḥammad to death, together with the two prisoners. The Shah, alarmed by this vile act, inquired the reason for it and indicated his displeasure. The common people of Qazvin, upon learning of what had happened and of the Shah's indignation, stormed the entrance to Bāyazīd's quarters, and reviled and abused him as an ingrate. Although the Shah was not displeased at their action, he had not authorized it.

After this, the Shah placed no further trust in Bāyazīd. He began to seek ways to rid himself of this embarrassment, and on the advice of the elders of the state and those loyal to the crown, made plans to seize him. On the day arranged, the Shah summoned Bāyazīd. When he entered the audience hall, the Shah rose and left. At once the great emirs seized Bāyazīd and rendered him powerless, and put to death Lala Pasha, Farroğ Beg, 'Alī Beg Čāšnigir-başı,²¹⁹ Senān Beg *Mır-akor*,²²⁰ and so on. Bāyazīd's sons were handed over to the emirs. The remainder of his supporters, both those at court and elsewhere, were put to the sword by the Sufis, exception for a few who, with the help of their friends, succeeded in escaping and making their way back to Turkey.

One of the principal conditions governing the peace between Iran and the Ottoman empire was that anyone from either side who might seek sanctuary with the other side should be returned and not given any support. In the year 969/1561–62²²¹ Sultan Sūlāymān therefore sent 'Alī Pasha, the governor of Mar'aş, with Ḥasan Āqā, his own

²¹⁹The chief taster, whose duty it was to taste the sultan's food before it went to the table to ensure that the sultan was not poisoned. The risks attendant on this office were mitigated by the existence of numbers of subordinate tasters.

²²⁰Master of the Stable.

²²¹The *Ahsan al-Tavārīk*, p. 415, gives the date of the arrival of this embassy as 22 Rajab 968/8 April 1561.

chief taster, and two hundred men drawn from the *āqās*²²² and *čāvošes*,²²³ to fetch Bāyazīd. The Shah, despite the evidence of Bāyazīd's hostility toward him, did not trust the intentions of those envoys, who appeared to be tough and vengeful men, and postponed handing over Bāyazīd until a deputation of more senior and God-fearing men, possessed of greater authority, should arrive. Accordingly the Sultan sent a second embassy, consisting of Kosrow Pasha, who was an intendant²²⁴ of integrity and an old servant of the Ottoman house, with a number of reliable graybeards. This embassy brought a brief message from Sultan Sūlaymān, written in his own hand, in which he declared his readiness to renew the treaty of peace and make it binding on posterity, and to cement it by the most solemn oaths. He reminded the Shah in a friendly but firm manner that the surrender of Sultan Bāyazīd was a condition of this peace.

Since the alternatives open to the Shah were to break his sworn oath and destroy the peace and prosperity currently enjoyed by Muslims, or accede to the request made by the Ottoman Sultan, and thus perpetuate the peace and tranquillity of the common people and the servants of God, he decided not to depart from the conditions of the treaty. He handed over Bāyazīd and his four sons, safe and unharmed, to Kosrow Pasha. Thus, by the renewal of reciprocal covenants, a genuine treaty of peace was concluded between Shah Tahmasp and the Ottoman Emperor in this year, 969/1562. The chronogram for it, by a happy coincidence, is "Reconciliation is best."²²⁵

It never entered the Shah's head that the Ottoman envoys would do physical harm to Bāyazīd while he was on Persian territory, but as soon as he was handed over, he and his four sons were immediately put to death on instructions from Sultan Sūlaymān, and their bodies were taken back to Istanbul. The chronogram of this event is "Five fewer Ottomans."²²⁶ Thus the threat of further insurrection and war

²²²The term *āqā*, in Ottoman usage, was applied to a wide variety of both civil and military officials; (see H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, London, 1950-57, I/1, index, s.v., hereinafter cited as Gibb and Bowen).

²²³*Čāvoš* means courier, messenger. The *čāvošes* were used by the sultan to convey his orders both in the capital and to the provinces (see Gibb and Bowen, p. 349).

²²⁴The Persian word *kadkoda* (lit.: master of the house), corrupted by the Turks to *kahyā*, again designated a wide variety of officials in the Ottoman administration (see Gibb and Bowen, I/1 index, s.v.). The Kahyā Bey became a deputy of the grand vizier, with great authority in home and military affairs.

²²⁵Koran, 4:129. The MS. gives *solh keyr*, which yields 938; to get the correct date, one has to add the definite article contained in the Koranic quotation: *al-solhō keyron*.

²²⁶This chronogram again yields 969/1562, by the ingenious device of subtracting 5 from the value of the words: *zomra-ye 'osmantân* (974). According to the *Ahsan al-Tavārīk*, p. 417, the prisoners were handed over on 23 July, and executed immediately in Qazvin.

was removed, and the common people on both sides looked forward to an even more secure peace.

The Visit of the Čengizid Sultans to the Safavid Court

Among the Čengizid sultans who visited the Safavid court were Dīn Mohammad Kān b. Olūs Kān, and his brother 'Alī Solṭān, who were descendants of Šeybān b. Joči b. Čengiz Kān. In 943/1536–37, when Shah Tahmasp conducted his fourth campaign in Khorasan against 'Obeyd Khan, these two sultans visited the Shah's camp and tendered their allegiance to him. In return, Dīn Mohammad Khan was granted as a fief the districts of Nesā and Abīvard,²²⁷ with their dependencies, and he and his brother established themselves firmly in those regions by virtue of royal favor. Their power steadily increased, and 'Alī Sultan gradually brought under his sway the whole province of Ürganj.²²⁸ At first he remained loyal to the Shah, and rendered useful service to him.

In 945/1538–39, when 'Obeyd Khan took possession of the province of Kārazm, he allotted the province to his son, 'Abd al-'Azīz Khan, and to various other sultans who were kinsmen of his. 'Obeyd Khan was still at Šahr-e Vazīr²²⁹ when Dīn Mohammad Khan, with a group of Uzbegs and Yaqqa Turkmans²³⁰ from the Ürganj district, fell on 'Obeyd Khan's emirs and sultans, plundering and looting. Dīn Mohammad made his Uzbegs wear the Safavid *tāj*,²³¹ and spread it around that *qezelbāš* reinforcements had arrived. After a number of engagements, 'Obeyd Khan's emirs were defeated. A number of his trusted emirs were taken prisoner, and many more were killed. 'Obeyd Khan was so stunned by this reverse that he mounted a camel and fled from Šahr-e Vazīr to Bokhara. He died the same year and was succeeded by his son 'Abd al-'Azīz Khan, whose seat was Bokhara. Dīn Mohammad Khan sent the prisoners, along with the heads of the slain, to court, and was rewarded by the Shah with a sumptuous robe of honor. Moreover, every year gifts to the value of three hundred *tomān* were sent to him from Khorasan. For a number of years, both brothers remained steadfast in their allegiance to the Shah, and ambassadors were continually traveling to and fro between them and

²²⁷Both these cities lie west of Marv.

²²⁸I.e., the delta region of the Oxus.

²²⁹Formerly Jīs or Gīt; it lay on the left bank of the Oxus, some 35 miles west of Jor-jāniya.

²³⁰A clan of the Čagatāy tribe of Turkmans allied to the Safavids.

²³¹The distinctive crimson headgear of the Safavid supporters, from which they derived the sobriquet of *qezelbāš* or "redheads."

the royal court, where they were received with kindness.

Another Čengizid visitor to the Safavid court was Heydar Sultan, who was descended from the sultans of Kārazm, and who for a time was allied to 'Obeyd Khan. As has already been mentioned in the section on the Emperor Homāyūn, he joined the Safavid camp at Esfarā'īn in Khorasan, was received with favor by the Shah, and remained at court for a considerable time. In the year when the Emperor Homāyūn came to Iran, at a *battue* at Sūrloq, Heydar was a member of Sām Mīrzā's and Bahrām Mīrzā's party. Before the Shah had given permission for the emirs and nobles to take part in the hunt, Heydar Sultan had tried to move forward, and Ḥoseyn Beg Ostājlū had forced his horse back into line with his whip.

The royal princes had ignored the incident, but Heydar Sultan had taken umbrage at what he regarded as a slight and petitioned the Shah to be allowed to accompany Homāyūn when the latter returned to India. The Shah, as a favor to the Emperor, had allowed him to go. Heydar Sultan departed, along with his two sons, 'Alīqolī and Bahādor. Heydar fought valiantly at the siege of Kandahar and died on the way to Kabul. His sons remained in the service of the Emperor, and both rose to high rank in India. An account of their subsequent revolt against the Emperor Akbar is contained in the *Tārikh-e Akbarī*, and does not merit inclusion in a history of Iran.

Other Čengizid visitors to the Safavid court were Yūnes Khan, the ruler of Kārazm, and his brother Pahlavānqolī Sultan, who had been ousted from their territory by Dūst Khan. Yūnes Khan and his brother took refuge at the Safavid court, and were received by the Shah at Qazvin in 964/1556-57. The date is given by the chronogram: "The coming of the Kārazmians."

Ultimately, both brothers, Dīn Mohammad Khan and 'Alī Sultan, were disloyal to their royal patron and displayed ingratitude for the favors they had received from him. In their stubborn pride, they began to ravage the borders of Khorasan and Astarābād, as opportunity afforded. On one occasion, in 950/1543-44, when Ṣadr al-Dīn Khan Ostājlū was governor of Astarābād, Dīn Mohammad Khan led an army into that province. Ṣadr al-Dīn Khan, deeming it unwise to commit himself to a battle in the open plain, stayed in the city and the fortress. Dīn Mohammad Khan laid siege to these for a while, but eventually retired. On another occasion, Dīn Mohammad Khan ad-

vanced as far as Mašhad, and again withdrew. However, he sent ambassadors to court, and begged forgiveness for his actions.

As a result, after his death, his son Abu'l-Mohammad Khan was granted the same fief and allowances as had been enjoyed by his father. But he too on several occasions showed hostile and rebellious tendencies, and Ma'sūm Beg Ṣafavī and a number of other emirs, together with Sultan Ebrāhīm the son of Bahrām Mīrzā, on orders from the Shah led a punitive expedition against him, and blockaded him in the fort of Abīvard. Finally, he threw himself on the Shah's mercy, and swore solemn oaths to the effect that he would behave in the future. The prince and the emirs reported this to the Shah, and were ordered to return.

Ali Sultan, the brother of Dīn Mohammad Khan, was a fundamentally treacherous man. Driven by his ambition and overweening pride, he made an incursion against the province of Khorasan, and on several occasions stirred up sedition and revolt in the province of Astarābād, with the help of the Sīahpuš and the rebellious Üklū tribe, but these insurrections were suppressed without difficulty by the Shah. Ultimately, he failed to achieve anything, as will be made clear later. At this point, I am obliged to say something about affairs in the province of Astarābād.

Affairs at Astarābād, Mohammad Šāleh Betekčī, and the Revolt of the Uklū Tribe with the Assistance of the Uzbegs of Kārazm

In former times, the province of Astarābād was ruled by the independent governors of Jorjān and Ṭabarestān. The people of the province, although for the most part upright, God-fearing men, are not entirely immune from diabolical suggestions, original sin, and temporary derangement of the brain, and there is no doubt that the exhilarating climate of the forests and mountains of Jorjān is conducive to rebellion. A group of men, calling themselves "the black-robed ones," had allowed their minds to be corrupted by the desire for revolt. Another group of malignant men, of the Ša'en-kānī tribe, commonly known as the Yaqqā Turkmans, were subjects of the sultans of Kārazm, but because they refused to brook any sort of control, they had taken themselves off into the limitless plains of Astarābād. They lived between the Jorjān and Atrek rivers, where they molested the local inhabitants. For this reason, the province was

never free from insurrection, and its governors were constantly obliged to conduct military operations. Thanks be to God that during the reign of the present Shah (Abbas I), the province has finally been pacified, and both groups of insurgents suppressed.

In 944/1537-38, when Shah Tahmasp was returning to Iraq after his fourth campaign in Khorasan against the Uzbegs, as a result of which a definitive end had been put to 'Obeyd Khan's invasions of that province, Mohammad Şâlehäuser, the nephew²⁹² of Kâja Mozaffar Betekçi, in whose turbulent heart ignorance and ambition were raging, turned away from his allegiance to the Safavid house. In the vain hope of achieving a position of power, he gathered round him a group of the "black-robed ones" of Astarâbâd and rebelled. He made himself master of a number of small towns, and sent envoys to seek assistance from 'Omar Çâzî Sultan, nephew of Borâq Khan, the governor of Tashkent and the region of Fârgâna, who had just seized possession of Kârazm with the help of his maternal uncle.

'Omar Çâzî Sultan, at the request of Mohammad Şâlehäuser, marched toward Astarâbâd with a large force. Mohammad Şâlehäuser emerged from the forests of Jorjân with his force of "black-robed ones" and joined him. Sadr al-Dîn Khan Ostajlû, who at that time was governor of Astarâbâd, received the news that the Uzbegs and the "black-robed ones" had joined forces; since he knew he could not resist such a large army, he prudently retired to Besâm and sent a report to the Shah. Mohammad Şâlehäuser, finding the countryside deserted, took possession of Astarâbâd and established himself as governor of the province with Uzbeg support. He sent fitting presents to the governor of Kârazm and his chief officers, and 'Omar Çâzî Sultan left him as governor of Astarâbâd and returned to Kârazm.

After his departure, Mohammad Şâlehäuser conceived the mad idea of extending the territory under his control and of becoming an independent ruler, but he spent his nights and days in carousing and merrymaking. When he was intoxicated by music and wine, and in a state of euphoria, he would allot the regions of the inhabited world to his drinking companions, nominating one of his retainers to every province. As each stupid fellow was appointed he would, in a manner even crazier than that of his master, prostrate himself before him and go through the whole ritual of prayers for his welfare and supplication. The story goes that one day a general altercation occurred

²⁹² *Ahsan al-Tavârikh* says "son"; *Jahân-ârâ* says "grandson."

among his retainers concerning the division of these provinces, since every man wanted to get the province he had set his heart on.

When all this was reported to the Shah, he sent Emir Sultan Rümlü, Shah 'Ali Sultan Ostajlü, and Hasan Sultan Şamlü, with a detachment of *qezelbāš*, to the aid of Şadr al-Dīn Khan. Before these reinforcements reached him, however, Şadr al-Dīn Khan, learning that 'Omar Gāzī Sultan had returned to Kārazm, and hearing of Moḥammad Şaleh's negligence and folly, made a sudden dash to Astarābād from Besṭām with a group of veteran warriors. It was the month of Ramażān,²³³ and during those holy days, Moḥammad Şaleh and his wicked²³⁴ companions, in their folly and pride, were so out of touch with what was going on that, when they heard the sound of the Khan's drums and fifes and the war cry of the *gazis*, they thought the main *qezelbāš* army had arrived and fled panic-stricken into the forests.

A certain young man of the Kangarlu clan,²³⁵ Şāhverdī Beg, one of Şadr al-Dīn Khan's retainers, captured Moḥammad Şaleh and brought him before the Khan, and was rewarded with gifts. Şadr al-Dīn Khan sent Moḥammad Şaleh to Tabriz, where he was taken before the Shah. At the Shah's order, he was placed in a large wine jar, carried to the top of the Baṣrīya minaret, and hurled down.

When he was at the height of his power, Moḥammad Şaleh was guilty of many crimes, and he affronted the honor and dignity of Muslims. His aspirations were extremely foolish, and he made the mistake of making all sorts of novel appointments. He showed the greatest favor toward wits and poets. Heyratī Astarābādī composed an ode for him, the first verse of which goes as follows:

O thou whose wisdom is a mirror which reveals in this
world the mysteries of the unseen world,
What is hidden in our hearts is manifest to you.

When Heyratī, who was reciting the poem, reached the following verse:

Moḥammad Şaleh is the lord of the kingdom of good
fortune,
because he is clothed from head to foot in the favor
of God²³⁶

²³³945; January–February 1539.

²³⁴There is a nice word-play with Şaleh, meaning "man of integrity," and *şaleh*, "wicked."

²³⁵A clan of the Ostajlü tribe.

²³⁶Because he bore the name of the Prophet, Moḥammad, and of the Prophet's servant, Şaleh.

Mohammad Şaleh knocked his royal hat askew²³⁷ and gave Heyratı seven *karvär*²³⁸ of silk as a reward. Unfortunately for Mohammad Şaleh, however, he did not consider the significance of the following verse:

Not everyone who, in the insolence of his pride,²³⁹
rushes to sit on the throne,
knows how to manage an army and behave like a ruler.

The next event in the history of Astarābād which should be recorded is the coming of 'Alī Sultan Uzbeg. In 955/1548-49, he suddenly seized possession of various places in Kārazm and marched on Astarābād with about six thousand Uzbeg troops. Shah 'Alī Sultan Ostajlū, who had succeeded Şadr al-Din Khan as governor of that city, marched out to meet him, and a fierce battle was fought within sight of Astarābād. The Ostajlū *gazis* were victorious and pursued the enemy as far as Gonbad-e Qābūs.²⁴⁰ Many of the enemy were slain, and their heads sent to the Shah.

The next event of note is the revolt of the Yaqqa Turkmans in 957/1550-51, when Shah 'Alī Sultan died and was succeeded as governor of Astarābād by Kaçal Şahverdi Ostajlū. When Kaçal Şahverdi was appointed, a group of Yaqqa Turkman chiefs visited him to offer their congratulations and good wishes, and to bring presents for the Sultan. The chief of the Üklü clan was an extremely handsome youth named Obā, and Kaçal Sultan asked him to stay behind. He then declared his love for him. The story got around among the Turkmans and Obā, fearing for his reputation, slipped away one night and rode back to his tribe. In order to allay the suspicions of his peers, he put to death a certain Şäfer Beg, a relative of the Sultan, who was the *dārūğā*²⁴¹ of the Turkmans. This constituted an act of rebellion.

Kaçal Sultan led a punitive expedition against him, and when he

²³⁷A gesture of astonishment.

²³⁸Equals 100 *man-e Tabrizi*, or about 625 pounds.

²³⁹The beauty of the word-play on the phrase *kolah kaj nehādan*, which means (1) to set one's hat awry, and (2) to be puffed up by pride, is lost in translation.

²⁴⁰The tomb, still extant, of the Zjārid ruler Qābūs, who died in 403/1012.

²⁴¹The *dārūğā* was (1) a town governor (2) a police officer (3) an official whose functions overlapped those of the *mohtaseb*, particularly as superintendent of weights and measures and as guardian of public morals. As A. K. S. Lambton points out, however (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, s.v. *Dārūğha*), "There are several instances of the appointment of a *dārūğha* over a tribal group, whose functions were clearly rather different from those of the *dārūğha* of a town or the *dārūğha* of the bazaar." Professor Lambton suggests that the *dārūğā* of a tribal group probably assisted in the collection of taxes.

reached the territory of the Üklü tribe, sent his men to plunder and ravage the area. The Sultan himself, with a few of his personal staff, happened to be standing on a low hill directing operations when Obā appeared from nowhere with a detachment of Turkmans, fell on the Sultan, and killed him. The Ostājlū *gāzis*, seeing their leader slain, fled back to the city. Emir Geyb Sultan Ostājlū, the governor of Damghan and Beslām, when he heard the news, marched rapidly to Astarābād to protect the city, and sent a report to the Shah.

In 962/1554-55, the Shah ordered Gökča Sultan Qajār, 'Alī Sultan Tātī-oglū Zu'l-Qadar, Čarandāb Sultan Şamlū, and Moṣṭafā Sultan Varsāq to lead a punitive expedition against Obā. With the approach of the emirs, Obā fled to Kārazm and sent for help to 'Alī Sultan Uzbeg. The latter, eager for plunder, marched toward Jorjān with a large army. When he neared the camp of the great *qezelbāš* emirs and received accurate information on the size and quality of the *qezelbāš* force, he began to regret that he had come. He opened negotiations with the *qezelbāš* emirs and, after an exchange of gifts, it was agreed that Obā should return to the *status quo ante* and not commit any further acts of rebellion. It was further agreed that the emirs should take no punitive action against him.

After this agreement had been confirmed by a sworn treaty, 'Alī Sultan returned to Kārazm. Gökča Sultan died on this expedition, but the other emirs returned to their own fiefs. Obā had acquired considerable prestige as a result of his revolt; he aspired to a position of superiority among his contemporaries and became even more ambitious. In 965/1557-58, when Ebrahim Khan Zu'l-Qadar was appointed governor of Astarābād, Obā descended again with a group of Turkmans. Ebrahim, unable to deal with the situation, reported Obā's renewed rebellion to the Shah, who was at Qazvin.

The Shah placed Şahqolī Kalīfa the *mohrdār* in command of an army which included Badr Khan Ostājlū, Yādegar Moḥammad Sultan Tarķān Torkmān, Rostam Khan Afšār, and others, and sent this force to assist Ebrahim Khan, with orders to eliminate Obā. These emirs joined forces with Ebrahim Khan in the plain of Astarābād, and together they marched against Obā. The latter abandoned his family and household belongings, and fled. The *gāzis* then ravaged his tribal territory and camped in the area. In the course of these operations, Obā appeared on the scene with his Turkmans, and prepared to give battle. The *qezelbāš* also drew up their forces for battle, but their

horses, as a result of the severe forced marches they had undergone and the extreme heat in the plain, were as lifeless as the knights in a game of chess. The battle went on until nightfall, when both sides desisted from the struggle and mounted guard. The following day, Obā returned to the attack with his Üklü tribesmen.

After repeated attacks and counterattacks, Obā perceived his relative weakness vis-à-vis the *qezelbāš* and realized that he could achieve nothing on his own. He therefore set off for Kārazm, pursued as far as the Atrek River by the emirs. In the burning heat of the desert, Šāhqolī Kalīfa, the army commander, was seized by an attack of colic and died. The remaining emirs refused to accept Badr Khan as commander of the army and proceeded to operate independently, exhausting their horses still further by aimless forays in search of plunder.

At this point, the Safavid scouts reported the approach of 'Alī Sultan Uzbeg, and Badr Khan at once rode out to meet him. 'Alī Sultan, made cautious by his previous experience with the valor of the *qezelbāš*, dug a ditch around his camp. Behind the ditch he erected various fortifications, so that his camp took on the appearance of a stockade. The *gāzis* assaulted the trench and were met with arrows and musket fire. While this was going on, Obā led two hundred Uzbegs behind the *qezelbāš*. Although the emirs warned Badr Khan about this stratagem and urged him to send a detachment to protect the rear, Badr Khan ignored the report and underestimated his enemy.

While Badr Khan continued the frontal attack on the Uzbegs, Obā worked his way around behind where the grooms and footmen were stationed and brought the camp servants under fire. The camp servants fell back in disorder upon the cavalry who were fighting along the ditch. Some had crossed the ditch and were engaged in hand-to-hand combat with the Uzbegs. The latter gained courage from this turn of events and redoubled their fire, which caused the *qezelbāš* ranks to disintegrate in disorder. Thus, because the *qezelbāš* emirs had not proceeded according to the recognized rules of warfare and had shown complete lack of caution, they suffered a heavy defeat. They were forced to retreat into the Jorjān River, which was not fordable,²⁴² and many men were drowned. The *qezelbāš* lost nearly one

²⁴²Le Strange, *Lands*, pp. 376-77, confirms this: "Throughout its course the stream was deep, almost unfordable, so that travellers were often drowned in crossing it."

thousand men killed and captured in this battle. Of the emirs, Ebrāhīm Khan and Rostam Khan were killed, and Badr Khan, Yādegār Mohammad Khan, and others were taken prisoner; the remaining emirs returned safely to Damghan.

'Alī Sultan did not follow up his victory, but withdrew with enormous quantities of booty, including horses with saddles of gold and silver which had been set free by the grooms to graze on the plain. Obā, his prestige increased still further by this victory, demanded in marriage the daughter of Kāja Mohammad, the son of Kāja Mozaffar Betekčī. At first she refused to marry Obā; but was eventually forced against her will to acquiesce. After the marriage, a number of retainers of the Betekčī house entered Obā's service, but his wife devoted all her time to planning how she could escape from his clutches. Obā with sufficient insight to perceive she was plotting some treachery, threatened her retainers that he would put her to death. The terrified retainers informed his wife and said that if they did not do something that night, they would all be dead in the morning.

Obā's wife arranged with her retainers that they should bring a number of horses to the door of her tent at midnight and hold them ready until she gave the signal. At midnight, when Obā was fast asleep and the guards were all sheltering under their heavy felt capes because of the heavy rain, oblivious to what was going on, one of her retainers, Mohebb 'Alī, guided by her, entered her husband's tent and struck off his head with a single blow. His wife, holding her husband's head, reached her waiting companions, and they rode like the wind to Astarābād. Mohebb 'Alī took the rebel's head to court, presented it to Shah Tahmasp at Qazvin, and was handsomely rewarded. At Astarābād, the flames of revolt died down, and 'Alī Sultan, greedy for gold, opened negotiations for the ransom of the *qezelbāš* prisoners. The Shah attached not the least importance to this, but the relatives and kinfolk of the prisoners collected the money and the men were set free. They did not, however, regain the respect of the Shah; deprived of his favor, they soon disappeared from the scene.

A few years later, in 973/1565-66, 'Alī Sultan died. The Turkmans returned to their allegiance to the Shah, and for the remainder of Tahmasp's reign Astarābād was quiet and peaceful. Ḥājjī Mohammad Khan, known as Ḥājem Khan, the son of Aṭā Sultan, assumed power in Kārazm. He sent ambassadors to the Safavid court

declaring his friendship and did not deviate from this path. In 983/1575-76, he sent his son Moḥammadqolī Sultan, who was still a minor, to the Safavid court, and at the Shah's order the Safavid princes, with the exception of Heydar Mīrzā, went out with the emirs and nobles to meet him and bring him into the city. Moḥammadqolī Sultan was brought up among the *qezelbāš* and remained at court until the accession of Shah 'Abbas I. In the year of the Dragon, 1001/1592-93, he left the royal camp in the pastures of Besṭām without permission and returned to Kārāzm. At the present time, his son Oloğ Sultan is at court.

Now that I have given some account of events at Astarābād, it is time to return to events at the center, and the most important of these is the conquest of Gilān.

The Conquest of Gilān, the Expedition against Sorkāb Ahmad, Ruler of Bīya Piş,²⁴³ and the Capture of that Miscreant

One of the provinces annexed to the Safavid empire during the reign of Shah Tahmasp was Gilān. Eastern Gilān was in the hands of Kān Ahmād b. Solṭān Ḥasan b. Kār Kiā Solṭān Moḥammad b. Nāṣer Kiā b. Mīr Seyyed Moḥammad b. Mahdī Kiā b. Rezā Kiā b. Seyyed 'Alī Kiā. The Safavid dynasty owes its rise to this house. Western Gilān was ruled by Emir Dobbāj, called Możaffar Solṭān b. Amīra Ḥosām al-Dīn, who counted himself a descendant of the prophet Eshāq (Isaac) (upon him and upon our Prophet be peace!), and for this reason this dynasty is known as the Eshāqīya. When the future Shah Esma'il took refuge in Gilān after the death of his brother Sultan 'Alī Pādešāh, he resided in Gilān for a number of years, where he was well served by Kār Kiā Mīrzā 'Alī, the paternal uncle of the late Khan Ahmād, by Seyyed Hāšem, and by his brother Sultan Ḥasan. Because of its distinguished services to the Safavid family, Shah Tahmasp continued to show the members of this dynasty proper respect and consideration.

At the time of the death of his father, Sultan Ḥasan, which occurred in 943/1536-37, Khan Ahmād was still only a year old and not yet weaned. Since he was so young, there was a possibility that some of the foes of the dynasty, or one of the ambitious emirs of Gilān, might plot some treachery against him. So Bahram Mīrzā²⁴⁴ was sent,

²⁴³Eastern Gilān, with its capital at Lahtjān.

²⁴⁴The Shah's brother.

at the request of Kiā Kor Kiā-ye Tāleqānī, a Gilānī emir and the *vakīl* of Sultan Ḥasan, and for some years the province was under his protection. Eventually, acting on the basis of false witness, Bahrām Mīrzā arrested Kiā Kor Kiā; as a result, the people of Gilān shunned Bahrām Mīrzā and he left Gilān. When Khan Aḥmad reached the age of discretion, Shah Tahmasp continued his training and education. Khan Aḥmad had a son by Tītī, daughter of Sultan Čapak, whom the Shah named Sultan Ḥasan and called his son. Eventually he bound him to the Safavid house by a marriage alliance.

Mozaffar Sultan, the ruler of western Gilān, although he too was bound by marriage ties to the Safavid house, showed hostility and rebelliousness. In the year in which the Ottoman sultan, Sūlāymān, invaded Iran for the first time,²⁴⁵ Mozaffar Sultan turned away from his allegiance to the Safavids, went to welcome Sūlāymān at Owjan near Tabriz, and pledged his allegiance to him. After Sultan Sūlāymān's return, Mozaffar Sultan went back to Gilān. But one of his retainers, Amīra Kānom Raštī, refused to allow him to enter Rašt. A battle was fought in which Mozaffar Sultan was defeated, and he took ship to Šīrvān, since he saw no hope of remaining in Gilān. The Šīrvānshāh, who at that time was Kalīl, gave him sanctuary and planned to intercede for him with Shah Tahmasp if he could, but if not, to do whatever was the Shah's will. However, Kalīl died, and Mozaffar Sultan was seized by the Shah's agents and brought before the Shah at Tabriz. At the Shah's order, he was suspended between the two minarets of the Ḥasan Pādešāh Mosque and burned. His son, Sultan Maḥmūd Khan, although he was the nephew of the Shah and innocent of any complicity in his father's rebellion, was deprived of his patrimony; his territory was allotted to Sultan Ḥasan.

Thus Khan Aḥmad, with the support and patronage of the Shah, became the effective governor of the whole of Gilān. He forcibly expelled Amīra Sāsān, the governor of Gaskar, and Mīrzā Kāmrān, the governor of Kūhdom,²⁴⁶ who had encroached on his ancestral territory, and built up a kingdom of a size never dreamt of by his forefathers. Eventually, however, at the instigation of a number of shortsighted flatterers and persons who wished to curry favor with him, he committed certain acts displeasing to the Shah. In the first place, Amīra Sāsān had gone to the Safavid court, and the Shah had had compassion on him and reinstated him as governor of Gaskar.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵940/1533-34.

²⁴⁶Or Kūtom; located southeast of Rašt. See *Hodūd al-Ālam*, p. 390, for a lengthy discussion on its exact location.

²⁴⁷Apparently Khan Aḥmad's authority was not quite as great as suggested above!

But Sepahsalar Sa'id, Khan Ahmad's governor of Gaskar, acting on instructions from the latter, refused to recognize the Shah's order and engaged Amira Sasan in battle. Amira was victorious, and the Sepahsalar and many of his men were killed. Khan Ahmad, in the excessive heat of midsummer, sent his son Sultan Hasan to Gaskar, but he died en route as a result of the miasma prevailing in those parts. Khan Ahmad, however, did not abandon his scheme, but continued to assert his authority over Gaskar, ignoring all communications from the Shah summoning him to return to the path of obedience.

In the end, Shah Tahmasp gave up the attempt to discipline Khan Ahmad, and instead gave his patronage to Jamshid Khan, the grandson of Moqaffar Sultan, who was related to Shah Tahmasp on his grandmother's side. He took away from Khan Ahmad the fief of western Gilan, allotted it to Jamshid Khan, and sent Sadr al-Din Khan, the son of Ma'sum Beg, and a group of Tavalesh emirs to install him. On orders from Khan Ahmad, Kia Rostam, governor of Raft on behalf of Khan Ahmad, led an army against Sadr al-Din Khan. Kia Rostam was taken prisoner, and Khan Ahmad was finally obliged to relinquish western Gilan, although he refused to surrender Kucesfahan,²⁴⁸ which is part of western Gilan.

Jamshid Khan, having taken possession of his ancestral lands, marched against Khan Ahmad, and fighting broke out. The Shah sent Yolqoli Beg Zu'l-Qadar, a wise and experienced counselor, to Gilan with letters of appointment to tell Khan Ahmad that the Shah was prepared to confirm him, despite all his sins and insolence, as ruler of his ancestral lands in eastern Gilan, on condition that he did not intervene in western Gilan. These letters urged Khan Ahmad to look upon Jamshid Khan as his son. But Khan Ahmad, urged on by evil counselors and trusting in the strength of his position and the impenetrability of his forests, sent one of his emirs, Shah Mansur, who fell upon the unsuspecting Yolqoli Beg and killed him and the small number of gazis who accompanied him.

The Shah, enraged by this dastardly act, resolved on a punitive expedition. In 975/1567-68, he launched a two-pronged attack on Gilan. His commanders had orders to encircle eastern Gilan, find Khan Ahmad, and take him prisoner. One prong of this force consisted of the prince Sultan Mostafa Mirza, with Emir Khan Torkman, Quc Kalifa the *mohrdar*, Nazar Sultan Ostajlu, the prince's

²⁴⁸More correctly, Kucesfan or Kucespan; see *Hodud al-'Alam*, p. 390.

guardian, and other emirs; the second prong comprised Ebrāhīm Sultan Zīād-oğlū,²⁴⁹ the governor of Gaskar, Mīrzā Kāmrān Kūhdomī, and Ahmād Sultan Biya-Pasī, the *vakīl* of Jamshīd Khan. In command of the whole expedition was Ma'sūm Beg Ṣafavī.

At this juncture, Khan Ahmād was at his summer quarters in Deylamān.²⁵⁰ Emir Khan and Nażar Khan marched against him, and he retreated hastily to Lāhijān. From there he dispatched Emir Jahāngīr, commander of the forces at Lāhijān, and Shah Manṣūr, commander of the forces at Lešta Nešā, with twelve thousand men, against the royal army. The Gilānī army blocked the road through a narrow valley, in a manner called *bona-bor* in the Gilānī idiom, and behind this barricade they stationed musketeers and skilled archers. When Ma'sūm Beg and his emirs reached this spot, they stormed the barricade with one determined charge, scattering the enemy in all directions with heavy casualties. Ṣadr al-Dīn Khan, Bāyandor Khan, the emirs from Tavāleš and Gaskar, and the men from western Gilān had meanwhile engaged a force brought against them from Gaskar district by Emir Bahādor. The latter was defeated, and he and several other emirs and commanders were killed.

Khan Ahmād now sent Mowlānā Abd al-Razzāq, his *sadr*, with a number of his nobles, to the Safavid court to express his remorse and contrition. But the fires of the Shah's anger were not to be extinguished by mere words. Khan Ahmād then fled toward the Aškavar Mountains, and the nobles of Gilān each took refuge in some corner of the province, like jackals in the forest. The Safavid emirs entered Lāhijān, took possession of the province, and set about winning the confidence of the people.

When they heard that Khan Ahmād had taken refuge in the Aškavar Mountains, the Safavid emirs led a force there by way of the Tonākābon road—a road so narrow that, if a horseman deviates from it in the least, man and horse will certainly be lost. They captured Malek Oveys Rostamdarī, the brother-in-law of Khan Ahmād. For three or four months, Khan Ahmād himself, moving every day to a new hiding place, eluded capture in the dense forests. Winter came, and the mountains and plains were blanketed in snow. Shah Tahmasp

²⁴⁹The Zīād-oğlū were a clan of the Qajar tribe; it is interesting to find a *qezelbaş* officer as governor in part of western Gilān. This is a clear indication of Jamshīd Khan's satellite status.

²⁵⁰See *Hodud al-'Ālam*, map p. 389.

then sent Allâhqolî Sultan Enjek-oğlû Ostâjlû and Mîrzâ 'Ali Sultan Qâjâr, with a company of *qûrcîs*²⁵¹ and other warriors, to Aşkavar. They scoured the forests and inquired diligently as to Khan Ahmed's whereabouts. In the end, Hosâm Beg, the son of Beyrâm Khan Qarâmânlu, with twenty *qûrcîs*, surprised Khan Ahmed near daybreak. Since there was no means of escape, he hid in the privy, but the *gâzîs* found him and took him to Allâhqolî Sultan, who sent him to Ma'şûm Beg Şâfâvî.

Ma'şûm Beg brought before the Shah at Qazvin Khan Ahmed and all his household and dependents, and Khan Ahmed expressed his shame and remorse. The Shah displayed such mercy toward him that, ignoring the course of action dictated by the interests of the state, he spared his life, despite all his transgressions and disobedience, and imprisoned him in the castle of Qahqaha.²⁵² The governorship of Lâhijân was given to Allâhqolî Sultan Enjek-oğlû. Hosâm Beg Qarâmânlu was promoted to the rank of emir and allotted the district of Aşkavar. District by district, just governors who eradicated the numerous improper practices which had been carried on by the governors of Gilân were appointed, and the peasants and common folk were shielded by the Shah's protection and justice.

Khan Ahmed, after he had been at Qahqaha for a while, since he was unused to the hardships of prison life, sent a complaining note to the Shah, and the Shah, solicitous of his welfare, transferred him to Eştaâkr near Shiraz, a more spacious place with agreeable dwellings.²⁵³ He was allowed to take several servants with him, and instructions were issued that suitable supplies of food, drink, and clothing should be provided. And so he lived there for some years without any of the material worries which are the normal lot of mankind. After he had been imprisoned at Qahqaha and Eştaâkr for a total period of ten years,²⁵⁴ he was released at the beginning of the reign of Sultan Mohammad Shah, in consideration of his kinship with Mahd-e 'Olyâ the Shah's wife,²⁵⁵ reappointed governor of his ancestral lands,

²⁵¹Probably from the royal bodyguard.

²⁵²The famous Safavid state prison near the river Aras.

²⁵³The *Sarafnâma* gives a much more likely reason for this transfer, namely, that there was a danger of conspiracy between Khan Ahmed and the Shah's son, Esma'il, who had been incarcerated at Qahqaha since 1556.

²⁵⁴This brings us to 985/1577-78. Mohammad Kodâbanda was proclaimed Shah on 5 Zul'l-Hejja 985/18 February 1578.

²⁵⁵She was the daughter of a local ruler in Mâzandarân.

and granted the signal honor of a marriage alliance with the Safavid royal house. The details of these events will be given in the appropriate place.

In 979/1571-72, a number of Gilānī soldiers and knaves, who had crept into hiding, decided to bring things to a boil again. At a time when Allāhqolī Sultan, because of the heat, had left Lāhijān and retired to summer quarters, these seditious men nominated a certain Seyyed Ḥoseyn, who was related to Khan Ahmad's family, as their governor. A certain Amīra Dobbāj was appointed army commander. Men flocked to them from all sides, and they marched to Lāhijān and laid siege to the Sufi garrison in the citadel. Since the fortifications were not strong they stormed it and slew the Sufis, even putting to death the women and children. They then fell on Bektaš Beg, the son of Allāhqolī Sultan, who managed with great difficulty to escape with his life. Most of his men, however, were killed. Amīra Sāsān marched from Gaskar to try and restore the situation, but since Dobbāj's army now numbered more than twenty thousand men, Amīra Sāsān was heavily defeated.

When Shah Tahmasp heard the news, he dispatched Qūč Kalifa the *mohrdār* and Emir Čeyb Beg Ostājlū, with other emirs and commanders, against the rebels. Three hundred Ostājlū and Čariblū *qūrčīs*²⁵⁶ were sent with them. On the march, the *qūrčīs* fell to telling tales of the legendary prowess of their corps, and a hundred and thirty men, without permission from their officers, slipped away and went on ahead. When they reached Güka and Kisom, one day's march from Lāhijān, the Gilānīs came out to meet them, thinking they could easily take such a small band prisoner and thus strike fear into the hearts of the remaining *qezelbāš*. But the *qūrčīs*, trusting in God's word: "How many a small group has triumphed over a large group by God's will!"²⁵⁷ launched an intrepid charge at the enemy.

The Gilānī contingents kept arriving on the battlefield, one behind the other, but the *qūrčīs*, taking no heed of the numbers of their foes, stood back to back and fought a battle the fame of which still resounds. At the height of the battle, a musket ball struck Amīra Dobbāj, the commander of the Gilānī force, and he fell dead from his horse. His death caused a tremor of fear to run through the enemy ranks, and they were defeated, with more than one thousand dead.

²⁵⁶Men of the royal bodyguard; the cream of the *qezelbāš* troops.

²⁵⁷Koran, 2:250.

Those who escaped the sword turned and fled, and the *qürčis*, having collected much booty, entered Lāhijān.

This epic victory restored the prestige of the *qürčis*, but some of the great emirs were charged with dereliction of duty and were reprimanded. Allahqoli Sultan was dismissed from the governorship of Gilān and replaced by Pīra Mōhammad Khan Ostājlū, the guardian of the prince Emāmqoli Mīrzā, who continued to hold this post until the death of Shah Tahmasp. Although some of Allahqoli's relatives and men had been killed in these incidents, his son Bektāš Beg was also judged to have been guilty of dereliction of duty, and he fell from the favor of his spiritual director (*moršed-e kāmel*). As a result, the Sufis endowed with pure faith did not allow him to cross the threshold of the palace gate.

The accused man did not go home; for three months he stayed outside the palace gates like any old beggar, in the bitter cold of winter, enduring rain and snow, imploring forgiveness for his sins. Finally, when the month of Ramażān²⁵⁸ arrived, at the intercession of *seyyeds* and 'olamā, the Shah forgave his sins and gave him leave to go to his house. On the feast of the Breaking of the Fast,²⁵⁹ Bektāš Beg came, in accordance with prescribed Sufi ritual, to prostrate himself before his spiritual director. But the Shah still felt resentment against him, and he received no mark of favor. After the death of Shah Tahmasp, Bektāš Beg was put to death by the Takkalūs.

Other positive achievements of the Shah in regard to the salvation of the country include the chastisement of rebels in various outlying districts—in Kurdestan, Lorestān, Tāleš, and Rostamdār. If I were to describe all the local rebellions which were suppressed by officers of the Safavid state, I would become prolix. However, as a warning to others, so that no one, particularly those who owe a debt of gratitude to this dynasty, may be guilty of disloyalty to it, it will not be amiss to mention a few persons who were guilty of disloyalty and rebellion and to indicate how their affairs terminated in disaster.

The Rebels and Traitors Who Appeared during the Time of Shah Tahmasp, and Their Fate

The principal traitor was the ingrate Alqāş, whose story has al-

²⁵⁸The month of Ramażān 979 began on 17 January 1572.

²⁵⁹Id al-Fitr; 1 Šavvāl 979/16 February 1572.

ready been given in the section on the relations between the Shah and Sultan Sūlāymān. Another traitor was Moṣaffar Sultan Gilānī, whose story is included in my account of the subjugation of Gilān. Another was Moḥammad Ṣaleḥ Betekčī, who is treated of in the section on events in Astarabād. There is no need to repeat these narratives. The history of Zu'l-Faqār Torkmān at Baghdad, which has also been narrated already, supports the thesis that all traitors sooner or later meet their just deserts. Then there was Emir Qobād Ṭaleš of Āstārā, the governor of that province, who rebelled in 946/1539–40. Šahqolī Kalīfa the *mohrdār* was ordered to lead a punitive expedition against him, with the assistance of Soleymān, the commander in chief of the artillery,²⁶⁰ and of Emir Ašraf, the warden of the shrine at Ardābil. These two officers marched against Emir Qobād without waiting for the arrival of Kalīfa, and fought an engagement with him near Arjovān. The *gāzīs* fought heroically, particularly Soleymān Beg, the commander in chief of artillery. Finally, Emir Qobād was defeated and fled into the forests; the *gāzīs* slew some eight hundred men of Ṭavāleš and sent their heads to the Shah. Bāyandor Khan, a devoted Sufi, was appointed governor of the province of Āstārā, which is still in the hands of his descendants.

Another traitor was Kāja Kalān, the son of Kāja Malek Kāfi, who was a protégé of the Shah and much indebted to the Safavid house. A rash, ill-starred young man seduced by satanic temptings, he fortified the castle at Ostā near Kāf, the strongest in that area, and raised the standard of revolt. Shah Tahmasp sent Čāzī Khan Zu'l-Qadar, Šahqolī Sultan Afšār, the governor of Kerman, and 'Alī Sultan Tatī-oğlū to lay siege to this castle. The great emirs sent Ostād Seyki, the master gunner, to reason with Kāja Kalān, to try to persuade him to acknowledge his place, but Kāja Kalān killed him with an arrow. The emirs besieged the fort for three months without success, but finally it fell into their hands in an amazing way.²⁶¹ Kāja Kalān was brought out of the fort and sent to the Shah. The traitor was suspended by his testicles from the Qeyşarīya minaret in Tabriz, thus suffering the cruel death that he deserved.

Another traitor was Qazāq Khan Takkalū, who destroyed himself by his folly in rebelling against the Shah. This man, in consideration of the loyal service of his father, Moḥammad Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oğlū

²⁶⁰ *Tupčibast*; this is the first mention of this office under the Safavids.

²⁶¹ According to the *Ahsan al-Tawārīk*, a renegade showed the *gāzīs* a secret way into the fort.

Takkalū, had been appointed, upon the latter's death, to the governorship of Herat and to the position of guardian of the prince Sultan Mohammad Mirzā. Qazāq, however, did not appreciate these marks of royal favor. He ruled oppressively and did not trouble to conceal his expropriation of money and property. In time, the excessive wealth he had accumulated led him to harbor ideas of independence, and he assembled large forces of men. When the Shah heard of his sedition, he gave orders that Ma'şūm Beg Şafavī, with a number of the emirs of Iraq such as Emir Khan Mowṣellū, Vali Kalifa Śamlū, Nazar Sultan Ostājlū, Ṣadr al-Dīn Khan,²⁶² Śāhqolī Sultan Afšār, and Emir Geyb Sultan Ostājlū, who had gone to Khorasan to recapture the fortress of Kabūshān occupied by 'Alī Sultan, should proceed to Herat, together with Sultan Ebrāhim Mirzā and his brother Badi' al-Zamān Mirzā.

At this point, Qazāq's brothers Moṣṭafā Beg and Dūst Beg²⁶³ deserted him and joined Sāfi Vali Kalifa Rūmlū at Ĝuriān. Qazāq sent against them a force of several thousand men under the command of his brother, Ḥoseynqolī, and his son, Ja'far Beg. Ma'şūm Beg marched at full speed toward Ĝuriān, which was reached first by the Safavid advance guard under Vali Kalifa Śamlū. Reinforcements reached the rebels from Herat, and a great battle was fought at Ĝuriān.²⁶⁴ The Takkalū rebels put up a stubborn resistance, but broke and fled when the dark mass of the army of Sultan Ebrahim Mirzā and Ma'şūm Beg appeared on the horizon. The rebels lost one thousand eight hundred men killed, and the emirs pursued the remnants toward Herat.

At Herat, all was confusion, and Ja'far Beg deserted his father and went off in the direction of Kabul and India. Qazāq, persuading Sultan Mohammad Mirzā and his nephew²⁶⁵ Sultan Ḥoseyn Mirzā to prepare for a siege, retired to the citadel of Ektiār al-Dīn. When the emirs entered the city, Ma'şūm Beg went to the citadel, upbraided Qazāq Khan severely, and brought the princes out of the citadel. The following day Qazāq himself, who was seriously ill with dropsy, emerged; he died a few days later from this disease.

From these various accounts, it has become abundantly clear that

²⁶² Ṣadr al-Dīn Khan Şafavī, son of Ma'şūm Beg Şafavī, and a cousin of Shah Tahmasp.

²⁶³ *Ahsan al-Tavārikh*, p. 424, gives Moṣib Beg.

²⁶⁴ The former Fūšanj—one day's march west of Herat.

²⁶⁵ The MS. says "son," which is a mistake; Sultan Ḥoseyn Mirzā was the son of Bahram Mirzā, the Shah's brother.

traitors and ingrates will receive their punishment both in this world and the next. Since my object is to write a history of the reign of Shah Abbas I, the reader is referred for additional details to the *Ahsan al-Tavārikh* of Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū. I will conclude this section on the reign of Shah Tahmasp by giving a few notes on various foreign ambassadors who visited his court.

Visits by Foreign Ambassadors to the Court of Shah Tahmasp

After Shah Tahmasp had obtained a measure of relief from essential administrative duties and from ordering the affairs of conquered territories, he remained at Qazvin for a period of twenty years. During his reign his power gradually increased, and foreign rulers sent ambassadors bearing gifts and seeking to cement both material and physical ties with him to his court.

Among those who repeatedly sent envoys to his court was the Ottoman sultan, Sūlaymān. After so many years of warfare and struggle between the two powers, Moḥammad Pasha, the Ottoman grand vizier, and members of the Ottoman house wrote letters to officers of the Safavid state proposing peace, and an envoy was dispatched to the Shah. In return, the Shah sent Mīr Šams Valīkānī as ambassador, but received the following discouraging answer from Sultan Sūlaymān: "From the inception of the Ottoman empire, foreign rulers have sent envoys and gifts to our court, but we have not sent them to a single foreign court, for such is not the Ottoman custom. As for my ministers, and their sending communications to the Shah, I know nothing of it." So matters rested until Senān Pasha, one of the Sultan's personal attendants, was taken prisoner at Qānlū Čaman and later released, as has already been related, and peace was concluded between the two powers.

The incident of Sultan Bāyazīd occurred after this, and Sultan Sūlaymān first sent Senān Beg to Iran as an envoy. The latter was received by the Shah at Qazvin in 966/1558-59. In the course of his conversations with the envoy, the Shah remarked: "Sending ambassadors used to be contrary to Ottoman custom. How is that the Ottoman emperor has transgressed the law and sent a trusted officer like you as ambassador?" Senān Beg gave the following acceptable and witty reply: "It is true that it is against our law to send ambassadors to foreign countries. But between our two countries, peace, unity, and

concord now exist, and there is nothing in the law which prevents two friends from visiting each other." The Shah applauded him.

After the embassy of Senān Beg, 'Alī Pasha, the governor of Mar'aš, and Ḥasan Aqa, the chief taster to the Sultan, with an embassy of three hundred (which, together with servants and retainers numbered seven hundred and sixty persons), came to Qazvin. On the day after their arrival, they were received in audience in the Bāğ-e Sa'ādatbād, and presented letters of friendship from Sūlāymān. The following day, they were again received and offered the Shah lavish presents—bejeweled weapons, dagger belts, precious stuffs from Europe, rare items from all over the world. The ambassadors were rewarded with suitable gifts by the Shah and dismissed.

In 969/1561–62, Kosrow Pasha, a senior officer of the Ottoman empire and a wise and experienced statesman, came to Qazvin with 'Alī Aqa, *qāpūčibāšī* (chief doorkeeper)²⁶⁶ of the Ottoman sultan, as has already been narrated in the section on events connected with Sultan Bāyazīd, and presented letters of friendship. Following them came Elyās Beg, a confidant of the Ottoman sultan, bearing gifts from the emperor. Among these were forty Syrian and Arabian horses, unequaled for excellence and fleetness of foot, with bejeweled saddles of gold, and Ottoman horse blankets of brocade; in cash, about five hundred thousand gold *ašrafi* and florins, the equivalent of fifty thousand royal Iraqi *tomān*; precious stuffs; and other items on the same lavish scale. The Shah distributed these gifts to the various categories of his officers: to the royal princes; to the emirs of the court; to the governors of the marches; to the royal bodyguard; and to the leaders of the *qezelbāš* tribe, according to rank. He also allotted a portion to the great Uzbeg sultans Pīr Moḥammad Khan, the governor of Balk; 'Abdollah Khan, ruler of Bokhara; Abu'l-Sa'īd Sultan, the governor of Samarkand; and Abu'l-Moḥammad Khan and Ḥājem Khan, the rulers of Ürganj.

After the death of Sultan Sūlāymān, his son Sultan Selim became emperor.²⁶⁷ In 975/1567–68, he sent an envoy named Moḥammad Khan to Qazvin bearing letters of friendship, and confirming the emperor's desire to continue the peace. In 976/1568–69, when the *vakil al-*

²⁶⁶Originally there was only one head doorkeeper, but ultimately they numbered some one hundred and fifty. They constituted an elite corps and were used by the sultan "for particularly important and secret missions to the provinces" (Gibb and Bowen, p. 347).

²⁶⁷Selim II; reigned 1566–74.

saltana Ma'sum Beg Şafavî went on the pilgrimage to Mecca and was slain en route, together with a number of companions and his son Khan Mîrzâ, the Ottomans attributed this foul deed to Arab brigands. Sultan Selim sent 'Ali Aqa as ambassador to the Shah to offer his apologies and to plead his innocence in this affair. The Shah, having in mind the welfare of Muslims, and the maintenance of a stable peace, accepted his apologies.

In 948/1541-42, the Uzbeg sultans, Kesken Qarâ Sultan, the governor of Balk and its dependencies, sent Jân Çehra;²⁶⁸ and 'Abd al-'Azîz Khan, the son of 'Obeyd Khan, the ruler of Bokhara, sent Kodâybîrdî Bahâdor as ambassadors to the Shah. These envoys declared the genuine friendship of their masters toward the Shah and stated their desire to see former enmities removed. Ambassadors from the sultans of Karazm and Ürganj were constantly going to and fro.

From India, the sultans of the Deccan, especially Nezâm Shah, the ruler of Ahmadâbâd, and Qoṭb Shah the ruler of Golconda and Heydarâbâd, declared their friendship, and reckoned themselves Shi'ites. 'Ali 'Adel Shah, the ruler of Bijâpûr, repeatedly sent ambassadors to assure the Shah of his loyalty, and to inform him that in his kingdom, the Eşnâ 'Aşârî köfba was pronounced in the name of the Shah. His envoys brought gifts, and received in return personal robes of honor, and such items as jeweled crowns, horses with gold saddles, and dagger belts. In 971/1563-64, Sultan Mahmûd Khan, the ruler of Bhakkar and Sind, sent Abu'l-Makârem as an envoy to the Persian court to express the traditional loyalty of his family to the Persian crown and his gratitude for past favors.

From Europe, King John of Portugal²⁶⁹ sent an ambassador in 958/1551. Although the Portuguese are strangers to the true faith, through their acquaintance with the Persian court, their prestige was high among the princes of the world. A second Portuguese ambassador reached Iran in 982/1574-75, with an impressive mission of fifty retainers, not counting servants. This ambassador brought a number of rare items as presents for the Shah, the like of which had rarely been seen in the lands of Islam. However, the members of this mission were guilty of various acts that were contrary to the Muslim faith and

²⁶⁸I cannot make out the personal name in the MS. His title is given as Jân Çehra in the MS., as Khan Çehra in the printed text, and as Jâhân Çâra in *Ahsan al-Tavârîk*. The Cambridge MS. has "Adîna Bahâdor known as Çehra."

²⁶⁹John III (1502-57).

of improper behavior in mosques, and consequently came to be regarded with disfavor by the Shah. He refused to allow them to depart, and they were not given permission to leave until after the accession of Sultan Mohammad Shah.²⁷⁰

Strange Happenings and Wondrous Events during the Reign of Shah Tahmasp

In the year 956/1549–50, there was an earthquake at Qā'en in Khorasan. Five villages were affected, and three thousand people were killed. Mowlānā Bāqī, the *qāzī* of the province, resided in one of the villages of the Kamsa. An astrologer, he warned the people of the village that the stars predicted a severe earthquake that night, and that the most sensible thing to do would be to evacuate their houses and move outside the village. But the people paid no heed. The *Qāzī* with his family left the village, and camped out in the desert. About midnight, however, his children complained of the cold, and he went back to the village. At that moment the earthquake occurred, and the *Qāzī* and all his family were buried.

In 980/1572–73, flames appeared in the sky in the direction of the North Pole and remained visible for nine months. It is said that during the reign of the Byzantine emperor who was a contemporary of Qobād, the father of Antūšīrvān, a similar phenomenon was observed in the direction of the North Pole and remained visible for seven months. After this, a layer of ash fell, followed by a severe pestilence in Asia Minor. Both these events were held to be connected with the flames in the sky. This is not improbable, because in 980/1572–73 there was also a heavy deposit of dust in the direction of the North Pole.

'Askarī Khan Tātār, conceiving an ambition to conquer Russia, invaded it with his son, Dowlat Gerāy. Feodor Ivanovich (Ivan IV, tsar of Russia, known as Olog Khan), fought a great battle with him, and several thousand men were killed on both sides. Dowlat Gerāy was taken prisoner, and 'Askarī Khan retired in disorder. This bloodshed was of the same order as the pestilence which appeared in the north.

In the district of Qā'en in Khorasan there occurred the most extraordinary event of all. Grain, like grains of wheat, rained from the heavens, and people collected it and baked bread with it.

²⁷⁰1578.

In 962/1554-55, a group of indigent *qalandars*²⁷¹ and rascals passing themselves off as *qalandars*, making use of some hashish-addicted vagabonds, presented themselves to the Shah in his summer quarters at Sūrloq near Solṭāniya. Clothing their perverted beliefs in the garments of true belief and wholesome faith, they attributed to the Shah the role of Mahdi.²⁷² However much the Shah tried to dissuade them from this corrupt belief, they refused to recant, but carried this heresy to the extreme. Ultimately the Shah, as the defender of the faith and the upholder of the canon law, was obliged to chastise these deluded men. His attendants began to knock them on the head with clubs, one by one. As fast as one man was dispatched, however, another would utter the same absurd words and would refuse to recant from his heretical beliefs, until some forty of these hashish-addicted *qalandars* had been dispatched.

Another incident which occurred toward the end of the reign of Shah Tahmasp was the chastisement of the mob at Tabriz. At that time, Allāhqolī Beg Ostājlū, the son of Šāhqolī Sultan the governor of Čokūr-e Sa'd, was *dārūğā* of Tabriz. The ruffians of the Darb-e Darjūmak district seized one of his men and committed other insolent acts. The *dārūğā* arrested one of their number and put him to death. His relatives, without permission from the *dārūğā*, removed his body from the place of execution and, accompanied by a throng of scoundrels, bore it with due ceremony to the burial ground. The *dārūğā*, furious at their action, resolved to exhume the body and suspend it again from the gibbet, as a warning to others. The mob rose up to prevent him, and drove the *dārūğā* back. He persisted, and a regular battle broke out. The mob pressed him so hard that, in order to escape from their arrows and bullets, he fled for his life back to his house, which was promptly besieged. Some of his men were wounded, others killed.

The riot spread, as turbulent and seditious elements from every quarter joined in. That factionalism which had formerly existed among the citizens and had been suppressed again prevailed, as men drew their knives against one another. Trade and commerce came to a standstill in the principal bazaar of Tabriz and in the Čahār Bāzlr; the gates of the markets and the doors of shops were closed, and the ordinary flow of traffic ceased. Everyone, rich and poor, syndics of

²⁷¹Wandering dervishes, not attached to any Sufi order.

²⁷²The Twelfth and Hidden Imam of the Eṣnā 'Āṣarī Shi'ites, whose return to earth will herald the end of the world.

guilds and tradespeople, was at the mercy of the mob. Serious crimes were now committed by the mob, and the situation began to deteriorate.

When the facts were reported to Shah Tahmasp, he tried to create a situation in which the populace would not be subjected to punitive measures and slaughter. He therefore sent Yūsuf Beg Čāūš-lū, the son of Bābā Soleymān, who was an intelligent and experienced man, as *dārūga* of the city, with orders to try and pacify the people and quench the fires of revolt with tact and prudent planning. Yūsuf Beg mingled with the people; he reconciled sworn enemies, and took surety and sworn oaths from the guild syndics of each ward to the effect that they would cause no trouble in future.

All was quiet in the city for a month or two. Then a certain Pahlavān Bārī disturbed the peace by murdering two of Yūsuf Beg's men, and rioting broke out again. Yūsuf Beg sent in a report to the effect that the troublemakers did not number more than four hundred; if rapid action were not taken against these vicious men, he said, there would be a general breakdown of law and order. Accordingly, Sohrāb Beg, the son of Kalfā-ye Anṣār, was deputed to cleanse Tabriz of these elements. When Sohrāb Beg arrived with a strong force, Yūsuf Beg joined him with his men, and together they went in search of the ringleaders, who immediately went into hiding. In each ward, however, the *qezelbāš* officers went straight to the guild syndics, whom they had made guarantors for their districts, and forced them to produce the wanted men, who were promptly executed. Some forty or fifty noted champions²⁷³ of that group were hanged, and eventually more than two hundred persons were executed before the riot was suppressed.

To conclude, in the year 965/1557–58, a great flood occurred in Qazvin, and some two thousand houses in the Darb-e Abhar district were destroyed. The householders suffered both the loss of their homes and of their household goods, which were swept away by the floodwaters. In 981/1573–74, about thirty thousand people died of plague at Ardabil.

²⁷³I prefer the reading *pahlavānān* of the MS. to the *javāndān* of the printed text. The term *pahlavān* suggests wrestlers, gymnasts, and other members of the socioreligious groups in existence in the principal cities at the time.

The Death of Shah Tahmasp

Two years before his death, Shah Tahmasp was afflicted by a serious illness which lasted for two months. During the course of this illness, there were two crises during which the Shah was on the point of death, but he made a miraculous recovery.

While he was ill, the royal princes, the emirs, and the principal officers of state split into two factions; each faction aimed at securing the succession. Mohammad Kodābanda, the eldest son of Tahmasp, was considered unfit to be heir-apparent, to rule the state, and to maintain unity among the turbulent *qezelbaš* tribes on account of his weak eyesight. Indeed, for the past several years, he had been completely blind. The majority of people, both military and civilians, supported Esma'il Mīrzā, who had for many years been imprisoned at Qahqaha at his father's order. They ignored the fact that the power of God is superior to what man proposes and that no one can bring low a person who is dear to God, and they were not aware that within a few years the succession would devolve upon Mohammad Kodābanda and his house.

At this time, the Ostajlū emirs were the strong support of the state, and the most powerful of them at court were Morād Khan *sofračī*,²⁷⁴ the grandson of Mantaşā Sultan; the centurion (*yüzbaşī*) Hoseyn Beg, the son of Hasan Beg; Piri Beg Qūçilüy, a *qırçı* of bow and arrow; Mohammad Beg Tovāčī-oğlū, *amir-äkkorbāšī* (master of the royal stables); and Allāhqolı Sultan Enjik-oğlū. These men were afraid of Esma'il Mīrzā and consequently supported Sultan Heydar Mīrzā, the eldest son of the Shah after Esma'il Mīrzā. Sultan Heydar was favored by his father, and had the advantage of being present at court. Şadr al-Dīn Khan Şafavī, the son of Ma'sūm Beg the *vakīl*, who was acting as Heydar Mīrzā's guardian on behalf of his father, joined the pro-Heydar faction with all the Şeykāvand tribe²⁷⁵ and a group of Georgians who were related to Heydar's mother. Oaths were sworn and covenants made.

Of the other royal princes, Sultan Moṣṭafā Mīrzā joined the pro-Heydar faction because he had been brought up among the Ostajlū tribe, and the office of being his guardian rested with the emirs of

²⁷⁴Sewer; i.e., the officer who presided at table.

²⁷⁵The Şeykāvand constituted a special category of *qezelbaş*, in that members of this tribe were related to the Safavid royal house.

that tribe. There was also great friendship between him and Heydar Mîrzâ, so his attachment to Heydar's cause was a genuine one. Sultan Ebrâhim Mîrzâ, the son of Bahram Mîrzâ, who was Shah Tahmasp's son-in-law, and extremely influential at court, also considered it expedient to lend his support to Heydar Mîrzâ.

Supporters of Esma'il Mîrzâ included Hoseynqolî Kolafâ Rümlü, Emir Aşlân Sultan Afşâr, Heydar Sultan Çabûq Torkmân, and all the Afşâr, Rümlü, and Torkmân tribes. The Shah's daughter, Parî Khan Kânom, who was more intelligent than the other royal princesses and whose opinion and counsel were valued by her father, to the envy of her peers, had no love in her heart for Heydar Mîrzâ because of her dislike of and rivalry with his mother, and she was not willing to see him made heir-apparent. She therefore secretly worked to promote the succession of Esma'il Mîrzâ. Among her brothers, Sultan Soleyman Mîrzâ, who had been born of the same mother;²⁷⁶ Sultan Mahmûd Mîrzâ, who was with the Rümlü tribe; and Sultan Ahmad Mîrzâ, who was with the Afşârs, declared their opposition to Heydar Mîrzâ, together with her maternal uncle, Şamkâl Sultan Çerkes, and a number of other Circassians who were related to her mother.

They conspired to achieve the succession of Esma'il Mîrzâ and openly charged the supporters of Heydar Mîrzâ with treachery and disloyalty. They went around saying quite publicly that there was only one spiritual director (*morşed-e kâmel*) on the path of Sufi behavior and loyalty to the Safavid family; as long as the *morşed-e kâmel* was alive, it was a sign of disloyalty to ascribe spiritual leadership or kingship to another. After the spiritual leader was dead, that person should be deemed king who had been declared heir-apparent by the Shah's last will and testament. If the Shah should die before nominating any of his sons as heir-apparent, then the traditional practice and custom of the Sufi path should prevail: namely, the eldest son should be considered the heir-apparent. Since Sultan Mohammad Mîrzâ, the eldest son of Shah Tahmasp, was blind, after him Esma'il Mîrzâ was the eldest son. "We do not see any other course open to those who follow the Sufi path," they said. Calling themselves "those who love the Shah" (*şâhi-sevan*)²⁷⁷ they dubbed Heydar's supporters *iķi-bîrlü* ("pluralists") and poured abuse on them.

²⁷⁶Their mother was the sister of a Circassian chief, which explains why the Circassians supported the pro-Esma'il faction.

²⁷⁷See V. Minorsky, *Şâhi-sevan*, in *EP*.

The uproar and controversy increased. The great emirs and elders of the *qezelbāš* tribes who were in attendance at court were divided in their allegiance, some supporting the one faction, some the other. On several occasions, angry words were spoken in the royal palace between supporters of the rival factions. Finally, however, the efforts of the doctors were crowned with success, and the Shah made steady progress toward recovery. Parī Khan Kānom's mother, at the instigation of her daughter and her daughter's brothers, reported these matters to the Shah, revealing Ḥeydar Mīrzā to his father as a traitor. In this way, she poisoned the Shah's mind against Ḥeydar and represented the pro-Esma'il faction as single-minded, loyal Sufis.

During the Shah's convalescence, the Companions of the Bed-chamber were allowed to stand behind the lattice of the harem and to converse with the Shah. Among the *qezelbāš* nobility, Kūr Shah 'Alī Rūmlū, who was an aide-de-camp (*yasāvol-e sohbat*), learned all these matters in detail, and he stated openly that from then on it was the duty of the Shah's servants to protect him from the plots and conspiracies of the pro-Ḥeydar group. As a result, Ḥeydar Mīrzā and his supporters were branded at court as traitors.

The Shah, however, was well aware of the ulterior motives of both parties; he kept his own counsel, repeating these stories to no one and even forbidding the pro-Esma'il faction to spread such rumors. Nevertheless, he considered it a possibility that some attempt might be made on Esma'il Mīrzā's life by the warden of the Qahqaha prison, Kalifa Anṣār, who was a member of the Qarādāğlū tribe. Kalifa Anṣār was related to, and always followed the instructions of, Farrokhzād Beg *eşik-āqāsibāşı*,²⁷⁸ chief of the Qaradāğlū tribe and a member of the pro-Ḥeydar faction. The Shah therefore detailed twelve men of the royal bodyguard, men of the Afsār tribe, to proceed to Qahqaha and guard the prince. This action strengthened the hand of the pro-Esma'il faction.

One of the most extreme supporters of Ḥeydar Mīrzā was Zāl Beg, a Georgian nobleman, whose sister was an inmate of the royal harem and the mother of several Safavid princes. Zāl Beg's duties included attendance on the Shah when the latter took a bath. One day, when the Shah had decided to take a bath, the pro-Esma'il faction said, "Zāl Beg is one of those disloyal to the Shah, and we loyal Sufis have no confidence in him; we refuse to allow him to be in attendance on a

²⁷⁸See R. M. Savory, *Ishik-akast*, in *EP*.

Shah who is still convalescent, because there is no security against treachery on his part." The Georgians, the Şeykāvand, and the Ostājlūs then discussed the situation. The Georgians said, "What have we done to be deprived of a duty which has been entrusted to us?"

On the day the Shah was due to take a bath, Ḥoseynqolı Kolafā Rümlü, Emir Aşlān Sultan, and the others who called themselves *sāhī-sevan*, took four or five thousand armed men and stationed themselves at the palace gate, with the object of preventing Zāl Beg from carrying out his duties. The opposing faction, Georgians, Şeykāvand, Ostājlūs, and their followers, assembled about the same number of men with the idea of supporting Zāl Beg. They proposed to enter the palace—an action that would have led to a general conflict and bloodshed.

On the night when the two factions were laying these plans, the writer of these words was in the neighborhood, at a party given by Ḥoseyn Beg *yūzbāš*.²⁷⁹ The latter was extremely disturbed by the turn of events, because he did not want the rivalry between the two factions to end in bloodshed. He pondered the matter all night long. In the morning, although there was a great throng around the palace gate, the men were not armed. They entered the palace in the customary manner, in attendance on Sultan Moṣṭafā Mīrzā, whose guardian Nazar Sultan had died, and who, as usual, was in the midst of the Ostājlū contingent. Outside, although mischief-making demagogues of both factions kept making oblique references to the situation, Heydar Mīrzā's supporters paid no attention to Ḥoseyn Qolı Kolafā's men, but marched up to the Čehel Sotūn portico and began to protest the conduct of the pro-Esma'il faction.

Ḥoseyn Beg *yūzbāš* addressed Ḥoseynqolı Kolafā as follows: "What mischief is this which you are creating among the *qezelbāš*? Why have you brought this armed band to the palace? Thanks be to God, our king and spiritual director and benefactor is saved. What business have we or you to harbor ambitions of this sort?" He concluded by branding Ḥoseynqolı Kolafā as a troublemaker and took his stand on loyalty to the Shah and conduct proper to a Sufi. Ḥoseynqolı Kolafā and his followers retaliated with some offensive and abusive remarks but, because Heydar Mīrzā was present, the pro-Esma'il faction did not dare to do anything more. When the Shah heard about all this, he thought it prudent to turn a blind eye; he summoned Zāl

²⁷⁹Mentioned earlier as one of Heydar's supporters.

Beg to the bathhouse to perform his usual duties, and the pro-Esma'il faction dispersed, feeling rather ashamed of themselves. The supporters of Sultan Ḥeydar, on the other hand, took on new life, and for a while they found some peace from their detractors.

When the Shah was restored to full health, he gave no further opening for this sort of talebearing, nor did he conduct any inquiry into the matter. On the other hand, as the opportunity came, he appointed some of the powerful Ostājlū emirs to a duty that necessitated absence from court. For instance, he charged Morād Khan with the capture of the fortress of Kojūr²⁸⁰ and dispatched him in the direction of Rostamdār; Pīrī Beg Qūčılū was appointed governor of Rayy, and left to take up his appointment. In addition, the Shah needed an intelligent and shrewd emir to send as an ambassador to Turkey, to offer condolences on the death of the Ottoman Sultan Selim II, and to offer congratulations to his son and successor, Morād III.

The Shah charged Ḥoseyn Beg *yüzbaşı* with this duty, but the pro-Ḥeydar faction now perceived that the Shah's purpose was to disperse the Ostājlū emirs, who were strong supporters of Ḥeydar. They urged Ḥoseyn Beg to think of some reason why he could not go to Turkey, and Ḥoseyn Beg produced the excuse that, during the Shah's illness, he had made a solemn vow that he would perform the pilgrimage to Mašhad should the Shah be restored to health. Since life is uncertain, he said, he hoped the Shah would release him so that he could fulfill his vow and excuse him from going to Turkey. The Shah granted his request, but sent another Ostājlū emir to Turkey in his place—Muhammad Khan Tokmāq, governor of Čokūr-e Sa'd.

Ḥoseyn Beg, fearful that something might happen in his absence to ruin his plans, put off going to Mašhad, but the Shah took no notice and said nothing on the subject. Ḥoseyn Beg continued in his role as trusted counselor, and gradually the respect and esteem in which he was held increased. Ultimately he was appointed guardian to Sultan Ḥoseyn Mirzā in place of Nazar Sultan Ostājlū, who had recently died. At an auspicious hour, Ḥoseyn Beg brought the prince to his house for a party on a royal scale, and presented him with suitable gifts. The other royal princes, who at the Shah's command had gone

²⁸⁰According to Iraj Afšār's indices to the printed edition of the *TAAA*, Kojūr is identical with the fortress of Mārānkūh, which was situated in the Rāmīān district of the Fendaresk region, at the eastern extremity of the province of Astarābād (see Rabino, p. 128).

to pay their respects to Sultan Ḥoseyn Mīrzā and to congratulate Ḥoseyn Beg *yūzbāšī* on his appointment, also received fitting presents.

Gradually, the intertribal rivalry and the factionalism between the two parties at court died down, and two years passed. In the year of the Rat, equivalent to 984/1576, the Shah was afflicted by a minor indisposition. A depilatory applied to his lower limbs in the bath caused painful burns that gave rise to a fever. The doctors were called in to treat him, but without any of his intimates and close companions having the least suspicion that he might die, the Shah's condition deteriorated on the evening of Tuesday, 14 Ṣafar 984/13 May 1576. The Shah became very restless and began to grow weaker. The royal princes remained at their father's bedside until midnight, when he dismissed them to their homes, telling them there was no need to feel so uneasy about him. All the princes left except for Heydar Mīrzā.

There are two versions of his reason for remaining behind. The first is that the Shah himself made an exception in his case and required him to remain behind. The second version is that Heydar Mīrzā's mother, fearing that after the Shah's death some harm might come to him if he exposed himself outside the palace, whereas inside lay security,²⁸¹ therefore said to her son:

Your father's condition is critical, and he may possibly die tonight. Now you aspire to rule and to succeed your father; what do you think you are doing, going off and leaving the seat of kingship? You should stay in the palace. The moment the Shah is dead, you should place the royal crown on your head and take your seat in the Čehel Sotūn hall upon the imperial rug. When you have got your hands on the keys to the treasuries, the arsenal, and the armories, since soldiers look only for the vain things of this world, you should hand out handsome gifts to the centurions, the royal bodyguard, and the army officers. Then let your supporters crowd into the palace, that all may see you have taken your place on the imperial throne. The hands of the pro-*Esma'il* faction will be tied by this *fait-accompli*, and they

²⁸¹Koran, 3:91.

will have no alternative but to tender their allegiance. Anyone who shows hesitation in coming forward to tender his fealty should be put to death.

Heydar found his mother's views to his taste and stayed behind.

About midnight, Shah Tahmasp went into a decline, and he died early in the morning, 15 Ṣafar 984/14 May 1576. The chronogram of his death is: "His tomb is full of light." The women of the harem rent their clothes and fell to wailing and lamenting, and the attendants donned mourning. Men were consumed with worry and anxiety, and understandably so.

During his reign, Shah Tahmasp spent whatever time he had free from affairs of state in seeing to the wants of the needy; in giving currency to the religious law and honoring the doctors of religion; in showing respect for ascetic and pious men; in giving luster to holy shrines, theological seminaries, and charitable institutions; and in the maintenance of mosques. Throughout his youth, he renounced sensual pleasures. In 939/1532-33, when he had been on the throne for nine years,²⁸² he paid heed to the word of God, "Turn to God in sincere repentance,"²⁸³ and from the bottom of his heart, repented of all forbidden acts. This act of repentance was so firmly rooted in him that he never thought of breaking it. All revenue accruing from taverns, gambling dens, and brothels was removed from the ledgers. Gradually all the chiefs of the *qezelbāš* tribes followed his example and showed a desire to repent. In 963/1555-56, the great emirs and the court attendants made a public act of repentance; this was followed throughout the country by the population as a whole. The chronogram for this event is "Sincere repentance."

In Shah Tahmasp's time, people conducted themselves with piety and continence and attended to their devotions. The command to do what is good, and to eschew what is disapproved by God,²⁸⁴ was observed so rigorously that professional storytellers and performers in the arena²⁸⁵ were forbidden to indulge in anything frivolous. Five

²⁸²And was therefore in his nineteenth year.

²⁸³Koran, 66:8.

²⁸⁴A persistent theme in the Koran, where believers are repeatedly characterized as "those who enjoin what is good, and forbid what is objectionable to God" (*ya'morūna be'l-ma'rūfa wa yanhowna 'an al-monkare*).

²⁸⁵Jugglers, conjurors, and the like.

hundred *tomān* of the finest opium suspected of being illicit²⁸⁶ was made licit by being washed in running water. On the birthday of each of the Fourteen Immaculate Ones,²⁸⁷ a stipulated sum of money was dedicated to God; each year, the amount thus dedicated on the birthday of the Prophet was allotted to some group of eminent *seyyeds* about whose Shi'ite faith there was no doubt.

In most of the large cities, alms in the form of bread were dispensed to the poor and needy, both men and women. In those cities where Shi'ism was particularly strong (Mašhad, Sabzavār, Astarābād, Qom, Kashan, Yazd, Tabriz, Ardabil), forty orphan boys and forty orphan girls were provided with clothes and other necessities. Male and female Shi'ite teachers were appointed to instruct them, and servants to attend them, until they reached the age of puberty. Then they were married off to one another and their places taken by younger children.

The peasants and ordinary people received various forms of relief by way of remission of taxes and the giving of alms. For instance, highway taxes,²⁸⁸ the levying of which was a practice continued from former times, were levied on merchants and wealthy travelers, and brought in about one thousand royal Iraqi *tomān* every year. As the result of a dream in which he was instructed to take this action, in 972/1564-65 the Shah remitted this tax to the merchants and travelers. Thereafter this tax was abolished and its collectors recalled from the provinces. The tax on crafts and trades,²⁸⁹ on herds,²⁹⁰ and on pastures, in the case of which the people had customarily been allowed some remission of tax, particularly in the Shi'ite strongholds, were now expunged from the tax registers.

Shah Tahmasp's beneficence was rewarded by a long reign of fifty-two years.²⁹¹ During the whole of Islamic history, the only ruler who reigned longer was the Fatemid caliph al-Mostanṣer be'llāh.²⁹² During his reign, both civil and military arms of the administration flourished, and the affairs of the royal household were well ordered, with the result that his writ ran to an extraordinary extent throughout

²⁸⁶According to canon law.

²⁸⁷The Prophet Mohammad, his daughter Fāṭema, and the Twelve Imams.

²⁸⁸*Tamgā-e Šāvire'*. Possibly the same as the road tolls (*rahdārī*); see *TM*, p. 180.

²⁸⁹Probably the *bonīča*, or tax on shops, etc.

²⁹⁰Presumably the tax known as *cōpān-begī*.

²⁹¹Text has 54 (lunar) years (930-984 A.H.).

²⁹²Ruler of Egypt, Syria, and North Africa 427-487/1036-1094.

the whole of Iran. Tahmasp lived for sixty-four years, one month, and twenty-five days. For eight years, during the reign of his father Shah Esma'il I, he governed the province of Khorasan; he ruled Iran for fifty-three years, six months, and twenty-six days.²⁹³ His death was lamented not only by the seyyeds, 'olamā, and the nobles, but by the people as a whole. During his long reign, no one had observed any weakening in his resolve to rule. Among the princes of the world who had achieved some renown, none had seen a king like Tahmasp.

After his death, representatives of the doctors of religion and the law, led by Mīr Seyyed Ḥoseyn Jabal Āmelī the *mojtahed*, at the request of the emirs went to the palace, washed the Shah's body according to the dictates of canon law, and buried it at Yort Šīrvānī, between the harem garden and the palace. Later, during the reign of Shah Esma'il II, as will be recorded, the body was transferred to Mašhad and buried in the grounds of the sacred shrine of the Imam Reżā.

Among his monuments and public works were the fortifications of the city of Tehran²⁹⁴ and the city of Mašhad; the gilding of the dome of the shrine of the Imam Reżā²⁹⁵ and of the pointed ornament on top of the dome; the construction of the palace buildings at Qazvin, together with the whole complex known as the Sa'ādatābād Garden, comprising numerous bathhouses, four markets, and the Eram Gardens; and a mosque in the Şāhebābād district of Tabriz. May God have mercy on his soul! By virtue of his fidelity to the family of the Prophet, may he be raised with them on the Day of Reckoning, seated among the elect in God's house, and given a place in the gardens of paradise!

It is now incumbent upon the historian to enumerate the names of the Shah's sons and the other royal princes, those of the great emirs and principal officers of state, and those of eminent men in every walk of life who at the time of the death of Shah Tahmasp played an important role in the administration of the state. Since the name of each person will be discussed along with some attendant circumstances, the student of history may find some useful material herein.

²⁹³Lunar reckoning, of course.

²⁹⁴Tehran, the present capital of Iran, began to come into prominence in Safavid times.

²⁹⁵The dome was not covered merely with gold leaf, but with plates of solid gold.

A Record of the Names of the Royal Princes, Shah Tahmasp's Sons and Nephews

The number of Shah Tahmasp's children, grandchildren, and nephews who were alive at the time of his death totaled thirty-five: twenty-three sons and twelve daughters. Twenty-two of these were the fruit of his own loins, not counting a few children who died during his lifetime (no purpose will be served by mentioning these). Of these twenty-two natural children, nine were sons.

Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā

I have been able to discover the date of birth of only those three princes who later came to the throne;¹ in regard to the others, I have gone no further into the matter, but contented myself with listing their names and giving a short account of their life and times.

Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā, then, was born in the year 938/1531-32, when Shah Tahmasp had been on the throne for eight years. His mother was Solṭānom, the daughter of Mūsā Sultan Mowṣellū Ṭorkmān, one of the great Bāyandorī emirs.² The chronogram of his birth is: "Shah Tahmasp's first son was Mohammad," and he was given the sobriquet of Kodābanda. He was forty-six years of age³ at the time of his father's death. In 943/1536-37, when he was six years old, he was appointed to the governorship of Khorasan. Mohammad Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oğlū Takkalū was made his guardian and *amīr al-omārā*⁴ of Khorasan, and the prince took up residence at Herat. He remained in this office for some years⁵ and became familiar with routine administrative matters. He developed wisdom, understanding, and a generous nature, and acquired such a lofty temperament that he despised the treasures of this world. He also developed a talent for composing

¹His sons Shah Esma'il II and Sultan Mohammad Shah, and his grandson Shah Abbas I.

²The Bāyandorī clan were an important constituent in the Aq Qoyūnlū confederacy; they had thrown in their lot with the Safavids after the disintegration of the Aq Qoyūnlū empire. The year after the birth of Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā, Mūsā Sultan was appointed governor of Azerbaijan (939/1532-33) (see *Sarafnāma*, ii, 181; *Javāher al-Akkād*, f. 304a).

³By lunar reckoning. By solar reckoning, his age was 45 or 46.

⁴On the function of the *amīr al-omārā* in the provinces, see Savory, *Some Notes on the Provincial Administration of the Early Safavid Empire*, *BSOAS*, xxvii/1, 1964, pp. 114-129.

⁵From 943-963/1536-37-1556, a period of twenty years.

poetry under the pen name of Fahmī. Given to jokes and witticisms, he had a happy disposition, being rarely of a melancholy turn of mind.

After some time had passed, Shah Tahmasp desired to see his son. He summoned him to court, sending Esma'il Mīrzā to Herat in his place. Not long afterwards,⁶ however, the Shah, having in mind the best interests of the state, sent Esma'il Mīrzā to the prison-fortress of Qahqaha, because of certain improper actions on the part of the latter which had displeased him. Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā was reappointed to the governorship of Khorasan. After the Qazāq Takkalū incident, when Ma'sūm Beg Şafavī was sent to Khorasan with a large army to suppress that seditious officer and Qazāq met his end in the manner already described,⁷ Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā visited the court with his son Sultan Hoseyn Mīrzā. He was appointed for the third time to the governorship of Khorasan, with Sultan Yakān Ostājlū as his guardian and *amīr al-omarā* of the province.⁸

During his third governorship, Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā's eyesight deteriorated, and the prince neglected to follow the prescribed course of treatment. The ophthalmic surgeons and oculists prescribed treatment, but the prince refused to submit himself to its rigors, and his eyesight got gradually weaker until he was virtually blind. The prince, for a variety of reasons, fell out with his guardian, Şahqolī Sultan, and each accused the other of improper conduct. Shah Tahmasp, to placate his son, transferred him to Shiraz, brought one of his sons, Sultan Ḥasan Mīrzā,⁹ to court to gladden the eyes of the royal family,¹⁰ and appointed another son, 'Abbas Mīrzā, governor-general of Khorasan. In obedience to the Shah's command, Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā left his son 'Abbas at Herat, and moved to Shiraz with the rest of his family.

At Shiraz, the administration was placed in the hands of Valī Sultan Qolqānčī-oğlū Zu'l-Qadar, who became Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā's guardian. The latter remained at Shiraz for the rest of Shah Tahmasp's reign and during the reign of Shah Esma'il II, when his position was fraught with danger. After the death of Esma'il II, his innate good fortune brought him to the throne, as will be related in the appropriate place.

⁶Esma'il had been at Herat only a few months (June–December 1556).

⁷In 972/1564.

⁸974/1566.

⁹Bellān, *Chah Abbas*, p. 4, incorrectly states that Sultan Ḥasan Mīrzā was the son of Shah Tahmasp.

¹⁰Actually, as a hostage for his father's good behavior!

The sons of Sultan Mohammad Mirzā are as follows:

Sultan Hasan Mirzā

His mother was the daughter of Mīr 'Abd al-'Azīz Seyfī Hoseynī, a respected Gilānī emir and the son-in-law of Qāzī Jahān.¹¹ The date of his birth has not been recorded; but at the time of his grandfather's death he was eighteen years of age, which means he must have been born in 966/1558-59. After a time at court, he was appointed governor of half the province of Māzandarān, and he was living there at the time of Shah Tahmasp's death. Sultan Hasan was put to death by his uncle, Shah Esma'il II, as will be described at the proper place.

Sultan Hamza Mirzā

His mother was Mahd-e 'Olyā Keyr al-Nesā Begom, the daughter of Mīr 'Abdullah Khan, ruler of Māzandarān. At that time,¹² he was ten years of age and was with his father at Shiraz. During his father's reign, he was appointed *vakīl* and made heir-apparent; and for nearly ten years of that reign, he was constantly at his father's side. He was the real architect of events until his untimely murder at the hands of his barber, as will be related under the events of Sultan Mohammad Shah's reign.

Abbas Mirzā (the future Shah Abbas I)

His mother also was Mahd-e 'Olyā Keyr al-Nesā Begom. He was born at Herat on Sunday,¹³ 1 Ramażān 978/27 January 1571, under the sign Virgo, at the beginning of the Year of the Horse, part of which fell within the Muslim year 978 and part within 979. One of the miraculous events associated with his birth was that the capable woman who had been appointed to nurse him discovered that her breasts were full of milk, even though she had not recently given birth to a child herself, and she was able to satisfy the needs of the infant prince. Since this was truly an extraordinary occurrence, I judged it worthy of note.

Learned men will not find it surprising that the hand of divine providence should be seen guiding the rearing of a prince destined to perform such mighty works in the realm of both religious and secular

¹¹The powerful official who became bureaucratic *vakīl* at the accession of Shah Tahmasp (see Savory, Offices II).

¹²If "at that time" means at the time of the death of Tahmasp, then Hamza must have been born in 1565 or 1566.

¹³I Ramażān 978 fell on a Saturday.

affairs. This prince was of distinguished and God-fearing stock on both his father's and his mother's side, and for this reason had a better claim to the throne than the other royal princes. His father was Sultan Moḥammad Shah, the eldest son of Shah Tahmasp, whose descent is from Shaikh Ṣafī al-Ḥaqqa va'l-Ḥaqīqa va'l-Dīn,¹⁴ and his descent is from the Prophet and from 'Alī, as was set forth in the introduction to this history. His mother, Mahd-e 'Olyā Keyr al-Nesā Begom, was the revered daughter of the *seyyed* Mīr 'Abdollāh Khan, the ruler of Māzandarān, who is descended from Seyyed Qavām al-Dīn, known as Mīr Bozorg, as follows: Mīr 'Abdollāh Kān b. Solṭān Maḥmūd Kān b. Mīr 'Abd al-Karīm b. Seyyed Moḥammad b. Seyyed Mortażā b. Seyyed 'Alī b. Seyyed Kamāl al-Dīn, the contemporary of Tīmūr (who, as is recorded in the chronicles, was besieged by Tīmūr in the fortress of Māhāna-sar).¹⁵ Seyyed Kamāl al-Dīn was the son of the above-mentioned Mīr Bozorg, whose lineage goes back to Seyyed 'Alī al-Mar'ašī, for which reason the *seyyeds* of this dynasty are known as Mar'ašī *seyyeds*.¹⁶ The latter as is stated in the *Tārikh-e Jahān-ārā*, was a descendant of the Fourth Imam, Zeyn al-'Ābedīn.

In short, Mīr Bozorg was descended from the distinguished line of Mar'ašī *seyyeds*, and embraced in his own person both spiritual and temporal authority. In his youth, he struggled to curb and discipline his carnal appetites. After his elevation to the highest mystical stations, lending his ear to the divine command, "It is We who distribute among them their livelihood in the present life,"¹⁷ he undertook the ordering of affairs in Māzandarān and devoted his attention to the welfare of the people of that region. He took up residence in that province, and his convent was frequented by high and low. The ruler of Māzandarān at that time was Afrāsīāb, of the Čolāvī dynasty.

Afrāsīāb at first enrolled himself as a disciple of Mīr Bozorg, but then, made apprehensive by the extreme doctrines and the large numbers of Mīr Bozorg's disciples, he resolved to eliminate him and marched against the convent with a band of desperadoes. Mīr Bozorg considered himself justified in putting up a resistance, and an arrow chanced to inflict a mortal wound on Afrāsīāb. Mīr Bozorg conquered the rest of the province by the sword, thus adding temporal

¹⁴The first *seyyed* of the Safavid Order, and the progenitor of the Safavid family.

¹⁵Near Āmol in Māzandarān. According to Rabino, p. 142, he was taken by Tīmūr to Kašgar, where he died in 801/1398-99.

¹⁶See Rabino, pp. 142-143, for further details of this dynasty.

¹⁷Koran, 48:33.

dominion to spiritual authority.¹⁸ Seyyed ɬahır al-Dın, the author of the *Tārīk-e Tabarestān*, gives full details of these events, and a summary of them is contained in the *Habib al-Sīar*. There is therefore no need for me to weary the reader with further details here, but I will return to my account of the birth of 'Abbas Mīrzā. In short, the ancestors of Mahd-e 'Olyā, the mother of 'Abbas Mīrzā, continued to rule Māzandarān, generation after generation.

When 'Abbas Mīrzā was born at Herat, signs of his great destiny were visible upon his brow. Learned astrologers, especially Mowlānā Abd al-Şamad Haravī, worked out the horoscope of the new prince. They forecast that he would rise to a position of supreme power and would bring all men under the radiance of his justice and under the shadow of his mercy and favor. Poets devised the following chronogram for the date of his birth: Monarch of the Seven Climes (978/1571). When his mother told Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā of the birth of their son, he wrote to Shah Tahmasp to ascertain his wishes in regard to the naming of the child. The letter reached the Shah when he chanced to be reciting a verse in which the name of 'Abbas occurred, and so this was selected as the infant prince's name. It was the Shah's custom to present every royal baby with a carpet and all the trappings of a cradle. Shah Tahmasp sent for the infant 'Abbas the carpet which was spread beneath his own royal throne in the Čehel Sotūn hall of the palace at Qazvin, together with all necessary appurtenances for his cradle.

Shah Tahmasp had a premonition that the infant prince would one day succeed him on the throne. Indeed, from 'Abbas's infancy up to the time of his accession, there were many heavenly signs pointing to his future kingship. Among these were one or two supernatural events which, since they indicate the high spiritual station of Shah Tahmasp, I make no apology for including here; these events were related on the authority of Shah Tahmasp himself, and reached my ears via a line of reliable transmitters. The first of these events is as follows: Before the news of the birth of 'Abbas had reached the Shah, the Shah summoned 'Abbas's elder brother, Sultan Ḥoseyn Mīrzā, who was at court, and said, "Today a courier will reach us from Herat, and will bring good news which will give us both great joy." Shortly after this, the courier arrived. The second event is as follows: A few years after the birth of 'Abbas, the Shah sent a member of the royal bodyguard to Herat on a mission. When he returned, the Shah questioned him about 'Abbas and asked him to describe his physical appearance. The

¹⁸This occurred in 760/1359 (Rabino, p. 142).

soldier, however, either because of lack of intelligence or because he was unobservant, did not describe the prince as fully as he ought to have done. The Shah said heatedly, "You do not seem to know much about this prince. He will be the one who increases the brilliance of the light of this dynasty." And it was not long before this happened.

'Abbas Mirzā was selected for a position of responsibility and thus distinguished among the other royal princes, each of whom had the talent and ability to qualify him to govern. At the risk, therefore, of again unduly prolonging this discourse, I consider it necessary to say a few words about the way in which 'Abbas Mirzā came to be entrusted with the administration of Khorāsan.

Men of discrimination and learning are well aware that once God has, by virtue of His word "Thou givest sovereignty to whomsoever Thou pleasest . . . Thou exaltest whomsoever Thou pleasest,"¹⁹ destined a man to power and authority, that man will, with God's assistance and protection, overcome all obstacles in a manner which will astonish even persons of sound judgment. He will emerge triumphant from any trials initially placed in his path, which the more short-sighted consider to be an indication of lack of divine favor: For in this apparent withdrawal of divine favor are contained, by God's will, many practical lessons concerning the government of a kingdom, and God's protection is sufficient to preserve such a man from all the injuries of this world and the conspiracies of foolish men.

The purpose of these preliminary remarks was to set the stage for my account of the life of Shah 'Abbas I. Many powerful monarchs have been buffeted by fate at the beginning of their careers; later, however, fortune has smiled on them, and they have reached the zenith of dominion and power and achieved great things. Nevertheless, since the time of Creation, when man was singled out from among other created beings by God's assurance, "We have shown great regard to the sons of Adam,"²⁰ and distinguished by God's declaration, "We have made you a vicegerent in the earth,"²¹ no great king has had to suffer such vicissitudes of fate, so many attempts on his life by his enemies, such intrigues and conspiracies on the part of treacherous and disloyal men, and such countless trials and tribulations, as Shah 'Abbas I, as will be narrated in detail below.

¹⁹Koran, 3:27 (part).

²⁰Koran, 17:71.

²¹Koran, 38:25. This was said to David.

The first hardship he had to endure was separation from his mother and father, which occurred when he was still an infant of eighteen months.²² An estrangement had come about at Herat between his father, Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā, and the latter's guardian, Šāhqolī Yākān Sultan, as a result of the machinations of evil men. Each repeatedly sent complaints to court about the other. Shah Tahmasp, realizing that no reconciliation between the two was possible, resolved to appoint as governor at Herat Ḥamza Mīrzā, the brother of Abbas Mīrzā, and to transfer his father, Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā, to Shiraz. An order to this effect was issued by the Shah. But Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā and his wife, although they rejoiced in public when the Shah's edict reached Herat, could not bear to part from their favorite son. They sent a petition to court declaring that Ḥamza Mīrzā was particularly fond of and close to his parents, and that he might not be able to bear the separation, and might go into a physical decline. His mother further stated that she could not live without her darling Ḥamza. Abbas Mīrzā, on the other hand, since he was still being breast fed by the wet-nurse, had formed no such close attachment to his mother, and she therefore entreated the Shah to let her take Ḥamza to Shiraz with her and leave 'Abbas at Herat. Since the Shah wanted Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā to be happy, he agreed to this and issued fresh orders to this effect.

From the fact that 'Abbas Mīrzā had been appointed to the governorship of Khorasan, people deduced that he was destined to great things, because Shah Tahmasp himself, while still an infant, had been made governor-general of Khorasan by Shah Esma'il I,²³ had grown up at Herat, and had eventually succeeded his father on the throne. Of Tahmasp's own sons, too, all those who held the governorship of Khorasan ultimately came to the throne.²⁴ 'Abbas Mīrzā, then, in his second year, succeeded his father as governor-general of Khorasan, with Šāhqolī Sultan Ostājlū as his guardian.²⁵ I will turn now to the other royal princes.

Abū Ṭālib Mīrzā

He was born in the year of the Shah Tahmasp's illness, 982/1574,

²²This means that Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā was transferred to Shiraz about July 1572.

²³In 921/1515, when he was two years old.

²⁴Viz., Sultan Mohammad Shah and Shah Esma'il II.

²⁵The reappointment of Šāhqolī Sultan Ostājlū as *lala* (guardian) was a vote of confidence in him and, by implication, a vote of no confidence in Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā.

his mother being Mahd-e 'Olyā, and he was thus two years of age when Shah Tahmasp died. He was brought up by his parents and, in the Year of the Dog, 994/1586, when Ḥamza Mīrzā was murdered (as will be narrated at the end of this section of my history), he was made *vakil-e dīvān-e a'lā*, vicegerent of the Supreme Divan, and was proclaimed heir-apparent by the group of emirs who were in control at Qazvin, notably 'Alīqolī Khan Fath-oğlū Ostajlū and Esma'ilqolī Khan, commander-in-chief of the artillery, who was the son of Veli Kalīfa Šamlū. At the end of the Year of the Pig, 995/1587, it was rumored in Iraq that 'Abbas Mīrzā was marching toward the capital from Khorasan; after the latter became Shah, Abū Ṭāleb and his younger brother Tahmāsp were held in detention for a time. In the Year of the Tiger (998/1589–90), they were transferred to the fortress of Ṭabarāk near Isfahan. Ultimately, as the result of the intrigues of some of the emirs, both princes were blinded.

Tahmasp Mīrzā

Tahmasp Mīrzā, the fifth son of Sultan Moḥammad Mīrzā, whose mother was also Mahd-e 'Olyā, was born at Shiraz after the death of Shah Tahmasp in 984/1576, and received his grandfather's name. In the Year of the Fowl, 993/1585, when the Turkman and Takkalū tribes fell out with Sultan Ḥamza Mīrzā because of his execution of Emir Khan Torkmān, as will be described in the proper place, Tahmasp Mīrzā was seized by the Turkman-Takkalū faction at Tabriz and carried off by them to Iraq, where they swore allegiance to him. This faction, however, was defeated by Ḥamza Mīrzā, who recaptured his brother Tahmasp and imprisoned him at Alamūt. He was later transferred to Ṭabarāk near Isfahan and eventually blinded, as mentioned above. This completes the list of the sons of Sultan Moḥammad Shah, and I return now to listing the sons of Shah Tahmasp.

Esma'il Mīrzā

The second son of Shah Tahmasp; Esma'il Mīrzā's mother too was Soljānom, the daughter of Mūsā Sultan Mowṣellū, and so he was the brother of Sultan Moḥammad Mīrzā. In 954/1547–48, when Alqāṣ Mīrzā rebelled against the Shah, was defeated, and fled to Ottoman territory, Esma'il Mīrzā was appointed governor of the province of Šīrvān, and Gökča Sultan Qajār was appointed his guardian. Esma'il won a great victory over Borhān Mīrzā, a descendant of the princes of Šīrvān, who had marched from Dāgestān with the object of subjugating Šīrvān, and Borhān retreated to Dāgestān. In 955/1548–49,

the Ottoman emperor Sūlāymān, at the instance of Alqāṣ Mīrzā, invaded Iran. Esma'il Mīrzā was recalled to court, and from time to time performed various commissions for the Shah. In 959/1551–52, he was appointed commander of a *qezelbāš* army sent to Anatolia, and won a victory over Eskandar Pasha at Erzerum.

In 962/1554–55 he married the daughter of Shah Ne'matollāh Yazdī and Kāneš Begom, a sister of Shah Tahmasp, and a splendid marriage feast was held in the Bāğ-e Delgošā at Qazvin. Even though it was a royal occasion, the Shah's indulgence toward his son was such that he allowed him to rise to his feet and dance. All the guests scattered money among the crowds, in quantities appropriate to their station and the occasion, and the entertainers, musicians, and minstrels had all their financial worries removed by this largesse. But Esma'il displayed ingratitude toward the Shah's beneficence and committed certain acts displeasing to his father. The Shah considered it inadvisable to allow Esma'il Mīrzā to remain at court and in 963/1556 summoned Sultan Moḥammad Mīrzā from Herat. He sent Esma'il Mīrzā to Herat in his place, with Moḥammad Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oğlū as his guardian. 'Alī Sultan Takkalū escorted Esma'il to Herat and returned with Moḥammad Mīrzā. On reaching Sāuj Bolāğ, 'Alī Sultan was dispatched by blows from the royal bodyguard. The only apparent reason for this was that, in the process of escorting Esma'il Mīrzā to Herat, he had entered into certain agreements and covenants with the prince incompatible with sincere devotion to the Shah and the proper conduct for a Sufi—but God alone knows the truth.

At all events, Esma'il's behavior at Herat did not please the Shah any more than had his conduct at court; consequently, in the best interests of the realm and to preserve and protect the state, Esma'il was dismissed from office after he had been at Herat for a few months. At the Shah's command, Sevendük Beg Afšār, the *qūrčibāšī*, went to Herat and brought the prince back to Sāva via Ṭabas and Yazd. At Sāva, he was met by the *vakīl al-salṭana*, Ma'ṣūm Beg Šafavī, who conducted him to the prison at Qahqaha. Sultan Moḥammad Mīrzā, as already mentioned, was reappointed governor of Khorasan. Esma'il Mīrzā spent nineteen years, six months, and one day in that prison. Finally, after the death of Shah Tahmasp and of his brother Heydar Mīrzā, he was raised to the throne, as will be described at the appropriate place.

Sultan Heydar Mīrzā

The third son of Shah Tahmasp; Ḥeydar Mīrzā's mother was a Georgian, one of the Shah's legal wives. The date of Ḥeydar's birth is not recorded, but since he was twenty-two at the death of Shah Tahmasp, he must have been born in 962/1554-55. He was constantly at court until his father's death. His guardian (*lala*) was Ma'ṣūm Beg Ṣafavī until the latter went on the pilgrimage to Mecca, at which time he was replaced in this office by his son Ṣadr al-Dīn Khan, a trusted emir. Ḥeydar Mīrzā was the object of the Shah's special regard, and in return he tried to do his father's bidding. Toward the end of his life, Tahmasp, no longer able to attend to all the affairs of state in person, made use of Ḥeydar Mīrzā in this regard. He was singled out by the Shah from among his brothers for special favor, and his standing steadily increased in the eyes of the other royal princes and the emirs of the *qezelbāš* tribes.

With the arrogance of youth, and natural ambition, he considered himself the heir-apparent; the majority of the army officers, particularly those of the Šeykāvand and Ostājlū tribes, and of the Georgian party, supported his candidacy. During the Shah's illness in 982/1574, some of Ḥeydar's supporters became impatient and were guilty of actions contrary to good Sufi practice and loyalty to the Shah, as I have described in detail earlier. Ḥeydar was somewhat ashamed of these incidents, but the Shah, when he recovered his health, never gave the least sign, either through impatience or carelessness, that his regard for Ḥeydar had weakened. He continued to show favor toward him until his own death; the day following the death of Tahmasp, on 16 Ṣafar 984/15 May 1576, Ḥeydar Mīrzā met his end in the manner already described. He was a man of integrity, chaste, compassionate, kindly, and just in his dealings with men. He left a daughter—his only child.

Sultan Soleymān Mīrzā

The fourth son of Shah Tahmasp; Soleymān Mīrzā's mother was the sister of Šamkāl Sultan Čerkes, and was one of the Shah's legal wives. Soleymān was twenty-one at the time of his father's death.²⁶ At an early age, the Shah sent him to Mašhad and appointed the governor of Mašhad to be his guardian. Teachers were appointed to instruct him in all branches of learning, and he was eventually given the post

²⁶He must therefore have been born in 963/1555-56.

of comptroller of the attendants (*kādembāšī*) of the shrine of the Imam Reżā at Maşhad. In 978/1570–71, when Şahvalı Sultan Tatlıoğlu Zu'l-Qadar was dismissed from the governorship of Maşhad, Sultan Soleymān Mīrzā was recalled to court and received with great favor by his father. During the reign of Shah Esma'il II, who confined his energies to eliminating the royal princes, Soleymān Mīrzā was handed over to his uncle Şamkāl Sultan Çerkes who, to curry favor with the Shah, put him to death. Further details will be given under the events of the reign of Shah Esma'il II.

Sultan Moṣṭafā Mīrzā

The fifth son of Shah Tahmasp; Moṣṭafā Mīrzā's mother was a Georgian concubine. At the time of his father's death, he was twenty years of age.²⁷ The office of guardian of this prince was the prerogative of the great Ostājlū emirs, and he was brought up with the Ostājlū tribe. Extremely capable and talented, he had a pleasant disposition. He was sent to eastern Gīlān with a punitive expedition,²⁸ after the Gīlānis had rebelled on several occasions, and as a result of his victories in this campaign, he was raised to the rank of governor and given an army command. After the death of Nażar Sultan, his guardian, this function was taken over by Hōseyn Beg *yüzbaşı*, who also received the former's rank of governor. In all matters, he agreed with Sultan Heydar Mīrzā.

After the death of Shah Tahmasp, when the Ostājlū emirs conspired to put Heydar Mīrzā on the throne, Sultan Moṣṭafā Mīrzā went with them to the palace. But the death of Heydar Mīrzā scattered his supporters in all directions; Sultan Moṣṭafā Mīrzā left Qazvin and took refuge among the Bayāt tribe, who were his retainers. Hājjī Oveys Sultan Bayāt arrested him and took him to Esma'il Mīrzā, who handed him over to Pīra Moḥammad Ostājlū. The Ostājlū emirs, imagining that their best interest lay in murdering the prince, put him to death in Pīra Moḥammad Ostājlū's house,²⁹ as will be described in more detail later.

²⁷Probable date of birth therefore 964/1556–57.

²⁸The date of this expedition was 975/1567–67.

²⁹This was one of a number of acts by which the Ostājlūs vainly hoped to atone for their support of Heydar Mīrzā after the failure of their *coup d'état*.

Sultan Mahmūd Mīrzā

The sixth son of Shah Tahmasp; *Mahmūd Mīrzā*'s mother was a slave girl. He was eighteen years old at the time of his father's death.³⁰ At one time, he was appointed governor of eastern *Gīlān* and resided at *Lāhijān*; because of the persistent rebelliousness of the *Gīlānis*, he was instructed by the Shah to leave the province. At the end of Tahmasp's reign, he was appointed governor of *Šīrvān*, with *Aras Sultan Rūmlū* as his guardian. At the time of his father's death, however, he was still at court and had not left for *Šīrvān*: he remained with the *Rūmlū* tribe, and *Aras Sultan*'s sons undertook the duty of being in attendance on the prince. As the *Rūmlū* emirs were supporters of *Esma'il Mīrzā*, Sultan *Mahmūd Mīrzā* naturally followed their lead. Despite this, both the prince himself and his infant son *Mohammad Bāqer Mīrzā* were murdered by *Esma'il Mīrzā* after he came to the throne.

Emāmqolī Mīrzā

Seventh son of Shah Tahmasp; *Emāmqolī Mīrzā*'s mother was the sister of the Georgian nobleman *Zāl Beg*, and he was fourteen years old at the time of his father's death.³¹ He was made governor of *Lāhijān*, which was the capital and seat of the governor of *Bīya Pīš* (eastern *Gīlān*), and resided there with *Pīra Mohammad Khan* as his guardian. At the time of the accession of Shah *Esma'il II*, *Pīra Mohammad* left *Gīlān* to welcome the new Shah and brought with him *Emāmqolī Mīrzā*. He was received by his brother in the *Zanjān* River pastures in *Qarābag*. For a time he was apparently regarded with favor by the Shah, but eventually he was put to death at *Qazvin* along with his other brothers.

Sultan 'Alī Mīrzā

Eighth son of Shah Tahmasp, and son of the mother of Sultan *Moṣṭafā Mīrzā*, *'Alī Mīrzā* was fourteen years old at the time of his father's death,³² and resided in the city of *Ganja*. His guardian was *Ebrāhīm Beg Zīād-oglu Qājār*, the governor-general of the *Qarābag* province. On the orders of Shah *Esma'il II*, the *Qājār* chiefs brought him to *Qazvin* after the other Safavid princes had been murdered,

³⁰Probable date of birth was therefore 966/1558-59.

³¹Probable date of birth was therefore 970/1562-63.

³²Probable date of birth was therefore 970/1562-63.

and he was blinded. He is still alive as I write these words,³³ and lives quietly under the protection of Shah Abbas I.

Sultan Ahmād Mīrzā

The ninth son of Shah Tahmasp, Ahmād Mīrzā, was dubbed Bağdādī Ahmād by his father. His mother was a slave girl. At the time of his father's death, he was thirteen years old.³⁴ His guardian was Emir Aşlān Sultan Areşlū Afşār, who looked after him for a number of years at Isfahan. He was instructed by the Shah to bring the prince to court, where he was honored by his father. Since the Afşār tribe, and especially the Areşlū clan, were supporters of Esma'il, Sultan Ahmād Mīrzā also supported Esma'il. Despite this, he was murdered by his brother along with the other Safavid princes.

The daughters of Shah Tahmasp numbered eight,³⁵ as follows:

Gowhar Sultan Begom. Married to Sultan Ebrāhīm Mīrzā, the son of Bahram Mīrzā.³⁶ After her husband was murdered by his cousin, Shah Esma'il II, she went into a decline and died. There was one daughter of the marriage.

Pari Khan Kānom. She was betrothed to Badi' al-Zamān Mīrzā b. Bahram Mīrzā, but the marriage was never solemnized. She was constantly in attendance on her father, who treated her with respect and esteem. People who had difficult problems asked her to intercede with the Shah, which she frequently did with success. I have already described her activities at the time of Shah Tahmasp's illness. After his death, she did everything she could to promote the cause of Esma'il Mīrzā, but her prestige declined. After the murder of Shah Esma'il II and the accession of Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā, the latter grew suspicious of her and had her put out of the way; fuller details of this will be given later.

Kadīja Sultan Begom. The third daughter of Shah Tahmasp. She married first Jamšid Khan, the governor of Bīya Pas (western Gilān), and second, after Jamšid's death, Shah Ne'matollāh, son of

³³Before 1025/1616, when the bulk of the *TAAA* was completed.

³⁴Probable date of birth was therefore 971/1563–64.

³⁵According to the author's earlier statement, Shah Tahmasp had thirteen surviving daughters.

³⁶Bahram Mīrzā was Shah Tahmasp's brother.

Mīr-Mīrān-e Yazdī. She is still alive. She had two sons by Jamšīd Khan, but both died in infancy.

Zeynab Begom. Her guardian was Shah 'Alī Beg Šāmlū, a "qūrčī of the sword." Shah Tahmasp dubbed her Nām Kānom, and honored her by keeping her in attendance on him. Her mother, Ḥūrī Khan Kānom, was a Georgian woman of noble birth. Esma'il Mīrzā promised her to Āliqolī Khan, the grandson of Dūrmīš Khan Šāmlū, who was governor of Herat, but the marriage was never solemnized. She was a highly intelligent woman, and as a member of the harem of Shah Abbas I, acquired a position close to the Shah and great influence. She is still a member of his harem at the time of writing, and is known for many charitable works and benefactions. May she live out her natural span!

Maryam Sultan Begom. She was a sister of Zeynab Begom. During the reign of Sultan Moḥammad Shah, she married Khan Aḥmad Sultan, the ruler of eastern Gīlān, but after Khan Aḥmad (as will be related) abandoned his allegiance to the Safavids and went to Anatolia, Maryam Sultan took the daughter she had had by Khan Aḥmad and rejoined her father's household. She died during the reign of Shah 'Abbas, and her daughter lives in the harem with the other women of the royal household.

Fāṭemā Sultan Kānom. During the reign of Sultan Moḥammad Shah, she married Emir Khan Mowṣellū Torkmān, but died shortly afterward at his home.

Sohra Bānū Kānom. During the reign of Sultan Moḥammad Shah, she married Salmān Khan, the son of Shah 'Alī Mīrzā Ostājlū, who was the nephew of Shah Tahmasp. She too died shortly after her marriage. Her mother, the daughter of the governor of Dāghestān, was also the mother of Tahmasp's third daughter, Kadija Begom, the wife of Jamšīd Khan.

Kāneš Begom. The sister of Emāmqolī Mīrzā. She married Shah Ne'matollāh Yazdī, the son of Mīr-Mīrān, in whose house she died. There was one son of the marriage, Sanjar.

Of the children of Bahrām Mīrzā, the brother of Shah Tahmasp, thirteen (counting sons and daughters) were alive at the time of the death of Tahmasp; of these, three were his natural sons.

Sultan Hoseyn Mīrzā

During the reign of Shah Tahmasp, Ḥoseyn Mīrzā was appointed governor of Kandahar and Zamīn Dāvar, in which post he continued for a number of years at the command of his uncle. He died a natural death at Kandahar during the reign of Shah Esma'il II. He had five sons: (1) Moḥammad Ḥoseyn Mīrzā, who was eighteen years old at the time of his father's death. Sultan Ḥoseyn Mīrzā sent him to court with his sister, Oğlān Paşa Begom, and Shah Tahmasp treated them like his own children. Shah Esma'il II, however, murdered Moḥammad Ḥoseyn Mīrzā along with the other royal princes; (2) Moẓaffar Ḥoseyn Mīrzā, who was fifteen years old at the time of the accession of Sultan Moḥammad Shah. He was appointed governor of Kandahar after his father; (3) Rostam Mīrzā was twelve years old at the time of the accession of Sultan Moḥammad Shah. He was allotted the governorship of Zamīn Dāvar; (4) Sanjar Mīrzā and (5) Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā, both infants. Later we shall describe in detail the fortunes of the four surviving brothers during the reign of Shah 'Abbas I. The daughter mentioned above, Oğlān Paşa Begom, married Sultan Ḥamza Mīrzā and later entered the harem of Shah 'Abbas I, where she eventually died.

Ebrahim Mīrzā

Ebrahim Mīrzā's mother was a noblewoman from Šīrvān. He was the son-in-law of Shah Tahmasp,³⁷ and at the time of the latter's death held the high office of *eşik-āqāsi*. He was a most capable and talented young man, whose advice and counsel the Shah frequently sought. Ebrahim Mīrzā was murdered by Shah Esma'il II. There was one daughter of his marriage; during the reign of Shah 'Abbas I, this girl performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, where she married Emir Naṣr al-Dīn Ḥoseyn Šīrāzī, an eminent Daštakī *seyyed* and a most learned man, and she settled in that city.

Badi' al-Zamān Mīrzā

Badi' al-Zamān Mīrzā was appointed by Shah Tahmasp as governor of the Nīmrūz district of Sīstān. His guardian was Tīmūr Khan Ostājlū. He had a young son, Bahrām; both father and son were put to death by Tīmūr Khan at the orders of Shah Esma'il II.

³⁷He married Tahmasp's eldest daughter, Gowhar Sultan Begom.

After this enumeration of the royal princes, I will give some details of the great *qezelbāz* emirs and principal khans who held high administrative offices and governorships in various parts of the Safavid empire at the death of Shah Tahmasp.

Emirs of Note, both Sultans and Khans, Who Were Serving Either at Court or in the Provinces

The total number of officers holding the title of emir at the time of the death of Shah Tahmasp, according to the registers of the supreme *dīvān*, was one hundred and fourteen; this includes officers of the rank of khan and of sultan (both major and minor). The majority of these officers were "possessors of drum, banner, and retinue." There is no point in listing them all, but I will mention a few in each class and tribe.

Officers of the Šāmlū Tribe

The Šāmlū tribe is the greatest of the *qezelbāš* tribes, superior to all others in length of service to the Safavid cause, and possessing an outstanding record of loyal service. During the reign of Shah Esma'il I, when the Safavid house and dynasty were established, and during the early part of the reign of Shah Tahmasp, many high-ranking emirs were drawn from this tribe. Among them were Hoseyn Beg, the guardian of Shah Esma'il I; 'Abdī Beg, who was honored by marriage ties with Shah Esma'il,¹ and his son Dürmīš Khan; Hoseyn Khan, who was the nephew of Shah Tahmasp; Zeynal Khan; Ağzīvār Khan. By the appointment of these and other emirs to high office, and the granting to them of excellent fiefs, the Šāmlū tribe attained pre-eminence among the *qezelbāš* tribes. Their influence has declined, however, and at the present time there are no more than five Šāmlūs who are possessors of military band and banner. The chief of these is Valī Kalīfa Evčī, the governor of Mašhad, who has held more military commands than the other emirs. Most of the sons of Šāmlū emirs are enrolled in his regiment. In addition, there are Fūlād Kalīfa, the governor of Hamadan, and Soleymān Kalīfa, who was dismissed from the governorship of Astarābād, and is at court.

Officers of the Ostājlū Tribe

Many members of the Ostājlū tribe were also powerful emirs during the reigns of Shah Esma'il I and Shah Tahmasp. For instance: Khan Moḥammad, the governor of Diār Bakr, and his brother Qarā Khan; Qelič Khan; Čayān Sultan; Köpek Sultan; Mantašā Sultan; Ṣadr al-Dīn Khan; Fārūq Sultan; 'Abdollah Khan; Šahqolī Sultan,

¹He was married to Shah Esma'il's sister.

governor of Čokūr-e Sa'd; and others. All these emirs possessed fiefs in various parts of the Safavid empire.

At the beginning of the reign of Shah Tahmasp, as a result of the struggle for the office of *vakīl* between Dīv Sultan Rūmlū and Čūha Sultan Takkalū, which I have already described,² the Shah vented his anger on the Ostājlū emirs, who then spent some time in exile in Gilān. After the fall of the Takkalūs from power, the Ostājlūs were received back into royal favor and confidence. By the time of Shah Tahmasp's death, a large number of Ostājlū emirs once more held the status of emir and were possessors of drum and banner, troops and fiefs. The chief of the Ostājlū emirs at court was Ḥoseyn Beg the centurion, son of Ḥasan Beg. Ḥoseyn Beg held the status of emir in place of his uncle, Nażar Sultan; he was appointed guardian to Sultan Moṣṭafā Mīrzā and acquired great power and political influence.

Other important Ostājlū emirs included Morād Khan *sōfracī*, the son of Tīmūr Khan, who was one of the great emirs at court (at the time of Shah Tahmasp's death, however, he was absent on an expedition against the fortress of Kojūr); Allāhqolī Sultan Gerānpā (heavy-footed), who had been dismissed from the governorship of Gilān and was at court; Pīrī Beg Qučlūy, another emir of the court (at the time of the Shah's death, he was absent at Varāmīn in the Rayy district, which was one of his fiefs). Of the emirs of the provinces, there were Pīra Moḥammad Khan Čāušlū, the *amīr al-omarā* of Biya Pīš (eastern Gilān) and guardian of the prince Emāmqolt; and Moḥammadi Khan Tokmāq, the *amīr al-omarā* of Čokūr-e Sa'd. The forces under his command were more numerous than those of his peers. At the time of the death of Shah Tahmasp, he had gone on a mission to Anatolia, from which he returned after the accession of Shah Esma'il II. Šāhqolī Sultan Yakān, governor of Herat, *amīr al-omarā* of Khorasan, and guardian of Abbas Mīrzā, acquired greater prestige after the latter came to the throne. Nażar Sultan Āsāyeş-oğlū, who was the *yasāq-kasī*³ at Herat, had tribal lands at Čūriān and Kūsūya.

There were also Ebrahim Sultan, the son of Šāhqolī Sultan Yakān and governor of Sarakhs; Valī Khan the *čarkčibāšī* (commander

²See Savory, Offices II.

³I conjecture that this term means the officer in charge of recruiting local levies. For *yasāq*, see TM, p. 34.

of the skirmishers) of Khorasan, who was from the Šaraflū clan of the Ostājlū tribe and was governor of Kāf and Bākarz; Maḥmūd Khan Şüfi-oğlū, one of the emirs of Khorasan and at that time governor of Torşız; Tīmūr Khan, the father of Morād Khan, who was governor of Sīstān and the guardian of Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā; Eygūs Sultan Čāūslū, governor of Šūštar and Dezful and a trustworthy emir; Şahqolī Sultan Qāranča-oğlū, of the Māhi-Faqihlū clan, governor of Tianeti (he was charged with assisting Dā'ūd Khan at Tiflis and in promoting his affairs); Moṣṭafā Sultan, the son of Kaçal Šahverdi Khan, was stationed in Khorasan. It is not worth recording the names of the rest of the Ostājlū emirs.

Officers of the Turkman Tribe

The chief of the Turkman emirs was Emir Khan Mowṣellū, the grandson of Golābi Khan. His ancestor, the former Emir Khan, left Diār Bakr during the reign of Shah Esma'il I and joined Esma'il with all his troops. He fought gallantly at the battle of Marv against Šāhī Beg Uzbeg, and for a number of years he was *amīr al-omarā* of Khorasan and guardian of Tahmasp Mīrzā. The present Emir Khan was also a trusted emir, and at the time of the death of Shah Tahmasp he was residing at Kār near Rayy. Under Sultan Moḥammad Shah, he became *amīr al-omarā* of Azerbaijan and, as indicated above, was honored by a marriage alliance with the Safavid royal family. His relative, Moḥammad Khan Mowṣellū, was for a while governor of Sīstān but was dismissed from this post after the death of Shah Tahmasp and retired to his tribal lands at Torbat in Khorasan. After the accession of Sultan Moḥammad Shah, he became one of the principal officers of state.

Other Turkman emirs included Şahqolī Khan Pornāk, who resided at Isfahan. During the time of Shah Esma'il II, he was governor of Mašhad and *amīr al-omarā* of half of Khorasan. There were also Soleymān Kalīfa, the son of Sohrāb Kalīfa, the governor of Tūn and Tabas in Khorasan; Heydar Sultan Čabūq Tarkān, governor of Qom and one of the great emirs of the court; Abu'l-Ma'sūm Sultan, son of Yāde-gār Moḥammad Tarkān, also one of the great emirs of the court.

Officers of the Rūmlū Tribe

The chief of the Rūmlū emirs at that time was Aras Khan, the *amīr al-omarā* of Šīrvān. Other important emirs from this tribe in-

cluded Ḥoseynqolı Kolafā, who held the office of *kalifat al-kolafā*⁴ at court, and was an emir possessing military band and banner. He was greatly respected, and his counsel was much sought after. Men of the Sufi brotherhood who gathered at the Safavid court from Diār Bakr and all parts of Anatolia were completely subject to his authority. Other Rūmlū emirs were Delī Būdāq, who had returned to court from the governorship of Kōy; and Qorbān Sultan, also at court.

Officers of the Zu'l-Qadar Tribe

The chief of the Zu'l-Qadar emirs at court was Moḥammadqolı Kalifa *mohrdār* (Keeper of the Seal), the son of Šāhqolı Kalifa Qorūglū, who was one of the principal officers of state and commanded large numbers of troops. Other emirs of importance included Moḥammad Kalifa, the cousin of Ebrahim Khan Hajjīlar, the governor of Astarābād; Valī Sultan Qalmānčī-oğlū, governor of Shiraz and guardian of Sultan Moḥammad Mirzā; Tabat Āqā, governor of Jām in Khorasan; Šāhqolı Kalifa, one of the great emirs, and governor of Dārābjerd in Fārs; Manṣūr Beg, son of Ebrahim Khan Hajjīlar, who was at Kōy.

Officers of the Afšār Tribe

The chief of the Afšār emirs at court was Emir Aşlān Sultan Areşlū, who was in command of large forces and was the guardian of Sultan Ahmet Mirzā. Other notable Afšār emirs included Kalil Khan, governor of Kūh Giluya, who was lord of ten thousand Afšār families; Maḥmūd Sultan, known as Mīr Bozorg, governor of Sāva; Yūsofqolı Sultan, the brother of Ya'qūb Sultan, on whose behalf he governed Kerman (although he had not yet left court, and in fact never did go to Kerman; during the reign of Shah Esma'il II, he became *qūrītbāšī* and one of the principal officers of state); Eskandar Khan, a relative⁵ of Kalil Khan, who was stationed in Hazārjarīb (under Sultan Moḥammad Shah, he became governor of Kūh Giluya); Yakān Sultan, governor of Farāh and Esfezār in Khorasan—a trusty emir; Kosrow Sultan Kūroğlū, stationed in Khorasan. There were other Afšār emirs, but there is no need to record their names.

Officers of the Qājār Tribe

Yūsuf Kalifa, the son of Šāhverdī Sultan Ziad-oğlū, had been ap-

⁴See Savory, "The Office of Khalifat al-Khulafā under the Safavids," *JAOS*, 85/4, 1965, pp. 497-502.

⁵Nephew.

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pointed governor-general of Qarābāğ and guardian of Sultan 'Alī Mīrzā, but he was still at court. Other important Qājār emirs included Mīrzā 'Alī Sultan, one of the trusted emirs of the court and *dīvānbegī*; 'Alī Kalīfa Āqča-qoyūnlū,⁶ governor of Damghan and Besṭām; Soleymān Beg Ziād-oğlū, the brother of Yūsuf Kalīfa; and Soleymān Sultan Şekem-oğlū, who both had the status of emir.

Officers of the Takkalū Tribe

Sūlāğ Hoseyn, the chief emir of this tribe, had tribal fiefs in Gīlān. There were also Ordūğdī Kalīfa and Valī Sultan Şaraf al-Dīn-oğlū, a relative of Mohammad Khan, who had a small fief in Khorasan. In general the members of this tribe, because of the rebellion and defection of Olāma Sultan, had been out of favor with Shah Tahmasp but were reinstated by Shah Esma'il II.

Officers of the Tāleš Tribe

Bāyandor Khan, who resided at Āstārā, was the principal emir of this tribe. Another notable emir was Hamza Sultan, one of the trusted emirs of the court.

Officers of the Bayāt Tribe

Hājjī Oveys Sultan and Qarā Khan, governor of Şūra-gel and Aleşkert in Čokūr-e Sa'd.

Officers of the Alpā'üt Tribe

Ebrahim Kalīfa, who had a fief in Čokūr-e Sa'd.

Officers of the Keneslū Tribe⁷

Hoseyn Khan Sultan.

Officers of various Kurdish Tribes

Şaraf Khan Rūzakī, a descendant of the princes of Betlīs, had been brought up under the tutelage of Shah Tahmasp and was governor of

⁶"Those of the off-white sheep."

⁷See *TM*, p. 14; according to *TAAA*, i, 54, the Keneslū were a clan of the Zu'l-Qadars.

Tonakābon in Gilān; Kalīl Sultan Sīāh-Manṣūr, governor of Sojās and Sūrloq; Oğlān Būdāğı Čegānī, governor of Kabūšān and Khora-san; Zangana,⁸ one of the emirs of Fārs; Qelij Kalīfa Pāzūkī, one of the emirs of Čokūr-e Sa'd; Tīmūr Khan Ardalān, governor of Ḥasanā-bād and Palangān; Shah Rostam 'Abbāsī and his brother Moḥammadi, both governors of Lor-e Kūček. Shah Tahmasp divided this region between the two brothers: Shah Rostam received Kāva and Aleštar, and Moḥammadi, Korramābād and the remaining regions. Moḥammadi was guilty of an act of rebellion, but Shah Rostam was a loyal vassal.

Officers of the Čapnī Tribe

Maḥmūd Kalīfa and Moḥammad Sultan Jalāl-oğlū, who were both stationed in Qarābāḡ, among the Ziād-oğlū.

Officers of the Qazāqlū Tribe

Zū Namer Sultan, also stationed in Qarābāḡ.

Officers of the Čagatāy Tribe

Mīrzā 'Alī Kalīfa, chief of the Gerāylī tribe, was stationed in Khorasan; Ebn Ḫoseyn, son of Mīr Ḫoseyn Sultan Firūz-jang, was at Rādekān near Mašhad, and was later appointed governor of Sarāks: Ḥājjī Moḥammad Sultan Kūtvāl, governor of Zāva and Moḥavvalāt in Khorasan, was an eminent seyyed.

Officers of the Šeykāvand Tribe

Şadr al-Dīn Khan, the son of Ma'şūm Beg Şafavī, was one of the emirs of the court and was in the service of Sultan Ḫoseyn Mīrzā. His brother Seyyed Beg was enrolled in the ranks of the great emirs and was governor of Astarābād, but was removed from office at the death of Shah Tahmasp: Seyyed Soleymān, known as Seyyed Beg Kamūna, was a *seyyed* and *naqib* of Najaf, and a descendant of Seyyed Moḥammad Kamūna, who had rendered loyal service to Shah Esma'il I and had been enrolled in the ranks of the great emirs. He had been governor of Ḥella near Baghdad and had been killed at the battle of Calderān. Seyyed Soleymān was regarded with great favor by Shah

⁸The personal name is omitted in the text.

Tahmasp, who made him one of the trusted emirs of the court and custodian of the Great Seal.

Throughout the *mamālek*⁹ provinces, there were governors and emirs drawn from every tribe and class, but there is no point in going into greater detail.

Centurions, Qūrčīs, Ešīk-āqāsīs, and Yasāvols

At the time of the death of Shah Tahmasp, the total number of centurions of senior rank, office holders, *qūrčīs*, and other officers in attendance at the court was six thousand. Of this number, four thousand five hundred were *qūrčīs* of the royal bodyguard, and one thousand five hundred other officials—namely, *qūrčīān-e dāš*,¹⁰ *yasāvols* (aides-de camp), *bokāvols* (stewards), and so on. Among this group were *yasāvols*, trusted *qūrčīs*, *ešīk-āqāsīs*, *yasāvolbāšīs* of the arsenal and of the central administration, *mīr-šeḱārs*, (huntsmen), and *tūpčī-bāšīs* (artillery officers). In each category and lot there were many who deserved to be emirs, and though they were not honored with the rank of emir, yet in esteem they did not yield to the emirs.¹¹ Each officer had an appropriate number of efficient servants subordinate to him; this number varied from five to fifty, so that some six thousand of these servants were on the staff of the royal household. But if an accurate count were to be made of these servants and attendants, their number would probably be twenty thousand, if not more. The valor and bravery of the *qūrčīs* was so renowned that one hundred men of the household troops were a match for a thousand men drawn from other categories of soldiers.

⁹*Mamālek*, "state" provinces governed by *qezelbaş* tribal chiefs who held their province as a sort of fief. See *TM*, pp. 24ff.

¹⁰The precise meaning of this term is not known.

¹¹Minorsky's translation, *TM*, p. 15.

Eminent Seyyeds, Honored Divines, Viziers and Men of the Pen Generally, and Eloquent Poets

It occurred to the inadequate mind of the blackener of these pages that it would be a good idea to record the names of members of the exalted class of *seyyeds* and *sadrs*,¹ divines and wearers of the turban generally, and also of viziers, *mostowfis*² and other capable men, together with poets of eloquent tongue, who flourished during the reign of Shah Tahmasp, either at court or in the provinces, and to give a few particulars about each.

Seyyeds, Shaikhs, and Divines

Although the names of persons in these noble classes should properly have been recorded immediately after the names of the princes of the blood royal in order to accord them honor and dignity proper to their station, it is undeniable that in the history of great events, it is the names of emirs and men of valor which receive most frequent mention, and for this reason I had the temerity to give them priority.

Eminent Seyyeds

Shah Tahmasp, from the time of his accession, showed great respect and reverence for *seyyeds* because of their descent from the immaculate Imams. Corroboration of this is to be found in his extraordinary veneration of the Oskūya *seyyeds* of Tabriz, about whom I should say a few words. These *seyyeds* are four in number: Mir Ṣadr al-Dīn Mohammad, Emir Nezām al-Dīn Aḥmad; Emir Qamar al-Dīn; and Emir Abu'l-Ḥāmed. Their grandfather, Mir Abu'l-Qāsem, was an eminent *seyyed* and gained an honored position in the service of several princes. But the four mentioned above not only rose high in the service of Shah Tahmasp, but attained a degree of intimacy never before reached by anyone in the service of any prince. Any wish of theirs, whether within the realm of possibility or not, was translated into reality almost before it was uttered—they merely had to give a nod or make a sign. Although they were guilty of unlawful practices in regard to the affairs of state, and although every day of the week they received some kindness, gift, or benefaction, their insolence reached the point that, if anything took their fancy in the way of clothing or other gifts belonging to the departments concerned with

¹On the office of *sadr*, see Savory, Offices I and II.

²Accountants and finance officials in general.

the administration of the royal household, they immediately issued an order for the items to be delivered to them as though they were the Shah himself. As a result, they hardly ever needed to ask the Shah for anything. The Shah frequently visited their homes, which were in the Oskūya district of Tabriz, and they provided all kinds of entertainment to divert the Shah.

These *seyyeds*, however, did not appreciate the full value of their rank and station, and were unable to maintain their good fortune. In their stupidity, they began to boast of their own importance. Because they were without experience in administrative matters and ignorant of the ways of the world, they began to have ambitions that were quite impractical and gradually their contradictory desires began to annoy the Shah. For example, they wanted to make changes of the highest importance in matters of state, such as the appointment of the *vakīl*, *viziers*, *sadrs*, and the like.

The *vizier*, Qāzī Jahān, who had started his career as one of their protégés but had changed his opinion when he realized their worthlessness, gradually undermined the Shah's confidence in them by producing incontrovertible evidence of their misdeeds. Finally, the Shah issued an order that the *seyyeds* should be confined to their homes and should not come to court unless summoned. However, the various tax immunities and other privileges that had been conferred upon them remained in force.

My object in narrating this story is to illustrate the remarkable degree of the Shah's confidence in the *seyyed* class. Under the Safavid dynasty, the office of *sadr*, whose function consists in promoting the affairs of *seyyeds* and wearers of the turban³ generally, taking responsibility for their affairs, administering the *owqāf* (lands and tenements held in mortmain), and paying stipends to persons of standing among the religious classes, was never entrusted to anyone other than a *seyyed* of high repute, learning, and personal integrity.

During the reign of Shah Tahmasp, ten persons held the office of *sadr*. At his accession, Emir Qavām al-Dīn Ḥoseyn Eṣfahānī held the office jointly with Mir Jamāl al-Dīn Astarābādī. After the death of the latter, he held the office jointly with Mir Ne'matollāh Ḥelli, one of the learned men of Ḫella. After the death of Emir Qavām al-

³The printed text has a rather amusing "Freudian slip," reading *arbāb-e gāndyem*, possessors of loot, instead of *arbāb-e 'amdyem*, possessors of turbans!

Dīn Ḥoseyn, that most learned scholar Emir Čiāš al-Dīn Maṇṣūr Šīrāzī became joint *sadr* with Emir Ne'matollāh Ḥellī. Eventually Emir Ne'matollāh was dismissed from office because of the hostility of the Seal of the *mojtaheds*,⁴ Shaikh 'Alī 'Abd al-'Ālī, and because of his friendship with Shaikh Ebrahim Qaṭīfī, who was an enemy of Shaikh 'Alī, and he retired to Ḥella.

Emir Čiāš al-Dīn Maṇṣūr then became sole *sadr*, but he too got off on the wrong foot with Shaikh 'Alī. The *sadr* called the *mojtahed* an ignoramus, and the *mojtahed* charged the *sadr* with lack of self-control. On one occasion, a learned debate between the two in the presence of the Shah ended in a shouting match, and their mutual antipathy gradually turned into a feud. The Shah sided with the Seal of the *mojtaheds* and dismissed Emir Čiāš al-Dīn from office. Emir Čiāš al-Dīn returned to Shiraz without getting permission from the Shah to leave. The office of *sadr*, in accordance with the wishes of the Seal of the *mojtaheds*, was then conferred on Mīr Mo'ezz al-Dīn Muḥammad Eṣfahānī, who was a paragon of scholarship and a practical man. He held the office alone for eight years, but was then dismissed through the machinations of Ḥakīm Kāzerūnī. He was succeeded by Mīr Asadollāh Mar'ašī Šūštarī, who held the office until his death. Shah Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Eṣfahānī was appointed next, but the Shah was displeased by certain actions of his and dismissed him, appointing in his place joint *sadrs*, Mīr Muḥammad Yūsuf Astarābādī and Mīr Seyyed 'Alī, the son of Mīr Asadollāh.

Mīr Čiāš al-Dīn Muḥammad, known as Mīr-e Mīrān, the brother of Shah Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad, who at that time was one of the most distinguished Ḥoseynī *seyyeds* of Isfahan and held the office of *naqib al-noqabā*,⁵ aspired to this hereditary office and eventually succeeded in getting himself appointed to the exalted office of *sadr*. By the time of the Shah's death, he had established himself firmly. Completely devoid of avarice, he was a man of great self-discipline; and as he had extensive private property and estates at Isfahan, he was able to live off his own private income. He had two sons: Mīrzā

⁴A *mojtahed* is a theologian distinguished from his peers by his superior learning and piety, and chosen from among his peers by acclamation. There are never more than four or five Shi'ite *mojtaheds* at any given time; some reside in Iran, others at one of the major Shi'ite places of pilgrimage in Iraq (Karbala, Najaf, Kāzemeyn). On the increasing 'political power of the *mojtaheds* during the reign of Tahmasp and the significance of their rivalry with the *sadrs*, see Savory, Offices II.

⁵The *naqib* was the assistant of the *kalāntar*; one of his chief duties was to fix the tax assessment of the guilds (see TM, index, s.v.).

Mohammad Maķdūm, a most learned man, and Mīrzā Mohammad Amīn, noted for his piety and integrity.

Another distinguished representative of the class of provincial *seyyeds* was Mīr-e Mīrān Yazdī, the son of Shah Ne'matollāh, who was honored by ties of marriage with the Safavid royal house. The disciples of the order founded by the late Shah Ne'matollāh Valī looked to him as their spiritual director. He himself basked in royal favor and was granted many benefices (*soyūrgalāt*).⁶ The total income of the Ne'matollāhī Order, derived from private estates, assignments, and allowances of various kinds, amounted to nearly five thousand *tomān*, and Mīr-e Mīrān continued to reside at Yazd and to prosper. Two of his sons, Shah Ne'matollāh and Shah Kalīlollāh, were also accorded the honor of a marriage alliance with the Safavid royal house. But Mīr-e Mīrān did not pay sufficient attention to what he owed to Safavid patronage; during the period when Sultan Ḥamza Mīrzā was the de facto ruler of the state, at the beginning of the reign of Shah 'Abbas I, he committed various acts incompatible with true devotion to his royal master: In particular, he lent support to the rebel Bektāš Khan Afšār, and his fortunes declined and ended in disaster. Consequently, as a loyal servant of the Shah, I am not able to describe the eminence of his position in terms that do justice to the reality.

Shah Qāsem Nūrbakš. Shah Qāsem is one of the descendants of Seyyed Mohammad Nūrbakš who have for a considerable time lived in the small town of Terešt in the Rayy district. Shah Qāsem himself was a recipient of royal favor and resided at court, where he was the focal point for all the disciples of the Nūrbakšī Order. He maintained his estates and farms in the Rayy and Šahryār districts, and he also received from the Shah assignments that set him above most other *seyyeds* in the Safavid empire.

⁶*Soyūrgal*, plural *soyūrgalat*: grant of land or its revenue in lieu of salary or pension. *Soyūrgals* awarded to members of the religious classes tended to assume the character of hereditary grants or fiefs, and usually carried with them immunity from various forms of taxation; they were not restricted to *vaqf* lands (lands held in mortmain).

Mīr Seyyed Hoseyn al-Hoseynī Mojtahehd Jabal ‘Āmelī. The grandson of the Seal of the *mojtaheds*, Shaikh ‘Alī ‘Abd al-‘Ālī, Mīr Seyyed Ḥoseyn came from Jabal ‘Āmel during the reign of Shah Tahmasp, and for a time held the offices of *modarres* and *ṣeyk al-eslām*⁸ at Ardabīl, where he was in charge of the religious institution. After that he went to court and laid claim to be considered a *mojtahed*. He soon attracted the attention of the Shah, since he was a man of noble soul and disposition who possessed an amazingly retentive memory. For a time he was charged with giving judgment in cases which were subject to the jurisdiction of canon law, and every day a throng of people frequented his court. At his orders, the court secretaries and assistants affixed his seal to legal documents with the following inscription: “The leader of the verifiers of the truth, the authority of those versed in the fine points of the law, the inheritor of the worlds of the Prophets and Messengers, the Seal of the *mojtaheds*.” Although the theologians muttered among themselves at this and in his absence disregarded his orders, not one of these noble doctors of religion dared to speak out openly about it. Mīr Seyyed Ḥoseyn was an eloquent and witty man; while he was in the service of Shah Tahmasp, all the knotty problems which no one could solve, not even the royal princes, were referred to him. The requests he made of the Shah were invariably granted. He rendered great assistance to God’s people, particularly those hard hit by some accident of fate. He was the author of many works on jurisprudence and of works justifying the Eṣnā ‘Ašarī faith and refuting various innovative creeds.

Mīr Fakr al-Dīn Sammākī. One of the eminent *seyyeds* of Sammāk, in the Astarābād district, Mīr Fakr was a pupil of Emir Čiāṣ al-Dīn Manṣūr Šīrāzī. He spent his time at court, where he came to the notice of the Shah. Large numbers of students came daily to sit at his feet and benefited from his instruction. He wrote a gloss on the *Elāhiyat-e Tajrīd*, and thus bequeathed his learning to future generations of students.

Mīr Rahmatollāh Pišnamāz. Mīr Rahmatollāh was a *seyyed* of Najaf. At the royal court, he performed the function of prayer leader

⁸In Syria. When the Safavids came to power in Iran and made Eṣnā ‘Ašarī Shi’ism the religion of the new state, they were faced by the problem of a shortage of Shi’ite divines and were forced to import some. Jabal ‘Āmel in Syria and Bahreyn in the Persian Gulf were the two principal sources of supply.

*A *modarres* was a theologian who lectured and taught in a *madrasa*, or theological seminary. The functions of the *ṣeyk al-eslām* were largely juridical, and overlapped to a considerable extent with those of *qāzī*, or religious judge.

(*pīšnamāz*), and was much favored by the Shah. An extremely pious and chaste man, he wrote good poetry in Arabic and was an outstanding scholar in the fields of jurisprudence, interpretation of the Koran, and Muslim tradition. He was a pupil of the late *mojtahed*, Shaikh Zeyn al-Dīn, devoted most of his time to teaching and learned debate, and spared no time for anything which was without profit.

Mīr Alā al-Molk. Mīr Alā was a *seyyed* of Mar'aš. For a time he held the post of *qāzī*-ye *mo'askar* (military chaplain)⁹ at the capital, Qazvin, and at court. After the conquest of Gīlān, he was appointed *sadr* of that province. He was an excellent traditionist, as well as a witty conversationalist and congenial companion. In royal assemblies, he was engaged in conversation by the Shah to a greater extent than were other dignitaries. He was a pious, self-controlled man, very handsome in physical appearance. The informality and frankness of his discourse charmed those who shared his company.

Mīr Moḥammad Mo'men Astarābādī. Mīr Moḥammad was an eminent *seyyed* of Astarābād. He was the nephew of Mīr Fakr al-Dīn Sammākī, and a learned and religious man. He composed poetry—odes, lyrics, and quatrains—of an agreeable kind. At the command of Shah Tahmasp, he acted as tutor to Heydar Mīrzā. After the death of the latter and the accession of Shah Esma'il II, he felt it unsafe to remain in Iran and went to the Deccan in India. He entered the service of the Qoṭbshāhī ruler of the Deccan, Moḥammadqoli, choosing to serve this dynasty because of its Shi'ite proclivities. He rose to high office and was appointed *vakīl* and *pīšvā*. At the time of writing these lines, which is the year 1025/1616–17, he is still alive and deserving persons from many regions are able to derive benefit from the Qoṭbshāhī dynasty through his agency.

Mīr Moḥammad Bāqer-e Dāmād. Mīr Moḥammad is the son of the late Seyyed Moḥammad Dāmād Astarābādī and the grandson of the *mojtahed* Shaikh Abd al-'Ālī. Because his father had married Shaikh Abd al-'Ālī's daughter, he was known as Dāmād (son-in-law). He is distinguished by his intelligence and quickness of mind. During his childhood he lived at Mašhad, where he studied under the professors of theology and other scholars attached to the shrine of the Imam Reżā, and made rapid progress. During the reign of Sultan Moḥammad Shah he came to court, where he associated with scholars and divines and engaged in debate with Mīr Fakr al-Dīn Sammākī

⁹See also TM, p. 112.

Astarābādī and other learned men. He became an outstanding scholar in both the traditional and rational sciences, and is still at the height of his powers. From the time of the death of Shah Tahmasp up to now, which is the year 1025/1616, he has spent every moment in study and debate. He is a first-class scholar in the philosophical sciences, in the various branches of mathematics, in jurisprudence, interpretation of the Koran, and *ḥadīṣ* (the science of Muslim tradition),¹⁰ and has reached the status of *mojtahed*. Contemporary jurists consider *fatvās* (juridical opinions on matters of religious law) to be reliable if they have been verified by Mīr Dāmād.

His published works span the whole range of the sciences. Those of which I have personal knowledge include *Şerāt al-Mostaqīm*; *Ofoq al-Mobīn*, a work packed with profound philosophical and metaphysical insights; *Ravāšeḥ-e Samavīya*, a work on the traditions of the Imams; *Ketāb-e Kāfi*; *Şarḥ-e Koleynī*; a commentary on the Koran entitled *Sedrat al-Montahā*; the treatise *Kalq-e A'māl*, known as *Ette'āzāt*; *Ketāb-e Ḥelya-e Malakūtīya*; *'Oyūn al-Masā'el*; *İmāzāt*; *Zavābeṭ al-Rezā'*; *Sab' Şedād*; a gloss on the *Şarḥ-e Moktasar-e Ӯşūl va Qiāsāt*; *Haqq al-Yaqīn fī Ḥodūs al-'Ālam*; *Ketāb-e Taqdīsāt*, a refutation of the *Şobha* of Ebn Kamūna; a commentary on the *Şahīfa-e Kāmela*; and several other treatises and books which are in progress and which one hopes will eventually appear. From his early youth, Mīr Dāmād has possessed a phenomenal memory; he never forgets any fact once it has been memorized. He is an extremely devout man who spends most of his time in study, theological argument, and worship. He also writes poetry. Although this sort of occupation was rather beneath the dignity of someone in his high position, he bore in mind a verse of the well-known poet Shaikh Neżāmī:

God ranked everyone in order of precedence;

First came the prophets, and behind them, the poets.

And so he continues to write poetry under the pen name of Eşrāq. He has achieved some distinction in the composition of lyrics, odes, and *masnawīs*—especially *masnawīs*,¹¹ a verse form used by Shaikh

¹⁰*Hadīṣ*, or traditions about the Prophet Mohammad, consist of actual sayings of the Prophet or of the acts of the Prophet as reported by his companions and others. A tradition, to be "sound," must be attested to and transmitted by a chain of reliable authorities. The collections of *hadīṣ* formed the raw material of much Islamic law. To this vast corpus of material, Shi'ites added traditions relating to the Shi'ite Imams. The study of *hadīṣ* constituted an important Muslim science.

¹¹Rhymed couplets. This poetic form was used for heroic epics, romantic epics, and long didactic and mystical poems. The rhyme form, since it imposed no artificial restriction on the length of the poem, made the *masnawī* an ideal vehicle for these purposes.

Neżāmī in his *Maḳzan al-Asrār* to express the most profound mystical truths.¹² The following quatrain in praise of the Prophet is an example of Mīr Dāmād's verse:

O Seal of the prophets! The two worlds are your ornament!
The heavens are your pulpit, not the first step on the
ladder.
If no one casts a shadow on you, it is no wonder,
For you are Light, and the sun itself is but a shadow
of you!

Mīr Dāmād is presently living in Isfahan where, it is to be hoped, he will be spared to bring illumination to future generations of students.

Mīr Maḥmūd Esfahānī. The son of Mīr Seyyed 'Alī, known as Kalīfa Sultan, Mīr Maḥmūd is one of the leading *seyyeds* of Isfahan, where the members of his family are known as the Kalīfa *seyyeds*. Their ancestors came from Māzandarān and go back to Mīr Bozorg, the Māzandarān ruler who, buffeted by fate, came to Isfahan. Kalīfa Sultan is an outgoing, witty man who attracted the attention of Shah Tahmasp. His son, the above-mentioned Mīr Šoja' al-Dīn Maḥmūd, is an extremely learned and shrewd man, well versed in the customary sciences, especially the rational and philosophical sciences. He has never lacked for students, and the poor and needy, students and indigent relatives, have always been provided for out of his own income.

Shah Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad. A Nassāba *seyyed* of Shiraz, Shah Taqī was a pupil of Allāmī Shah Faṭḥollāh Šīrāzī and used to debate with Mowlānā Mīrzā Khan Šīrāzī. Making astonishing progress in the rational and philosophical sciences, he was given a teaching post at the Shiraz academy, where his lectures were attended by large numbers of scholars and students. He is one of the leading scholars of the age.

Mīr Maḥmūd Šūlestānī. Mīr Maḥmūd, a notable *seyyed* from Šūlestān,¹³ was a pupil of Shaikh Zeyn al-Dīn. He studied the rational sciences under Sultan al-'Olamā Emir Čīāṣ al-Dīn Manṣūr Daštakī Šīrāzī.

¹²Neżāmī of Ganja, the famous twelfth-century Persian poet, wrote the *Maḳzan al-Asrār* about 561/1165-66. It is the first of a series of five great *mashnāfi* poems known collectively as the *kamsa*.

¹³A district in northwestern Fārs.

Emir Abu'l-Valī and Mīr Abu'l-Mohammad. Both these *seyyeds* were sons of Mīr Shah Maḥmūd Enjū-ye Ṣīrāzī. Mīr Abu'l-Valī was a fanatical Shi'ite who was superior to his brother in learning, and more frequently consulted on knotty points of jurisprudence than his fellow jurists. Initially, he was appointed warden of the shrine of the Imam Rezā at Mašhad, but was dismissed from this post as the result of a quarrel between him and Shah Valī Sultan Zu'l-Qadar, the governor of Mašhad. Mīr Abu'l-Valī came to court, and he and his brother were jointly placed in charge of the Čāzānī endowments. Toward the end of the reign of Shah Tahmasp, Mīr Abu'l-Valī was entrusted with the administration of the Safavid shrine at Ardabīl, and his brother was left in sole charge of the Čāzānī endowments. During the reign of Sultan Mohammad Shah, Mīr Abu'l-Valī was appointed military chaplain (*qāzī-ye mo'askar*). Finally on the accession of Shah 'Abbas I, he was appointed *sadr*. The rest of his career will be given at the appropriate point.

Shah Możaffar al-Dīn 'Alī, another brother of these two men, held the office of *šeyp al-eslām* at Shiraz, and was honored by being appointed to the stewardship of the funds belonging to the royal household administration (*vekālat-e halālīyat-e sarkār-e kāssā-ye ḫarifa*). During the reign of Sultan Mohammad Shah, he left Shiraz and went to the capital, where he was appointed military chaplain and became the object of the Shah's special favor.

Mīrzā Maḳdūm Šarīfī. Mīrzā Maḳdūm was the son of Mīr Šarīf Šīrāzī, the grandson of Qāzī Jahān Seyfī Ḥoseynī Qazvīnī, the well-known vizier of Tahmasp. He spent his time at court. He was an excellent traditionalist and commentator on the Koran; he was also a good conversationalist and preacher. For most of his life he preached in the Heydarīya Mosque at Qazvin, near where he lived, and drew large crowds to listen to his sermons. Since he was accused of being a Sunni at heart, he was not regarded with much favor by Shah Tahmasp; but the princess Parī Khan Kānom thought well of him, and when Shah Esma'il II came to the throne, the office of *sadr* was divided and he received one half of it. However, since he exceeded reasonable bounds in regard to his Sunni beliefs and made no effort to conceal them, he was eventually unmasked as a Sunni and dismissed from office.

Shah 'Enāyatollāh Esfahānī. Shah 'Enāyatollah came from a family of *seyyeds* and *naqībs* at Isfahan. He held the position of military

chaplain at court, and discharged his duties in a fitting manner. He was also a man of great piety and orthodoxy; during the reign of Shah Esma'il II, he was appointed to half the divided office of *sadr*. He was dismissed during the reign of Sultan Mohammad Shah and returned to his native land.

Mir Seyyed Ali Šuštarī. Mir Seyyed Ali was the distinguished son of the *sadr* Mir Asadollāh. Under Shah Tahmasp, Mir Asadollāh held the office of *sadr* with sole and independent authority for some years. Toward the end of his life, he resigned because of his great age and declining powers and entrusted the office to his son Mir Seyyed Ali, who filled it for a time as his father's deputy, and later jointly with Mir Mohammad Yūsuf Astarābādī. For a time too, he performed the duties of warden of the shrine of Imam Reżā at Mašhad. Seyyed Ali was a man of great integrity, and throughout his period of office was never guilty of greed. His ancestors in the Šuštar region were highly respected men to whom the people went in time of need. His brother, Mir Abd al-Vahhāb, was rewarded for his loyal service by being raised to the rank of emir at Dezful, where he was charged with giving judgment in cases involving both canon and customary law.

Mir Kamāl al-Dīn Mohammad Astarābādī and Mir Abu'l-Qāsem Eṣfahānī. Both these men were wardens of the shrine of Imam Reżā at Mašhad. Until the death of Shah Tahmasp, they performed the functions of *towlīyat-e sonnati* and *towlīyat-e vājebī* as members of the staff of the shrine administration. Mir Kamāl al-Dīn was a *seyyed* from Astarābād; Mir Abu'l-Qāsem was one of the *Kalifa seyyeds* of Isfahan, who are known as the Māzandarānī *seyyeds*. Both men were appointed to the administrative staff of the Mašhad shrine toward the end of the reign of Shah Tahmasp, Mir Kamāl al-Dīn to the post of *towlīyat-e sonnati* and Mir Abu'l-Qāsem to the post of *towlīyat-e vājebī*. The term *sonnati* is used to refer to benefits and all sums paid from the royal treasury for the administrative expenses of the shrine—for example, public banquets; the salaries of shrine attendants, professors, and officials of all kinds; stipends of the *seyyeds*, doctors of religion, scholars, and other meritorious persons. Since the funds for all these purposes are under the control of the Shah, they are called *sonnati* (customary). The income from charitable endowments and votive offerings, which are allotted for a specific purpose and must be administered in accordance with the conditions laid down by the benefactor, is termed *vājebī* (mandatory).

Mīrzā Ebrahim Hamadānī. Mīrzā Ebrahim was a ṭabaṭabā'ī Hoseynī seyyed whose father held the post of *qāzī* in Hamadan and administered canon law there. Mīrzā Ebrahim was a pupil of Mīrzā Maḳdūm Eṣfahānī; at Qazvin he studied the rational sciences with Mīr Fakr al-Dīn Sammākī and made great progress in the philosophical sciences. After the death of Shah Tahmasp, he held the hereditary position of *qāzī* at Hamadan, but his deputies took care of most of the work in the law courts. Mīrzā Ebrahim was thus able to devote most of his time to study and research. Many students attended his lectures, and he produced a number of books and detailed glosses in the rational and philosophical sciences. For example, he wrote a treatise entitled *Esbāt-e vājeb-e qadīm va jadīd*, a commentary on the *Šafā* of Avicenna, a gloss on *Šarḥ-e Ešārāt*, and other works. During the reign of Shah 'Abbas I he repeatedly came to court, where he was received with favor and allotted benefices and excellent stipends, as well as generous grants. On one occasion, he was given an outright grant from the royal treasury of seven hundred Iraq *tomān* in place of a loan, and this grant paid off his outstanding debts. His discourses on the rational sciences have been praised by theologians and other scholars of the time. He died in the Year of the Serpent (1026/1617). He had obtained permission to go on leave on his return from Georgia and had set off for Hamadan, but died en route.

Mīr Ja'far Mohtaseb al-Mamālek. Mīr Ja'far was the son of Mīr Rāstī and was a ṭabaṭabā'ī Hoseynī seyyed, closely related to the Abd al-Vahhābī seyyeds. In the service of Shah Tahmasp he rose to the position of *mohtaseb al-mamālek*;¹⁴ he held this office with distinction until his death, which occurred early in the reign of Shah Abbas I. He was a good-natured seyyed, austere in his habits, but outgoing.

Mīrzā Abd al-Hoseyn Jahānshāhī. Mīrzā Abd al-Hoseyn was the son of Mīr Faṣīḥ and was also a Hoseynī seyyed and a cousin of Mīr Ja'far. Because his mother was related to the Jahānshāhī dynasty, he was known as 'Abd al-Hoseyn Jahānshāhī. He lived in Tabriz, near the Jahānshāhiya mausoleum. The post of warden of this mausoleum, which was generally known as the Moẓaffariya, devolved upon him by virtue of his mother's connections. During the reign of Sultan Moḥammad Shah and the governorship of Emir Khan Torkmān, he

¹⁴An official subordinate to the *nāzir-e boyūtat*, the superintendent of the royal workshops. One of the main duties of the *mohtaseb al-mamālek* in Safavid times was to keep the *nāzir au fait* with market prices of goods in the bazaar (see *TM*, p. 83 and index).

was appointed to the position of *kalāntar*¹⁵ of Tabriz. He came to Iraq during the Ottoman troubles, and after the death of Mir Ja'far was appointed *mohtaseb al-mamālek*, but died shortly thereafter.

Shah 'Abd al-'Alī Yazdī. An eminent *seyyed* of Yazd, Shah 'Abd al-'Alī's forefathers came from Bam in the province of Kerman and later migrated to Yazd. There, Shah 'Abd al-'Alī gave judgments in lawsuits involving questions of canon law. He was an upright man, and ambitious; his sign and seal on legal documents were trusted by the people of that region. He was related to the shaikhs of the Nūr-bašī Order.

Mīr Kalān Astarābādī. A *seyyed* of Astarābād, Mīr Kalān was a relative of Mīr Faqr al-Dīn Sammākī and was extremely proficient in jurisprudence. He was a jocular, jovial man, but orthodox and strict in his regimen. On behalf of Shah Tahmasp, he managed the property bequeathed in mortmain to the Fourteen Immaculate Ones by Tahmasp's sister Solānom:¹⁶ The management of this property had been vested in Shah Tahmasp and those of his descendants who came to the throne.

Mīr Seyyed 'Alī Kaftib. Also a *seyyed* of Astarābād, Mīr Seyyed 'Alī held the office of *kaftib*,¹⁷ and also for a while the office of *mohtaseb al-mamālek*. But he went too far in enjoining believers to do what is right and forbidding them to do what is evil. The result was that he appeared to be either a hypocrite or to have some worldly motive for behaving in this way. Because of his fiery temper and imperious manner, divines and scholars were always on their guard when dealing with him; they failed to escape his heavy hand and sharp tongue.

Mīr Tāher Kāšī. A *seyyed* of Kashan, Mīr Tāher was the tool of Mīr Seyyed 'Alī *Kaftib* at court.

Mīr Zeyn al-'Ābedīn Mohtaseb Kāšī. Another *seyyed* of Kashan, Mīr Zeyn was known as Mīr Daqlā¹⁸ and was the son-in-law of Mīr Yahya 'Alāvī Qazvīnī. For a time he held the office of *qāzī-ye ahdās*¹⁹ at Tabriz, and toward the end of the reign of Shah Tahmasp

¹⁵See *TM*, p. 148. The *kalāntar* was the mayor, so to speak, of a city.

¹⁶Died 969/1562.

¹⁷The official charged with giving the *goftba*, or formal address on Fridays in the mosque.

¹⁸MS.: printed text has Mīra Kalla.

¹⁹The *ahdās* were police officers under the command of the *dārūga* (see *TM*, 149). The *qāzī-ye ahdās* (not listed in *TM*) must have been the magistrate who adjudicated in litigation arising from the activities of the *ahdās*.

was appointed *mohtaseb* at Qazvin. He was number three in the Mir Seyyed Ali-Mir Taher group and always followed their lead. After the accession of Shah Esma'il II, the other two fell from favor, but Mir Zeyn al-'Ābedīn was confirmed in his office of *mohtaseb*.

Mir Abū Tāleb. Mir Abū Tāleb was one of the Imami group of *seyyeds* of Isfahan. The warden of the mausoleum of the Imam Zeyn al-'Ābedīn²⁰ there, he was, in his own opinion, a cut above his peers in knowledge of the rational and philosophical sciences.

Mir Mohammad Ašraf. Mir Mohammad was one of the "long-haired" *seyyeds* of Astarābād. By virtue of his great piety and integrity, he gained the confidence of the Shah. He always acted as legal deputy for the Shah on official visits to the shrine of the Imam Reżā at Mašhad and in all ceremonies connected therewith.

During Shah Tahmasp's lifetime, a number of the leading *seyyeds* of the Safavid empire died. Among them were Mir Ğias al-Dīn Daštakī Šīrāzī and his son Mir Ṣadr al-Dīn Mohammad, who was also one of the leading scholars of the time; Mir Ḥojjatollāh Dast-e Geyb Šīrāzī, who attended court assemblies regularly; Mir Seyyed Šarīf Šarīfī Šīrāzī, who reckoned himself to be a grandson of Mir Šarīf 'Allāma-ye Jorjānī; Shah Abū Torāb Enjū, the *vakīl-e halāliyyāt* of the *shayk al-eslām* of Fārs. From among the *seyyeds* of Khorasan, such as Mirzā Abū Tāleb Reżāvī; his son, Mirzā Abu'l-Qāsem; Mir 'Abd al-Karīm Kādem; Mir Šams al-Dīn Ali Sultan, of the Bani Moktār of Sabzavār, also died. From the other categories of *seyyeds*—the *seyyeds* of Nishapur; the *seyyeds* of Bam near Kerman, the 'Abd al-Vahhābiya *seyyeds* of Tabriz, who trace their lineage through a daughter of Yūsuf Mirzā to Ḥasan Padeşāh Torkmān himself; the Golestānā *seyyeds* and the Ma'mūriya *seyyeds* of Isfahan, and so on—I will mention one or two who were still alive at the death of Shah Tahmasp.

Seyyeds of Mašhad. A considerable number of Reżāvī and Mūsavi *seyyeds* were employed in the service of the shrine of the Imam Reżā at Mašhad. They included Mirzā Abū Tāleb Reżāvī and his son Mirzā Abu'l-Qāsem, who were generally acknowledged to be among the leading *seyyeds* of Khorasan by virtue of their exalted rank and station, and on account of the amount of their property, private estates, and workshops. The other Reżāvī *seyyeds* and their relations and

²⁰The Fourth Imam of the Esnā 'Aṣari Shi'ites.

kinfolk lived apart from them, and were honored by their presence only on formal occasions. Mīrzā Abū Ṭāleb had contracted a marriage alliance with Mīr Šams al-Dīn ‘Alī Sultan and had married his son, Mīrzā Abu'l-Qāsem, to the daughter of Mīr Šams al-Dīn. As fate would have it, nothing but trouble and loss flowed from that marriage. After the death of both father and son, two offspring of the marriage remained. Both were in their infancy at the accession of Shah ‘Abbas I, and today, in the year 1025/1616–17, they are so honored by Shah ‘Abbas that they are the envy of their contemporaries. They live like lords on the income from their benefices, private estates, and inherited lands.

Other Reżavī *seyyeds* of note are Mīr Mosīb the *naqīb*, Mīr Mohammad Ja'far b. Mīr Mohammad Sa'īd, and Mīrzā Olog. Mīr Mosīb was promoted to the office of *naqīb*; Mīr Mohammad Ja'far contented himself with his academic research and eventually became so well versed in jurisprudence and the rational sciences that he reached the status of *mojtahed*. But because of his excessive caution and natural modesty, he did not lay claim to this distinction. He was an excessively pious, venerable, and austere man, and he avoided like the plague any item of food or drink which carried the slightest suspicion of unlawfulness. Mīrzā Olog was the cousin of Emir Abū Ṭāleb, and a man of simple habits and pure heart. He was the recipient of royal favor after the accession of Shah ‘Abbas I. Since it would take too long to mention all the notable *seyyeds* of Mašhad and the class of Mūsavī *seyyeds*, I will make do with this brief summary.

Seyyeds of Sabzavār. Mīrzā Mahmūd, the son of Mīr Šams al-Dīn ‘Alī Sultan, is one of the eminent *seyyeds* of the Banū Moktār. His exalted grandfather, the late Mīr Šams al-Dīn ‘Alī, came to Persia from the Arab lands in the time of the Tīmūrid sultans. With his retainers, his servants, and his horses, he settled in the Sabzavār region of Khorasan. There he amassed large private estates and properties, encouraged his bailiffs and dependents in agricultural development, and became very wealthy. According to the *Habīb al-Siar*, at no period of history has a *seyyed* come to Iran from the Ḥejāz or from Arabian Iraq who was the equal of Mīr Šams al-Dīn ‘Alī either in status or in wealth and number of servants. He won the favor of princes and was appointed to the office of *naqīb al-noqabā* of the whole of Iran in general and of Khorasan in particular.

When the Safavids came to power,²¹ his family became the object of

²¹The Safavids conquered Khorasan, then ruled by the Šeybāni Uzbegs, in 1510.

an even greater degree of royal favor. Mīr Šams al-Dīn, the son of Mīrzā Mohammad, served the Safavids loyally during the period of Uzbeg supremacy in Khorasan, and during the period of the invasions by 'Obeyd Khan Uzbeg. As a reward for these services, Shah Tahmasp raised him to the status of emir, with the style of khan. In addition to his existing offices, he was designated the Shah's deputy, given precedence over all other seyyeds in Khorasan, and made senior in rank to all other officials in the province. Moreover, all the revenues accruing to that family from its estates, amounting to more than fifty royal Iraqi *tomān*, were granted as an assignment, free of tax, to the Mīr and his sons. Mīr Šams al-Dīn thus acquired great prestige in the eyes of Mīrzā Mahmūd and the other members of the family. Upon the death of Mīrzā Mahmūd, Mīr Šams al-Dīn was firmly established in a position of power and influence in that province. Mīr Mohammad Gaskanī, the son of Mīr Seyyed 'Ali, was a seyyed from Gaskan, a district of Sabzavār, and owned extensive lands and estates in that region. He used to mix informally with poets, people in society, and intellectuals, and was himself no mean poet.

Seyyeds of Astarābād. A number of eminent seyyeds from Astarābād were at court, and their names have already been given. In addition to them, a number of others, such as Mīr Ḥabībollāh Barmakī, Mīr Čīāş al-Dīn Šamsakī, and Mīr Ḥoseyn (known as Pādeşāh²² Mīr Ḥoseyn), entered Safavid service and were enrolled among the members of the royal bodyguard and other retainers at court. Others were appointed to the staff of the shrine administration at Mašhad. Still others remained in their native district. Among the latter were Mīr Taqī al-Dīn Mohammad b. Emir al-Dīn Ḥoseyn, the son of the late *sadr* Mīr Jamāl al-Dīn, who resided at Astarābād, where he lived like a lord. Because of the services rendered by his father, he came to the notice of Shah Tahmasp and was granted the sum of about forty *tomān* as a tax-free assignment from the revenues of his family's estates. After the death of Shah Tahmasp, when the province of Astarābād was left for a while without a strong, independent governor, Mīr Taqī al-Dīn's power and influence increased. His descendants, however, during the incidents connected with the "black-robed ones" and the *qezelbāz* disorders, did not render the Safavid family the loyal service which, in view of the favors and benefits they had received, was their duty.

²²*Pādeşāh*, king, more usually in its abbreviated form *Shah*, was a common title of religious *shaikhs* and *seyyeds* during the Safavid period. In this context, the title denoted spiritual preeminence, and did not imply any temporal authority.

Another high-ranking *seyyed* of Astarābād was Mīr Zīā al-Dīn Fendereskī, a man of great influence in Fenderesk who owned lucrative estates in the area. At the time of the troubles in Gorgān he remained steadfast in his allegiance to the crown and did not join the leaders of the black-robed rebels: He remained quietly at Fenderesk and went to Astarābād, the center of the revolt, as little as possible. When Shah 'Abbas I led his expedition to Khorasan, Mīr Zīā al-Dīn presented himself at court. After his death his son, Mīrzā Beg, continued to serve the Shah loyally, and much of the time was in attendance on the Shah. He was honored by a place at royal assemblies, and was distinguished above his peers by the Shah's benefices and grants.

'Abd al-Vahhābīya Seyyeds of Tabriz. Most of the 'Abd al-Vahhābī *seyyeds* reside at Tabriz, but there are pockets of them at Yazd, Kashan, and Isfahan. Mīr 'Abd al-Vahhāb, the ancestor of these *seyyeds* from whom they all derive their descent, was highly regarded by the Aq Qoyūnlū sultans and was connected by marriage with Yūsuf Mīrzā b. Ḥasan Pādešāh. Of his sons, Seyyed Ḥasan Beg is the offspring of the daughter of Yūsuf Mīrzā. Under Shah Tahmasp, he for a long time held the office of warden of the mausoleum of Ḥasan Pādešāh, situated in the Ṣāhebābād district of Tabriz and usually known as the Naṣriya, and today this office has devolved upon his sons.

Another notable member of this branch of *seyyeds* is Mīr Ne'matollāh, who was connected with the Qara Qoyūnlū dynasty. At the time of the Ottoman troubles he came to Iraq and for a while was in charge of matters pertaining to canon law in Kashan. Ultimately, he was appointed *qāzī* of Isfahan, in which office his reputation was not sullied by any taint of dishonesty. He lived to be more than ninety. His brother, Mīr Abu'l-Qāsem, held the office of *qāzī* of Tabriz.

This completes my remarks on distinguished *seyyeds* and *naqibis*. I pass now to a consideration of notable shaikhs, theologians, and other scholars of the reign of Shah Tahmasp who were still alive at the time of the latter's death. I crave the indulgence of those who peruse these random remarks, and ask their forgiveness for their prolixity.

Shaikhs, Theologians, and Other Distinguished Scholars

The most learned man in this category is the *Mojtahed al-Sāñi* Shaikh 'Abd al-'Āl, the son of the *mujtahed* of the Age, Shaikh 'Abd

al-'Āl. He was the outstanding scholar of the age in the rational and philosophical sciences, a good conversationalist, and a man of presence. He was also the sole and undisputed *mojtahed* of his time, and most contemporary theologians deferred to him and acknowledged his supremacy. Shaikh Abd al-'Āl resided at Kashan, where he gave regular lectures and instruction. He deputized a number of his students to give judgments in cases of religious law and to settle people's problems. Sometimes he himself attended the court and gave judgment in person. Whenever he came to court, he was received by the Shah with great honor and respect. Whether he was at court or at Kashan, he was frequented by the leading theologians and scholars of the age, and most doctors of theology followed his precepts in the fundamentals and derivatives of Islamic law; his legal decisions were also accepted by most people.

Shaikh 'Ali Menšār. Shaikh 'Ali Menšār was a learned Arab, a jurist, and the pupil of the late *mojtahed* Shaikh Abd al-'Āl. In problems of law, his legal opinions and dicta were considered reliable and trustworthy, and he stood head and shoulders above his peers in matters pertaining to both canon and customary law. Highly favored by Shah Tahmasp, he eventually rose to the position of *seyk al-eslām* and *vakil-e ḥalātyāt* at Isfahan.

Mowlānā Abdollāh Šūstarī. Born at Šūstar, Mowlānā Abdollāh went to Shiraz to study the rational sciences. Since these were his principal interest, he visited the Arab lands and studied under scholars there, particularly the jurists of Jabal Āmel. He achieved the highest grades in the fundamentals of religious law and spiritual guidance. When he returned to Iran he was received by Shah Tahmasp and granted permission to live at Mašhad in the vicinity of the shrine of the Imam Reżā. There he devoted his time to lecturing, giving spiritual guidance to God's servants, administering the canon law, and enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil. Sometimes he would preach a sermon, to the benefit of all who heard it. Through the blessed influence of his holy nature, he saved God's people from sin and error and guided them on the path of salvation and knowledge of God.

After the accession of Shah 'Abbas I, he was constantly advising the king, who regarded him with increasing favor. In 997/1588-89, when the Uzbegs occupied Mašhad, the Mowlānā was carried off by them to Transoxania, where he engaged in argument and debate with

the theologians of that province, as will be related in its proper place in Book II of this history. Although he pretended to be descended from the family of the Prophet and declared himself to be a Šafe'i, the fact that he was a stranger in Transoxania, and the bigotry of the Hanafi school, caused him to be put to death: Not satisfied with this, his enemies had his corpse burned in the public square in Bokhara. May God have mercy on his soul!

Mowlānā Mīrzā Jān Šīrāzī. Mowlānā Mīrzā had a great reputation at Shiraz, where he studied under Kāja Kamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd Šīrāzī, who was the pupil of Mowlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Moḥammad Davānī.²³ In the rational and philosophical sciences he became the leading scholar of his age, but he paid less attention to the traditional sciences. During the reign of Shah Tahmasp, he established himself firmly in a teaching position at Shiraz. Large numbers of students from all parts of the country who had come to Shiraz to study flocked to his lecture rooms; most of his pupils obtained the status of *modarres*.

The Mowlānā was the author of some excellent works in the field of the philosophical sciences, and he wrote meticulous glosses on the works of the ancients. During the reign of Shah Esma'il II he came to court, where he was accused by the theologians of having Sunni tendencies. The Mowlānā, relying on the support of Shah Esma'il, did not bother to deny these accusations, but admitted the truth of them. The result was that, after the death of the Shah, he was forced to leave Irān; he went to Transoxania and then to India, where he died.

Kāja Afzal al-Dīn Moḥammad Tarka. Kāja Afzal was one of the Tarka *qāzīs* of Isfahan. After pursuing the usual courses of study in the rational and philosophical studies and making remarkable progress in them, he went to the royal court at Isfahan, where he attracted the attention of Shah Tahmasp. For a time he held the office of military chaplain jointly with Mīr Alā al-Molk Mar'ašī; he was also appointed *modarres* at court, where his lectures were well attended. During the reign of Shah Esma'il II, unlike the majority of theologians, he succeeded in retaining the Shah's favor, and for most of his reign he was in regular attendance at royal assemblies. After the death of Shah Esma'il II he went to Isfahan and performed the functions of a *qāzī*—functions that had traditionally been vested in the Tarka family. Because of the rude and uncivil behavior of the governors and the Turk-

²³The famous philosopher and political theorist (d. 908/1502-03); author of the *Akāraq-e Jalāli*.

mans, however, he gave up this office and reverted to teaching and duties as an attendant at the shrine of the Imam Reżā at Mašhad. In the Year of the Sheep (991/1583–84), when Sultan Mohammad Shah and Ḥamza Mīrzā were on their way back from a campaign in Khorasan, the Mowlānā accompanied the royal cavalcade from Mašhad to Iraq, but died in the neighborhood of Rayy.

‘Emād al-Dīn ‘Alī Qāderī. ‘Emād al-Dīn, born at Astarābād, was an expert in the arts of Koran reading and chanting, and had written both detailed works and brief manuals on the subject. During the reign of Shah Tahmasp, he was one of the theologians regarded with favor by the Shah. He was always ready to press the claims of academics, the poor, and the deserving, and he was respected by high and low alike. The class of Koran readers benefited particularly by his efforts.

Shaikh Bahā al-Dīn Moḥammad. The son of ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, Shaikh Bahā was one of the shaikhs from Jabal Āmel, and profoundly learned in all branches of knowledge, particularly jurisprudence, Koran commentary, *ḥadīṣ*, and the Arabic language. In his youth his father, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, had studied under Shaikh Zeyn al-Dīn, with whom he worked in such areas as the verification of traditions, the authenticity of the transmitters of traditions, and the study of the fundamentals of the science of reaching legal decisions on the basis of precedents. After Shaikh Zeyn al-Dīn was put to death by the Ottomans because of his Shi’ite beliefs, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad left his native land and emigrated to Iran, where he was welcomed by the Shah and received many royal favors. His outstanding qualifications in jurisprudence and the formulation of legal opinions were acknowledged by his fellow theologians. One of his achievements was the revival of the Friday prayer, which had been in abeyance for a considerable time because of differences of opinion among theologians regarding the conditions pertaining to it. Ultimately, he was promoted to the office of *ṣeyk al-eslām*, in full charge of all matters concerning the religious law and empowered to act as the governor’s deputy, with authority in Khorasan in general and in the provincial capital, Herat, in particular.

He held these offices for a long period, during which he devoted himself to giving currency to the religious law and the proper management of pious foundations and to research into profound theological problems. Later, he conceived the desire to make the pilgrimage

to Mecca and to the shrines of the Imams, and successfully fulfilled this wish. On the return journey he stopped for a few days at al-Hasā and Bahreyn to meet the local theologians; and while he was at Bahreyn, he died. His son, Shaikh Bahā al-Dīn Muḥammad, then still an infant, returned to Iran with his mother. Following his father's example, when he reached the appropriate age he devoted himself to study, achieving distinction in Koran commentary, *ḥadīṣ*, the Arabic language, jurisprudence, and the like. He studied scholastic philosophy and some of the rational sciences under Mowlānā Abdollāh Modarres Yazdī, and mathematics under Mowlānā ‘Alī-mazhab and Mowlānā Afzal Qā’eni, the *modarres* of the shrine at Mašhad, among others. He studied medicine and law under Ḥakīm ‘Emād al-Dīn Maḥmūd, whose career will be narrated in the section on physicians.

In a short time he made great progress in both the rational and the philosophical sciences, and excelled in every branch of science. His published works include: '*Orvat al-Vosqā*, a work on Koran commentary; *Ḥabl al-Matīn*, on the criteria for establishing whether traditions (*ḥadīṣ*) are sound, approved, or reliable, and containing an explanation of each *ḥadīṣ*; *Mašraq al-Šamseyn*; *Tafsīr-e Āyāt-e Aḥkām va Aḥādīṣ-e Šahīha*; a gloss on the commentary of Qāzī; a gloss on the *Qavā’ed-e Šahīdī*; *Hadā’eq al-Šāleḥīn*, a commentary on the *Šahīfa-ye Kāmele*; '*Eyn al-Ḥayāt fi Tafsīr al-Āyāt*; *Ketāb-e Čehel Ḥadīṣ*; a commentary on the *Šarḥ-e Čağmīnī*, a work on astronomy; a gloss on the *Šarḥ-e Moktaṣar-e Osūl*; a gloss on the *Motāvval*; *Reṣāla-ye Taṣrīh al-Aflāk*, also a work on astronomy; *Reṣāla-ye Kolāsat al-Ḥesāb*; *Reṣāla-ye Šahīfa*, on the astrolabe; *Esnā Ašariyāt Arba'*, on ritual purification, fasting, prayer, and the pilgrimage; *Zobdat al-Osūl*; *Mefṭah al-Felāh dar Tavāfiq-e Marāyeż va Sonan*; and a number of other pamphlets and books, some of which, at the time of writing, 1025/1616–17, have been completed. Others, like the *Jāme’-e Abbāsī*, which Shaikh Bahā al-Dīn is writing at royal command on the subject of the religious sciences, so that the whole population of Iran may benefit from it, if God wills he will bring to completion.

After the death of Shaikh ‘Alī Menṣār, Shaikh Bahā al-Dīn was appointed to the offices of *Šeykh al-islām*, *vakīl-e halāliyat*, and supervisor of affairs pertaining to the religious law at Isfahan, and he discharged these functions with independent authority for a considerable time. Then he relinquished these offices in order to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return adopted an austere, as-

cetic way of life. He took to traveling on his own, dressed as a dervish, in Arabian Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and the Ḥejāz. He also visited Jerusalem. Wherever he went, he conversed with theologians, scholars, Sufi leaders, and hermits. As a result, he became the foremost scholar of his age. The Shah kept him constantly at his side; both when he was in the capital and when he was making a journey somewhere, the Shah would visit his dwelling to enjoy his company.

Although poetry and the poetic art were beneath the dignity of this great shaikh, he excelled his peers in the art of poetry; the verses he composed, in both Arabic and Persian, were at once elegant and profound. Shaikh Bahā specialized in *mīsnawīs* in the style of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. He also compiled a seven-volume anthology of the choicest examples of poetry, both ancient and modern, and the most elegant specimens of prose on every branch of science (called *Kaṣkūl* (The Beggar's Bowl). He is frequented by both students and men of learning; may he be permitted to live out his natural span, so that all mankind may benefit from his learning and wisdom!

Shaikh Loṭfollāh Meysī. The grandson of Shaikh Ebrāhīm Meysī, a noted scholar and jurist of his time, Shaikh Loṭfollāh was born at a place called Meys in Jabal Āmel. At an early age he visited the shrine of the Eighth Shi'ite Imam at Mašhad and studied there under Mowlānā 'Abdollah Šūštarī and other theologians. He became proficient in jurisprudence and was appointed a lecturer in theology on the staff of the shrine administration. Under Shah 'Abbas I, he also took on the office of *kādem* (attendant) and received a stipend from the shrine revenues.

During the Uzbeg troubles, he sought refuge at court and lectured for a while at Qazvin. From there, at royal command, he went to Isfahan and took up residence in the neighborhood of the mosque in Naqš-e Jahān Square, opposite the royal palace, one of the great architectural monuments of Shah 'Abbas I.²⁴ There he discharged the duties of an imam (prayer leader), gave lectures on jurisprudence and *ḥadīṣ*, and occupied himself with worship and obedience to God. His expenses were paid by a stipend from the revenues of the royal household. Many people took him as their exemplar in the performance of the obligatory prayers.

²⁴From its description, the mosque in question would appear to be the Masjed-e Seyyeb Loṭfollah, begun in 1603 and completed in 1618, erected by Shah 'Abbas I in honor of his father-in-law.

Shaikh Ḥasan Da'ūd Kādem Astarābādī. Shaikh Ḥasan is enrolled among the attendants on the staff of the Mašhad shrine. His father had held a distinguished position during the reign of Shah Tahmasp: At royal assemblies he gave advice more honestly and candidly than did the other theologians, and was never remiss in exhorting the Shah not to commit acts disapproved by God. Indeed, he was rather too zealous in this respect, but since he was entirely devoid of worldly ambition, Shah Tahmasp listened to his admonitions. During the Uzbeg troubles, his son succeeded in escaping to Iraq. He then spent several years at the Shah's side and accompanied him on most of his journeys.

After the repulse of the Uzbegs and the pacification of Khorasan, he was appointed officer of the watch (*sar-keşik*) of the attendants at the Mašhad shrine; as the deputy of the Shah, he also held the office of head attendant and keeper of the keys of the tomb of the Imam. Night and day, as the Shah's deputy, he kept watch over the other officers (*keşik-bāšīān*). At the time of writing, he is still leading an untroubled existence at that shrine.

Shaikh Fażlollāh Ḥarb. Shaikh Fażlollāh was an expert in jurisprudence from Mašhad, and drew a salary from the revenue of the shrine administration. By virtue of his extreme piety and asceticism, he considered himself to be a person of impeccable character.²⁵ He used to lead the people in prayer in the Masjed-e Jāme' at Mašhad, and many people followed his leadership. During the Uzbeg troubles he was martyred, along with many other pious men and scholars. At the time of the death of Shah Tahmasp, he held the office of prayer leader.

To list more names than this would be to weary the reader; therefore I have restricted myself to these few.

Mowlānā Muḥammad ʻAlī Tabrizī. Mowlānā Muḥammad was the son of Mowlānā ʻEnayatollāh, and a man of great integrity. During the reign of Shah Tahmasp, his father held the offices of *şeyk al-eslām* and *vakil-e halāliyāt* of the royal household administration. After his father's death, he himself inherited all this and more. During the troubles at Tabriz, he came to Iraq and settled in the province of Rayy, where he died. May God have mercy upon him!

²⁵ *Adl* (plural 'odūl) is a technical term in Islamic law and denotes a person of good morals and irreproachable character, whose evidence is accepted in the *Şari'a* courts and who may be used by magistrates to certify documents, etc. (see *EP*, s.v. 'ADL).

Viziers, Accountants, and Bureaucrats—The Class of People Universally Known as Tājīks²⁶

At the time of the death of Shah Tahmasp, no one from among the “men of the pen” held the office of *vazır-e dīvān-e a’lā*.²⁷ Prior to this, twelve men (as far as I have been able to make out) held the office of vizier during the reign of Shah Tahmasp. Kāja Jalāl al-Dīn Mohammad was vizier at the time of Tahmasp’s accession. He had been appointed to this office by Shah Esma’il I after the assassination of Mīrzā Shah Ḥoseyn, who was a kinsman. It is said that, on the day he became vizier, Kāja Jalāl al-Dīn recited a quatrain lamenting the decease of Mīrzā Shah Ḥoseyn:

O Light of my Eyes! You have gone, and my day has
become dark as night;

You might say that you and I were two candles together.

Fate has extinguished one of us, and I am consumed by
grief.

Many a true word is spoken in jest, as is evidenced by the fact that, after the death of Shah Esma’il I and the accession of Shah Tahmasp, Kāja Jalāl al-Dīn was reappointed vizier. Less than a year elapsed, however, before he fell foul of Dīv Sultan Rümlü, who had acquired great power in the state. The latter arrested him and condemned him to death by burning. They say that when they were piling reeds round him and were setting fire to them, Kāja Jalāl al-Dīn recited this verse:

I took up my abode in this place of calamity, and fire
consumed me;

This is what happens to people who reside in this world.

Qāzī Jahān Seyfī Ḥoseynī. Qāzī Jahān was formerly the vizier of Mīrzā Shah Ḥoseyn. He was appointed *vazır-e dīvān-e a’lā*, but because of the civil war between the Takkalūs and the Ostājlūs, from which he sought to remain aloof, he went to Gilān. After his departure, Mīr Ja’far Sāvajī, who was the vizier of Āqā Sultan, was appointed *vazır-e dīvān* through Āqā Sultan’s influence. His period

²⁶i.e., non-Turks, Persians. This term was usually used in a derogatory sense by the *qezelbaş* military aristocracy.

²⁷See Savory, Offices II.

in office was brief because he too was caught in intertribal rivalry and was put to death by the emirs.

Aḥmad Beg Nūr Kamāl. Aḥmad Beg was a distinguished member of the Nūr Kamālīya family of Isfahan. He rose to the office of *vazır-e dīvān-e a'lā*, and held this office with full and independent authority for six years.²⁸ After that, Qāzī Jahān, who had suffered all sorts of harassment²⁹ from Moṣaffar Soltan, the ruler of Biya Pas (western Gilān), but had escaped safely, was recalled to office because of his ability and the special regard the Shah had for him. Qāzī Jahān was appointed vizier jointly with Mīr 'Enāyatollāh Kūzānī Eṣfahānī, a relative of Najm-e Ṣānī; Aḥmad Beg Nūr Kamāl was dismissed. Mīr 'Enāyatollāh, however, was accused of carrying on a love affair with a young man named Bāselīq Beg, one of the Shah's servants, and thus incurred the Shah's wrath. Together with Moṣaffar Sultan, whose rebellions against the authority of the Safavid state have been related in the section on events in Gilān, Mīr Enāyatollāh was suspended in an iron cage slung between the minarets of the mosque of Ḥasan Pādešāh, situated in the Ṣāhebābād district of Tabriz, and was burned. Some wit coined the chronogram "For love of the youth Bāselīq" to give the date of his execution (942/1535).

After this, Qāzī Jahān held office as vizier with sole authority for fifteen years. Toward the end of this period, Shah Tahmasp evinced a desire to participate personally in administrative affairs. Prior to this, the business of the *dīvān* had been carried on by the Shah in accordance with the judgment of the vizier, and what the vizier proposed was usually put into effect by the Shah. In these changed circumstances, however, Shah Tahmasp frequently did not immediately put into effect the vizier's suggestions. Qāzī Jahān, perceiving this disinclination on the part of the Shah, handed in his resignation, making his advanced age his excuse. Since he importuned the Shah to accept his resignation, the Shah acquiesced. Qāzī Jahān died in 960/1552-53. No vizier of this dynasty has equaled him in ability, talent, wisdom, and learning. Despite the eminence of his position, he always maintained a humble demeanor in his dealings with men. When he intervened in debates between theologians, his arguments were cogent and conspicuous for their excell-

²⁸This is quite wrong; he held office for only two years, 938-940/1531-32 to 1533-34; see Savory, *Offices II*.

²⁹Qāzī Jahān had had a spell in prison at Rašt.

lence. He was also noted for his literary style and the smoothness of his prose, and he was an excellent calligrapher. After Qāzī Jahān, the office of vizier was entrusted to four persons.³⁰

Kāja Ğiās al-Dīn 'Alī. Known as Ğiās Kahra, Kāja Ğiās was the patron of Šarīf-e Tabrizī, and was also an excellent accountant. For a time he held the office of *mostowfi al-mamālek*.³¹

Aqa Moḥammad Farāhānī. Aqa Mohammad was a distinguished citizen of Farāhān.

Kāja Emir Beg. Kāja Emir was known as Emir Beg *mohrdār*, and was a relative of Mīr Zakariā Kojojī. He began his career as the vizier of Qāzī Khan Takkalū, the keeper of the seal; later, he became vizier of Khorasan. He was skilled in the arts of divination, numerology, and black magic. Because he used to try and make the sun subservient to him, he was arrested and imprisoned at Alamūt. He was released after the accession of Shah Esma'il II, but died shortly afterward.

Mīrzā Beg Abharī. Mīrzā Beg came from the Sābeqīya group at Abhar. He began his career as the vizier of Sevendük Beg Afšār the *qūrčibāšī*, and later on was for a time vizier of the central *dīvān*. After his death, Ma'sūm Beg Ṣafavī became vizier.

Ma'sūm Beg Ṣafavī. Ma'sūm Beg, an emir of the *dīvān*, was raised to the high office of vizier, which he held in addition to those of provincial governor and army commander. He was a great favorite of Shah Tahmasp, who used to call him cousin. After peace had been concluded between Shah Tahmasp and Sultan Selīm b. Sultan Morad, the Ottoman emperor, the pilgrim traffic to Mecca from Iran was resumed. Ma'sūm Beg Ṣafavī obtained permission from both monarchs to make the pilgrimage with his son Khan Mīrzā. But a group of Ottomans, disguised as Bedouins, treacherously attacked and murdered him and his son, and several of their companions, while they were actually with the pilgrim caravan and had donned the special pilgrims' robe. The Ottomans attributed this crime to Arab brigands.

³⁰Mīrzā Beg Abhart, Ma'sūm Beg Ṣafavī, Mīr Seyyed Hoseyn Farahānī, Kāja Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī. Emir Serāj al-Dīn 'Alī Qomī, who was acting vizier during Ma'sūm Beg's absence on pilgrimage, is apparently not counted.

³¹See *TM*, pp. 122ff, for an account of this office.

After Ma'sūm Beg had departed on the pilgrimage, his vizier, Emir Serāj al-Dīn 'Alī Qomī, acted as his substitute as vizier of the central *dīvān*. After the murder of Ma'sūm Beg, no vizier with independent authority was appointed for a number of years. Toward the end of Tahmasp's life, Mīr Seyyed Ḥoseyn Farāhānī and Kāja Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī were appointed joint viziers. They held office for a year and then were dismissed by the Shah, who was dissatisfied with both of them. No one was appointed to replace them during Shah Tahmasp's lifetime.

Chief Accountants and Other Officials of the Central Secretariat

As far as I have been able to ascertain, ten officials held the position of accountant in the central *dīvān* during the reign of Shah Tahmasp: seven held the rank of *mostowfī al-mamālek*, and three the rank of *mostowfī al-baqāyā*.³²

Those who held the rank of *mostowfī al-mamālek* were as follows: Mīr Mas'ūd Jorbādeqānī; Kāja Ḥoseyn Sārūqī; Kāja Ğīās al-Dīn 'Alī (known as Ğīās Kahra Širāzī); Kāja Qāsem Naṭanzī; Ğīās Malek Eṣfahānī; Mīr Ğīās al-Dīn Maḥmūd Šahrestānī Eṣfahānī; Mīrzā Šokrollāh Eṣfahānī, who is well known. These seven men stand out from among the accountants by virtue of their rank and authority, their length of service, their integrity, and their concern for the well-being of the people.

Kāja Qāsem Naṭanzī was an expert in accounting and bookkeeping, and received royal notice to a greater extent than his peers. In royal assemblies he would constantly urge the suit of some humble citizen and seek to alleviate the plight of some fellow Muslim. He would speak out without fear or favor, and since he was utterly without worldly motives, his pleas were usually heard. After his death his sons, in consideration of their father's services, were appointed to important offices.

After him, Mīr Ğīās al-Dīn Maḥmūd became *mostowfī al-mamālek*, but was dismissed within a short time. For a while, the function of chief accountant was placed in the hands of the *avāraja-nevisān*³³ (keepers of the *avāraja* books) of the royal secretariat, each *avāraja-nevis* being placed in charge of a subdepartment of the chief ac-

³² *Mostowfī* of the arrears; for both these offices, see *TM*, index.

³³ See *TM*, esp. pp. 144-45. The *avāraja* were registers containing records of individual tax accounts.

countant's department. Part of the time, two officials called deputy accountants were placed in charge. Eventually, Emir Ğiās al-Dīn was reappointed *mostowfi al-mamālek*. This time he held office for a long period and was dismissed only three years before the death of Shah Tahmasp.

Mirzā Šokrollāh. The son of Kāja Ḥabibollāh Eṣfahānī, Mirzā Šokrollāh was appointed to some office in the central administration every few years. He had to wait several years at court before being appointed to office, but eventually he was admitted to royal assemblies and took his place among the throng of officials and scribes. When Mīr Ğiās al-Dīn Ṣahrestānī was dismissed, his office was conferred on Mirzā Šokrollāh, who held it with undivided authority until the death of Shah Tahmasp. After the accession of Shah Esma'īl II, as will be recorded in due course, he became vizier and *e'temād al-dowla*.³⁴ Finally, under Sultan Moḥammad Shah, he was appointed to the offices of vizier and *momayyez* (auditor) of the province of Khorasan, and warden of the Mašhad shrine. Because of his arrogant nature, which was indeed apparent from his haughty demeanor, he was not popular. His relations with the governors of the province were bad, and as a result his affairs did not prosper as they should have done. Finally he moved to Damghan, where he died.

The *mostowfīs* of the arrears were as follows: Mīr Hedāyatollāh Ma'mūrī, one of the Ma'mūrī *seyyeds* of Isfahan, who died after a short time in office. His brother, Mīr Moḥammad Ma'mūrī, was appointed in his place, and held office for about ten years; then the Shah became dissatisfied with his work, and he was dismissed. The last official to be mentioned in this category is Mīr Shah Ğāzī Eṣfahānī, also a *seyyed* from Isfahan, whose family was known as the Alāqāband *seyyeds*.

For a number of years during the reign of Shah Tahmasp he worked as an auditor and performed various other administrative tasks. Since his work was satisfactory, he held the office of *mostowfi* of the arrears until the death of Shah Tahmasp. After the accession of Shah Esma'īl II, when Mirzā Šokrollāh became vizier and *e'temād al-dowla*, he appointed Mīr Shah Ğāzī *mostowfi al-mamālek*. He continued in this office under Sultan Moḥammad Shah, with full and independent authority. But when Mirzā Salmān, who disliked Mīr Shah Ğāzī,

³⁴*E'temād al-dowla*: lit., the trusted support of the state, was a title, not a rank. It was commonly used for viziers from this time onward.

became vizier, he was dismissed. The job then went to Қāja Moḥammad Bāqer Haravī, who had served Sultan Moḥammad Mīrzā well in the past at Herat. After his dismissal Mīr Shah Čāzī returned to his native Isfahan, and from there went on the pilgrimage to Mecca. He died on the journey.

Officials Who Held the Office of *Nāzer-e Boyūtāt*³⁵

According to the information I have been able to obtain, Qāzī ‘Emād was *nāzer* with independent authority. A quarrel developed between him and Mehtar Jamāl Eṣfahānī in which the latter claimed the *nāzer* owed certain taxes and accused him of embezzlement and misappropriation of *dīvān* funds. As a result, the *nāzer* was dismissed and heavily fined. After securing his dismissal, however, Mehtar Jamāl acted as guarantor for the amount of the fine and dispatched the *nāzer* to Isfahan with every mark of respect!

After him, Aqa Kamāl al-Dīn, the son of that Aqa Kamāl al-Dīn Zeyn al-‘Ebād Kermānī who was vizier of Khorasan, was appointed *nāzer*. He held office for a long time but was also undone by the accusations of his enemies and remained in prison at Alamūt until the death of Shah Tahmasp. He was released by Shah Esma’il II and restored to favor under Sultan Moḥammad Shah, but his health had been undermined by his imprisonment, and this, combined with advanced age and the disappointment of his hopes, brought his life to an end.

At the time of Shah Tahmasp’s death, three men held the position of *nāzer*: first, Mīrzā Salmān, who after the dismissal and imprisonment of Aqa Kamāl became supervisor (*nāzer*) of most of the royal workshops. He was the son of Aqa Mīrzā ‘Alī Jāberī Eṣfahānī. His father for some years had been the vizier of Ebrahim Khan Zu'l-Qadar, the governor of Fārs, and Mīrzā Salmān was educated in Shiraz. He then went to court, and for a number of years acted as assistant to the vizier of Azerbaijan, Mīrzā ‘Aṭā’ollah. After this he returned to court, having by now made his mark as a capable and efficient administrator. After the arrest and imprisonment of Aqa Kamāl Kermānī, Mīrzā Salmān, as mentioned above, was appointed *nāzer* of most of the royal workshops and enrolled among the *moqarrabs*³⁶ at court. He held the post of *nāzer* until the death of Shah Tahmasp.

³⁵Superintendent of the royal workshops; see *TM*, index, s.v.

³⁶For the various categories of officials termed *moqarrab*, see *TM*, pp. 55ff.

During the reign of Shah Esma'il II, after the dismissal of Mirzā Šokrollāh, Mirzā Salmān was appointed *vazīr-e dīvān-e a'lā*, and Shah Esma'il II went to great lengths to extend his patronage to him and to increase his power still further. The Shah ordered that the vizier need not rise from his place to salute any emirs, no matter how eminent in rank. After the death of Shah Esma'il II and the accession of Sultan Mohammad Shah, Mirzā Salmān was reappointed vizier and *e'temād al-dowla*, with independent authority. The rest of his career will be narrated under the events of the reign of Sultan Mohammad Shah.

Kāja Abu'l-Qāsem. From a noble family of Farahān, Kāja Abu'l-Qāsem held the post of vizier to the keeper of the seal of the *dīvān-e a'lā*. He was an honest, sincere soul, somewhat rustic in manner who caught the eye of the Shah and was promoted from the *vezārat-e mohr* to *nāzər* of some of the royal workshops. He continued in this position after the death of Shah Tahmasp and the accession of Shah Esma'il II. Eventually he retired from public service and returned to his native town.

Mirzā Abu'l-Fotūh. The brother of Mīr Fażlollāh Šahrestānī, Mirzā Abu'l-Fotūh was *nāzər* of buildings belonging to the royal household. He was a son of Mīr Seyyed Šarīf Šahrestānī, who was *mostowfi al-mamālek* in the time of Shah Esma'il I. The Šahrestānī family had a long tradition of public service, and many of its members had held high office under the Safavids. Mīr Fażlollāh was for a period vizier of Isfahan, in charge of the administration of *dīvān* affairs there. During his period in office, he came into possession of considerable private property and estates, which he converted into a *vaqf*. He had a son, Mohammad by name, who was a most learned jurist and whose legal opinions were considered reliable by his fellow lawyers.

Aḥmadī Beg Laškar-Nevīs.³⁷ Aḥmadī Beg was the brother of Mōhammadi Beg, a former *laškar-nevis*. In the early part of Shah Tahmasp's reign Kāja Beg Širāzī, the *laškar-nevis*, was so respected by the emirs and wielded such authority that his contemporaries considered him to be vizier material and, in fact, regarded him as being in line for the *vezārat*. After his death, Mōhammadi Beg, the brother of Aḥmadī Beg, who was the *avdāraja-nevis*³⁸ of Azerbaijan, was ap-

³⁷For the functions of this official, see *TM*, index, and especially pp. 75 and 141-42. As his name implies, the *laškar-nevis* was concerned to a considerable extent with army records and administration.

³⁸See *TM*, pp. 77-78.

pointed *laşkar-nevis*. He too became so influential and rose so high in royal favor that Shah Tahmasp used to call him "little vizier." After the death of Moḥammadī, Ahmādī Beg was appointed *laşkar-nevis* and held this post up to the reign of Sultan Moḥammad Shah. This family are Šīrazī in origin, and they are known at Shiraz as the Kākiya group. They left Shiraz a long time ago, and a number of the Kākiyas rose to high office in Iraq, Azerbaijan, and at court. Ahmādī Beg died at the beginning of the reign of Shah 'Abbas I.

Aliqolī Beg. Of the Arabgırılı clan of the Sāmlū tribe, Aliqolī held the office of vizier of the royal bodyguard. His father, Ḥasan 'Alī Beg, was a noted calligrapher who modeled his work on that of Mowlānā Bahā al-Dīn Ḥoseyn, the secretary of the shrine at Mašhad. From early Safavid times, the office of vizier of the *qūrčīs* had been vested in this family, and Aliqolī Beg was appointed to it in recognition of his services to the Safavid house. He too died early in the reign of Shah 'Abbas I.

Mīrzā Fathollāh. Mīrzā Fathollāh held the office of accountant (*mostowfī*) of the household troops. He was an Isfahani, and related to the Kāja Malek who first held the office of *mostowfī-e qūrčīān* and was later appointed *mostowfī al-mamālek* (comptroller of finances). Mīrzā Fathollāh was appointed to this office at an early age and actually had more influence among the household troops than the *vazīr-e qūrčīān*.

Staff of the Royal Secretariat

Mir Abū Torāb Naṭanzī, the *mostowfī-e māl*, an office which is now also called *zābet-nevis* and *mofrada-nevis*,³⁹ was an Alūšīya seyyed from Naṭanz and the son-in-law of Kāja Qāsem Mostowfī. In the royal secretariat, his fellow civil servants considered him superior to the other accountants in the science of bookkeeping. Hedāyat Beg Šīrazī held the office of *sāheb-towjīh*⁴⁰ of the *dīvān-e a'lā*. He was related to Kāja Ḥabibollah, the former *sāheb-towjīh*. Members of this family have held a variety of offices under the Safavids and were trusted by the Shah. Hedāyat Beg was a man of substance, perspicacity, and integrity.

Of the *avāraja-nevisān*, Kāja Moḥammad Amin, known as Khan

³⁹See *TM*, p. 142.

⁴⁰See *TM*, p. 143.

Valad Qāsem Mostowfī, who emulated his father in his skill at book-keeping and accounting, discharged the function of *avāraja-nevis* in the provinces of Azerbaijan and Shīrvān. Kāja Rašīd Beg, a Shīrāzī by origin, was related to Hedāyatollāh Beg and performed the duties of *avāraja-nevis* of Iraq; he was a pious man, simple in his habits. Aqa Seyyed Naṣanī was *avāraja-nevis* of Khorasan and Kerman. Mīr Ne'matollāh, the son of the famous Asad-e Sūkta-e Shīrāzī, was *avāraja-nevis* of Fārs. Aqa Seyf al-Molūk-e Ṭehrānī was the *mostowfī-ye arbāb-e tāhāvīl*.⁴¹ Although he did not possess much ability, he was a colorful personality, a good conversationalist, and a congenial companion. These attributes secured him a place at royal assemblies and other marks of royal favor.

*Viziers in the Provinces*⁴²

Two men stand out in this category by virtue of their rank and power: Mīrzā 'Aṭā'ollāh Eṣfahānī, who started his career as the vizier of the seal (*vazīr-e mohr*) and was later promoted to the position of auditor-in-chief for the province of Azerbaijan and Shīrvān; and Aqa Kamāl al-Dīn Zeyn al-'Ebād Kermānī. As indicated above, he was vizier and auditor-in-chief of Khorasan, but he predeceased Shah Tahmasp; Mīrzā 'Aṭā'ollāh had been overtaken by old age and removed from office. Both viziers were noted for their integrity and concern for the common people, and acquired a great reputation in Khorasan and Azerbaijan. The administrative practices they instituted are still the rule and model in those provinces.

Among those who held appointments as provincial viziers at the time of the death of Shah Tahmasp were Mīrzā Hedāyatollāh, the son of Kāja Shah Ḥoseyn Sārūqī, who was formerly *vazīr-e tarkān* and was later appointed vizier of eastern Gilān: He did not go to Gilān, however, but remained at court. After the accession of Sultan Moḥammad Shah he became *mostowfī al-mamālek*; and after the assassination of Mīrzā Salmān, which occurred at Herat and will be described in the proper place, he became *vazīr-e dīvān-e a'lā* and *e'temād al-dowla*. But he did not intervene much in important *dīvān* affairs and had no great independence of action.

Kāja Qāsem 'Ali, formerly the vizier of Ḥoseyn Beg yüzbāshī Ostājlū,

⁴¹The official who kept the accounts of the "keepers" of the royal household (see *TM*, p. 140).

⁴²For general background, see Savory, "Some Notes on the Provincial Administration of the Early Safavid Empire," *BSOAS*, XXXVI/I, 1964, pp. 114-129.

was raised to vizier of Azerbaijan and held this post for some years. He too remained at court, and up to the time of the death of Shah Tahmasp he had not taken up his post in Azerbaijan. He was a Tabrizi by origin, but also had connections at Isfahan. His brother, too, Kāja 'Enāyatollāh, who had succeeded him as vizier to Hoseyn Beg yüzbāšī, was one of the distinguished viziers of the time.

Kāja Moḥammad Šarīf Tehrānī, who had been dismissed from his post as vizier at Yazd, was appointed vizier of Isfahan. He was related to Aqa Mollā Qazvīnī, the *davātdār* (keeper of the royal inkhorn).

Mīrzā Bādī' al-Zamān, the son of Aqa Mollā Qazvīnī, held the post of vizier of Kashan. He and his brothers acquired a reputation for just administration, and consequently were regarded with favor by the Shah. One of his brothers, Aqa Moḥammad Zamān, was appointed to various duties at Tabriz, and his other brother, Ahmād Beg, was appointed vizier of certain districts of Khorasan.

Mīrzā 'Abd al-Bāqī, known as Zāda-e Maķdūm, was the son of Mīr Fażlollāh Šahrestānī. After the death of Mīr Seyyed 'Alī Reżavī Qomī, who was the vizier of Qazvin, Mīrzā 'Abd al-Bāqī was appointed to that office in his place. I stated above that Mīr Fażlollāh was the owner of extensive estates and private property, and that he constituted all his private property into a *waqf*, and placed the management of this *waqf* in the hands of his eldest son. Mīr 'Abd al-Bāqī, partly through his own folly, and partly as the result of losses inflicted by fate, dissipated all these endowments. He himself, after the death of Shah Tahmasp, suffered all sorts of misfortunes as a result of pursuing fruitless ambitions and making inopportune requests and inconvenient demands.

Mīrzā Ahmād. Mīrzā Ahmād was the son of Mīrzā Nūrollāh Kofrānī Eşfahānī, the vizier of the *kāṣṣa*⁴³ administration of Fārs. Shah Tahmasp showed particular favor to both Mīrzā Nūrollāh and his father. During the reign of Sultan Moḥammad Shah, as a result of the services he had rendered to the Shah at Shiraz before his accession to the throne, Mīrzā Nūrollāh was appointed to the post of

⁴³The provinces of the Safavid empire, by the time of Shah 'Abbas I, were divided into *mamālek* (state) or *kāṣṣa* (crown) provinces (see *TM*, pp. 25-26). The latter were under the direct control of the Shah and were administered by royal intendants. The reckless conversion of *mamālek* provinces into *kāṣṣa* became one of the major causes of the decline of the Safavid empire.

supervisor-in-chief (*nezārat-e koll*), and discharged his duties with complete independence.

Mīr Seyyed Hoseyn Kātib Qāyenī. Mīr Seyyed Hoseyn was the vizier of some districts of Herat which fell under the jurisdiction of the crown and became extremely influential in that area.

Mīrzā Mohammad Kermānī. Formerly the vizier of Aḥmad Beg Afšār the *qūrčibāšī*, Mīrzā Mohammad held the post of vizier of Ardabīl.

I will conclude my list of junior viziers (*vozarā-ye jozv*)⁴⁴ at this point. There was another group of Persian civil servants (*tājikīya*) whose appointment and dismissal were in the hands of the emirs, though they were servants of the Shah and were numbered among the officials present at royal assemblies. This group included men like Qarā Ḥasan Ziad-oğlū the vizier, who was a Turko-Persian hybrid, an elegant conversationalist, and for this reason favored above his peers by the Shah, who singled him out to share his conversation and discourse. Other members of this group were Kāja Hedāyatollāh, the vizier of Emir Čeyb Sultan, who was distinguished among his fellow Persians by the award of a black and white aigrette; of which he was inordinately proud; Kāja Žīā al-Dīn Salmānī Eṣfahānī, who was the vizier of Abdollāh Khan Ostājlū (after the latter's death he went to court and was enrolled among the court officials); Kāja Ḥasan Nakčevānī, known as Āqsāq Mošref, who did not actually hold any office but was present at royal assemblies; Kāja Shah Manṣūr Farahānī, the vizier of Heydar Sultan Torkmān, who had permission to enter royal assemblies; Mīr Serāj al-Dīn Aḥī Qomī, the vizier of Ma'ṣūm Beg, who after the murder of Ma'ṣūm Beg (which I narrated above), was not appointed to any office in the central *dīvān* but continued to have access to the Shah, as before.

Overseers of the Royal Workshops (Mošrefān-e Boyütät)

A number of officials in this category also achieved distinction: Mīrzā Baba'ī Šīrāzī, the overseer of the royal treasury, a man in whom the Shah placed full confidence; Mīrzā Qāsem Šīrāzī, the overseer of the royal stable, who spent most of his working hours in the stables or at the hippodrome; Mīrzā Mohammad *pīškaš-nevis*,⁴⁵

⁴⁴This term is not listed in *TM*, index. I assume it means viziers of lower rank, as opposed to the viziers on the staff of the central *dīvān*.

⁴⁵The official who made a list of all presents (*pīškaš*) given to the Shah (see *TM*, p. 47).

a relative of Mīrzā Bābā'ī; Mīrzā Ḥasan Eṣfahānī, the overseer of the royal wardrobe (*mošref-e rekābkāna*) and of the tailoring department (*qeyčāčīkāna*); Mīr Seyyed Seyfī, the brother of Mīr Šāhmīr, formerly overseer of the treasury, overseer of the camel stables. There were other overseers, but this list is sufficient.

In addition to these officials, there were other categories of Persian civil servants at court—some employed, others waiting for employment. But whether employed or not, they were not without influence at court. I should mention particularly Mīr Hāšem Qomī, a Mūsavī *seyyed* from Qom, an eloquent and droll man. He was the owner of private estates and considerable wealth, and he had the Shah's ear and was able to press the suits of plaintiffs more successfully than others. Sometimes he felt that promotion to vizier was in the wind, but nothing came of this. The Shah was always cracking jokes with him, but despite the esteem in which he was held, he was constantly being called to account and fined; although he continued to hold an honored position until the death of Shah Tahmasp, he was not immune from demands and requests for money.

Another official in this category was Kāja 'Abd al-Qāder Kermānī, the son of Kāja 'Abd al-Rašīd, who was distinguished among the provincial nobility by the size of his estates and income. At royal command, he went to court and joined the throng of officials who attended royal assemblies; he was given reason to hope that he might be appointed *vazīr-e dīvān-e a'lā*. Like Mīr Hāšem, however, despite his respected position, he had no respite from the importunities of holders of drafts drawn on his revenues. Entirely voluntarily, he presented the Shah with a gift of twelve thousand *tomān* and asked permission to return to Kerman and devote himself to agricultural pursuits and the management of his estates. This request was not granted, and he was forced to remain at court.

Not until the reign of Sultan Mohammad Shah did he obtain permission to return to Kerman, and even then he found himself unable to stay. Bektāš Khan Afšār had been guilty of improper conduct and was displaying an arrogantly independent attitude, and Bektāš Khan, unfortunately, was the official collector of the taxes⁴⁶ Kāja 'Abd al-Qāder Kermānī had contracted to remit to the government. Kāja 'Abd al-Qāder Kermānī therefore decided to visit the holy places; he spent the rest of his life in the Baghdad region, reluctant to return to Kerman for fear of being demoted and discredited.

⁴⁶*Taqabbolat*; see *TM*, p. 176.

In addition, there was always a large number of civic officials (*kalāntarān*),⁴⁷ landowners, and other citizens at court who had gained access to the Shah and had been appointed to some job or other, but it would be tedious to enumerate these people.

From among the secretaries (*monšīān*), I might mention Moḥam-madī Beg Kojojī Tabrīzī, a relation of Mīr Zakariā the *monšī al-mamālek* (state scribe),⁴⁸ who had had an excellent record of public service. After his death, no one was appointed to the office of *monšī al-mamālek*. There were also Mīrzā Moḥammad, the son of Kāja 'Alī Beg Sork̄ Kermānī, who was related to the above-mentioned Moḥammadī Beg; Qāzī 'Abdollah Joveynī and Kāja 'Alā al-Dīn Karah-rūdī, who both held the office of *monšī al-mamālek* and were officials in attendance at court; Mīrzā Moḥammad, who held the office of *monšī al-mamālek* under Shah Esma'il II and was reappointed to that office under Sultan Moḥammad Shah after the assassination of Mīrzā Salmān and was finally appointed vizier during the time of Abū Ṭāleb Mīrzā. Fuller details of Mīrzā Moḥammad's career will be given in the history of the events of the reign of Shah 'Abbas I. All three men were extremely talented, but Qāzī 'Abdollah's secretarial style was superior.

Physicians

The physician class was a numerous one in Iran, and I have already mentioned some of the physicians who treated the Shah, who were the more eminent members of the profession. Others worthy of note include the following.

Hakīm Ğīās al-Dīn Əlī Kāshī. Hakīm Ğīās was an outstanding physician. After his death, his brother Ḥakīm Nūr al-Dīn was in attendance on the Shah and was enrolled among the court physicians. As a result of the successful treatment of one of the Shah's illnesses, he acquired great prestige and the Shah had great faith in him.

Hakīm Kamāl al-Dīn Hoseyn Širāzī. Hakīm Kamāl began his career as physician to Shah Ne'matollāh Yazdī. After the latter's death he was enrolled as a court physician. More often than not, he managed to avoid error in his diagnoses, and his treatments were extremely successful. He acquired a reputation as a heavy drinker

⁴⁷See *TM*, pp. 81, 148.

⁴⁸See *TM*, p. 132.

and, unlike some hypocrites, he refused to pretend that he was abstemious. Because of the virtual certainty that he drank wine he fell out of favor with Shah Tahmasp, although physicians generally permit the drinking of wine for medicinal purposes.⁴⁹ In the reign of Sultan Mohammad Shah, he decided to enter the service of Khan Ahmad, the ruler of Gilan. Ḥakīm Kamāl al-Dīn spent the rest of his life in Gilan, and Khan Ahmad used to discuss medicine with him.

Ḥakīm Abū Naṣr Gilānī. Ḥakīm Abū Naṣr was a handsome man, of great presence and geniality. Most of the treatments he prescribed at court were appropriate to the malady, and consequently he acquired a great reputation. During Shah Tahmasp's illness he was in attendance on him night and day; as a result of this great mark of royal esteem, he unwisely sought recognition of his superior status vis-à-vis the other doctors. As a result, when Shah Tahmasp died he was accused of treachery in the treatment he had prescribed, and he was put to death within the palace by members of the royal bodyguard.

Mīrzā Muḥammad Širāzī. Mīrzā Muḥammad was a relative of Ḥakīm Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥoseyn. He had a great reputation among doctors, who were impressed by his medical knowledge, and a number of physicians elected to study under him. Ultimately, like Ḥakīm Kamāl al-Dīn, he too acquired a reputation for drinking and was deprived of royal favor. He spent part of his life at court, and part at Yazd.

Ḥakīm ‘Emād al-Dīn Maḥmūd. Ḥakīm ‘Emād was related to both the physicians listed above. He was the author of reliable articles and books on medicine, on the preparation of electuaries, on the treatment of chronic illnesses, on hot humors, and especially on the lesser and greater pox, generally known as gonorrhea. He began his career as the physician to ‘Abdollah Khan Ostājlū, the governor of Širvān, but for some reason they quarreled, and one night, in a blind rage, the Khan forced him to remain outside in the cold and snow. The physician kept himself alive by consuming excessive quantities of opium, but although his life was saved, for the rest of his days he was afflicted by a palsy. Since he himself was an opium addict, he naturally had great faith in the powers of this drug. Shah Tahmasp was passionately devoted to the shrine of the Imam Reżā at Mašhad and appointed the best available men to its administrative staff, and so he made Ḥakīm ‘Emād al-Dīn Maḥmūd staff physician to the shrine.

*The author does not disguise where his sympathies lie!

Hakim Abu'l-Fath Tabrizi. Since he was slight of frame Ḥakīm Abu'l-Fath was known as Ḥakīm-e Kūček (the Little Physician), but he had the reputation of being the best doctor in Tabriz. If a patient suffering from apoplexy was brought before him, he would diagnose the trouble merely by feeling the patient's pulse. He would not need to ask any questions, and he would assert that this affliction was caused by eating so-and-so or drinking such-and-such; if the patient suffered a relapse, he could explain why. Most of the time he was right; in fact, he was right so often that it was miraculous. During the reign of Shah Esma'il II he became very close to the Shah, who made him one of his confidants, with the right to enter the harem. Under Sultan Mohammad Shah, when Emir Khan Mowṣellū was governor of Tabriz and *amīr al-omarā* of Azerbaijan, Ḥakīm-e Kūček entered the service of the Khan, who held him in great favor.

After the fall of Emir Khan,⁵⁰ Ḥakīm-e Kūček was regarded with disfavor by Ḥamza Mirzā, since the physician had been one of the Khan's men. Under Shah 'Abbas I, however, he returned to favor and became a confidant of the harem until his death.

Hakim Yār 'Alī Tehrāni. Known as Ḥakīm Keyrī, Ḥakīm Yār was a genial, jovial extrovert, and a great favorite of Shah Tahmasp. He devoted himself to the treatment of the poor and indigent, and was in charge of the welfare dispensary—hence his nickname of Ḥakīm Keyrī (Welfare Physician). He had two sons: Ḥakīm Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī and Ḥakīm Šaraf, who both assisted him in cases which were referred to him. He was a generous and hospitable man, and until the end of their days, he and his two sons used to provide, out of their own income, free refreshments for the poor and anyone else who happened to pass by.

Mīr Rūhollāh Qāzī Jahānī. Mīr Rūhollāh was a Seyfī Hoseynī seyyed of Qazvin. The wonderful qualities of his father and grandfather are too celebrated to require description. After studying the usual subjects, he became interested in medicine, in which science he acquired great skill. He did not devote much time to medical practice, but he had an unrivaled knowledge of the treatments required for various illnesses. Doctors' sons at Qazvin, even though they had engaged in medical debates with him, were proud to call themselves his assistants. He had a fine hand in the *šekasta* form of script.⁵¹ Dur-

⁵⁰Emir Khan Mowṣellū Torkmān dismissed by Ḥamza Mirzā in 991/1583-84, imprisoned at Qahqaha, and later executed.

⁵¹Lit., broken script, a cursive form of the traditional Persian *nasta'liq* script.

ing the reign of Sultan Mohammad Shah, he became indisposed and died at Qazvin.

Other skillful physicians who practiced in the provinces included Ḥakīm Nūr al-Dīn⁵² ‘Alī Yazdī; Mīr Abu’l-Qāsem Šīrāzī; Ḥakīm ‘Alā Tabrizī;⁵³ and the doctors at Isfahan. But since my primary object was to list the physicians who were in attendance on the Shah or attached to the court, I will terminate this section at this point.

Calligraphers of the Time of Shah Tahmasp

Among the outstanding calligraphers of the *nasta’līq* script—now all dead—were Mowlānā ‘Abdī Nišāpūrī; Mowlānā Shah Maḥmūd (the golden-penned); Mowlānā Dūst Harātī; Mowlānā Rostam ‘Alī, the nephew of Ostād Behzād Manṣūr; Ḥafeẓ Bābā Jān Torbatī; and Mowlānā Malek Deylamī Qazvīnī.

Of these calligraphers who were still alive at the death of Shah Tahmasp, pride of place, in the opinion of the people not only of Herat but also of the whole of Khorāsan and Iraq, goes to Mowlānā Maḥmūd Eshāq Siāvošānī. Second in popular estimation is Mīr Seyyed Aḥmad Mašhadī. Both men were pupils of Mowlānā Mīr ‘Alī. At that time, no one wrote *nasta’līq* with such elegant proportions as Mowlānā Maḥmūd, and the people of Herat consider his hand superior to that of Mīr Seyyed Aḥmad, and they are of the opinion that Mowlānā Mīr ‘Alī, the teacher of both these calligraphers, concurs in their evaluation. They base this opinion on the following verse written by Mowlānā Mīr ‘Alī:

Kāja Maḥmūd was a pupil of mine for a while, so
No slight is inflicted on him,
Even though he himself is guilty of no shortcoming, if
I say that
Everything he writes, both good and bad,
Is written in my name.

When Kāja Maḥmūd heard this verse, he commented: “Mowlānā Mīr ‘Alī was wrong to say that everything I write is written in his name, even if it is true. Even though he made the remark in jest, and in the form of a literary conceit, it is in extremely bad taste.” The people of

⁵²BM MS. has Zeyn al-Dīn.

⁵³BM MS. has Ḥakīm Rašīdī Šā’er Qomī, and omits the two preceding names.

Mašhad, on the other hand, consider Mīr Seyyed Aḥmad the better calligrapher. Indeed, he has a great reputation in Khorasan, Iraq, and beyond not only as a calligrapher, but as a writer of occasional verse, the fame of which has spread to India and Transoxania. He had numerous pupils, but toward the end of his life his style changed, and he acquired characteristics frowned on by men of discernment.

Another calligrapher of note is Mowlānā Moḥammad Ḥoseyn Tabrizī. He is the son of Mowlānā ‘Enāyatollāh and the brother of Mowlānā Moḥammad ‘Alī, who has already been mentioned in the list of theologians. Although the *nasta’līq* style of the calligraphers of Iraq and Azerbaijan is scorned by the people of Khorasan, who keep to their own style, Mowlānā Moḥammad Ḥoseyn made great progress in penmanship and wrote flawless *nasta’līq* in his exercise books. Had he lived longer, he would have taken precedence over some of our masters in this art. Even now, if one shows a page from one of his exercise books to students, they pass it from hand to hand, and even steal it from one another.

Mīr Mo’ezzī Kāshī. Mīr Mo’ezzī claimed to be a calligrapher, but he was not a professional copyist and only wrote short pieces. In short, the great esteem in which he was held by the people of Kashan and Iraq was unjustified, and he cannot be compared with the calligraphers of Khorasan whom I have mentioned.

Mowlānā Bābā Shah Esfahānī. Mowlānā Bābā was a specialist in *nasta’līq*, and the best copyist in Iraq—and even in Khorasan at that time there was no one who was his equal. He made his living from his profession as copyist and had distinguished men among his clientele. Examples of his calligraphy used to be readily available in Iraq but are now much less common because of the practice of exporting his work to other parts, where it fetches a high price.

Mīr Sadr al-Dīn Moḥammad. Mīr Sadr was the son of Mīrzā Šaraf Qāzi Jahānī and a Seyfī Ḥoseynī *seyyed* of Qazvin. He and his brother Mīr Rūhollāh were both eminent *seyyeds* of their day, and his father and grandfather are so celebrated that they need no introduction. The highly allegorical love lyrics of Mīrzā Šaraf, which were written in an individual style and caused a sensation among the poets of the day, are sufficient testimony to the accuracy of this claim. Both his sons were outstanding scholars in the customary sciences, and I ought really to have included them in my list of eminent *seyyeds*.

Mir Şadr al-Din was an excellent calligrapher, and the pupil of Mowlānā Malek Deylamī Qazvīnī, a calligrapher of Iraq with an unassailable reputation. Mir Şadr al-Din was also a master of oblique calligraphy; in his youth he did much elegant and tasteful work of this type, but failing eyesight eventually forced him to give it up. As regards his *nasta'liq* script, he followed closely the style of Mowlānā Sultan 'Alī, whose style he preferred to that of Mowlānā Mir 'Alī.

A story is told about the rivalry between Mowlānā Sultan 'Alī and Mir 'Alī. At the time when Mir 'Alī had made great progress in the art of calligraphy and had acquired quite a reputation, he repeatedly asserted his equality with Sultan 'Alī, but the professional judges always took the side of the latter. One day, Mir 'Alī went to Mowlānā Sultan 'Alī and asked him for a specimen of his hand to copy. Mir 'Alī made two beautiful copies, brought back all three sheets, and challenged Mowlānā Sultan 'Alī to pick out his own. After much deliberation, Mowlānā Sultan 'Alī selected one of Mir 'Alī's copies as being his own work.

Mir Şadr al-Din was not just a calligrapher; he studied history for many years, as well as poetry. He compiled an anthology of rare excellence. If a person anywhere in the world produced a hemistich in metrical form, the Mir would do diligent research on its author with a view to incorporating it into his anthology. The result was that the work was never finished. He also did a lot of work on music and rounds, and with his skill at writing lyrics and composing unusual airs to set them to, he was the life and soul of any convivial gathering. During the reign of Sultan Mohammad Shah, he was in attendance at royal assemblies and became the close companion of Sultan Hamza Mirzā. After the accession of Shah Abbas I, he remained high in royal favor, accompanying the Shah on his journeys. In the course of one of them, to Khorasan, he died.

Mirzā Ebrahim Eṣfahānī. Mirzā Ebrahim was the son of a vizier and a talented calligrapher who, like Mir Şadr al-Din, specialized in an oblique hand, but he was not in the same class as the latter. He was a man of generous nature, but simple habits. Whatever he had he placed at the disposal of his friends, and his house was always full of wits, poets, and cultivated persons. One week he would live like a lord, enjoying every luxury; the next he would make do with a crust of barley bread and, placing his trust in God, would be looked after adequately by men of rank and quality. He was a jocular man who loved

company, and anyone was free in his presence to grind his own axe, make any malicious remark he liked, and speak of anyone, high or low. In his knowledge of poetry and in his research into the etymology of Persian words he was unrivaled, and he wrote a treatise on the latter which is still used in Iraq.

There were other calligraphers, in every class, men like 'Isa Beg, the son of Şäter Mohammad and the grandson of Şäter 'Ali, who was an unrivaled penman; and Pîr Bûdâq Beg Qaplân-oğlu Şamlü, who had made great progress in *nasta'lîq* and was highly thought of by the Turks.⁵⁴ The sons of Beglû Valî 'Arabgîrlû⁵⁵ were also calligraphers. If I were to list them all, it would take too long, but I must mention the man who stands head and shoulders above other calligraphers at that time—namely, Kâja 'Alâ al-Dîn Manşûr Monşî Karahrûdî, one of the Shah's private secretaries. Since he was a master calligrapher, I have no hesitation in mentioning him; he is descended from a family of *kalântars* of Karahrûd. He followed the calligraphy of Mowlâna Darvîş extremely well, and his reputation was firmly established at that period. Some people got so excited by the beauty of his hand that they termed it perfection. But he has a large hand, and his circles are huge. Apparently this style looks better in books, official letters, and letters of appointment. He also wrote the *şekasta* type of *nasta'lîq* very tastefully.

Mîrzâ Ahmad. The son of Mîrzâ 'Ağa'ollah, Mîrzâ Ahmâd was another calligrapher of note. To begin with, he was the pupil of Kâja 'Alâ al-Dîn Manşûr; later, when he had made more progress, he followed the *şekasta* style of Mowlâna Darvîş, who developed a very nice style using a blunt pen. His circles, unlike those of Kâja 'Alâ al-Dîn Manşûr and others, are not filled in, but have no great charm. He was the son of a vizier of the time of Shah Tahmasp. When his father was vizier of Azerbaijan and Shîrvân and stood high in the Shah's favor, exciting the envy of the other *tâjîks* by the gifts he received from the Shah, Mîrzâ Ahmâd was at court. There he was put in charge of the Shah's ink holder and ink, and was responsible for keeping his pens sharp. Ultimately, he suffered loss of royal favor as a result of slander. Nevertheless, he was always called in when there were official dispatches to go to the Ottomans, and he participated in the drafting of these dispatches.

⁵⁴I.e., the *gezelbas*, who were not expected to show proficiency in the cultivated arts.

⁵⁵A clan of the Şamlü tribe.

After Shah Tahmasp's illness, he was appointed vizier of Šūštar and Kūzestān. In the time of Sultan Mohammad Shah, he went to Khorasan to take up an appointment as vizier to Morshedqolī Khan. Since he was both well-known and ambitious, he was the instigator of certain events in Khorasan,⁵⁶ and he was put to death by his nephew in the castle of Torbat.

Mīrzā Moḥammad Ḥoseyn. Mīrzā Moḥammad was the son of Mīrzā Šokrollāh, who was *mostowfi al-mamālek* under Shah Tahmasp and later became vizier. After Mīrzā Aḥmad, Mīrzā Moḥammad Ḥoseyn made rapid progress and perfected his *nasta'līq*. He too followed the style of Mowlānā Darvīš, but in the view of this writer, although both he and Mīrzā Aḥmad were of the school of Mowlānā Darvīš, they each developed their own individual style—a style not inferior to that of Mowlānā Darvīš himself. Of the two, the style of Mīrzā Moḥammad Ḥoseyn Šīrāzī has the greater freshness and charm. During the reign of Shah 'Abbas I, he went to India and joined the ranks of the secretaries at the Mogul court. He died in India.

Mīrzā Ḥoseyn Monṣī. Mīrzā Ḥoseyn was a good practitioner of *nasta'līq* and a pupil of Kāja 'Alā al-Dīn Manṣūr. He was on the staff of the royal secretariat and was an extremely rapid copyist. Following the style of his master's school, he did not fill in the circles in his script.

Among other calligraphers who deserve only brief mention is Mowlānā Moḥammad Amīn Monṣī Qazvīnī; with his name I will end this list.

Outstanding Artists of the Period

It is reported that Shah Tahmasp himself was an excellent artist, presumptuous though it is of me to include his name in the list of the artists of the period. The Shah was the pupil of the celebrated artist Sultan Moḥammad. From his youth, he had shown great interest in painting, and artists like Behzād and Sultan Moḥammad, who were at the top of their profession, used to work in the royal library. Aqa Mirak Eṣfahānī, an eminent *seyyed* and an outstanding artist, became the Shah's personal friend and intimate companion. Whenever the Shah could relax from the affairs of state, he spent his time

⁵⁶I.e., those connected with the rise of 'Abbas I.

painting. Toward the end of his life he devoted less time to it, partly because the preoccupations of state gave him no opportunity, and partly because the artists mentioned above were no longer alive. Those of the staff of the royal library who were still alive were released so that they could work on their own. At the very end of his life, Shah Tahmasp appointed as librarian Mowlānā Yūsuf, a *golām-e kāssā*⁵⁷ and protégé of the Shah who wrote a very fair *sols*⁵⁸ hand, and committed to his charge the books contained in the royal library.

Of artists of note who flourished after the death of Shah Tahmasp, I should mention the following.

Mowlānā Możaffar ʻAlī. A relative of Behzād, with whom he did his training. Mowlānā Możaffar became a master of both line and form. The paintings of the royal palace, and of a royal assembly in the Čehel Sotūn hall, were drawn by him, and most of the painting was also his work.⁵⁹ He died not long after the Shah.

Mīr Zeyn al-Ābedīn. Mīr Zeyn al-Ābedīn was the nephew of Ostād Sultan Mohammad Manşūr, one of the teachers of Shah Tahmasp. He was a fine, upstanding man, beloved by all. His pupils formed a school of painting. He himself painted only for royal princes, emirs and the nobility. During the reign of Shah Esma'il II, when the royal library was reopened, he joined its staff.

Şādeqī Beg Afšār. Şādeqī Beg was a *qezelbāš* of the Afšār tribe, and a colorful personality. He had chosen the sobriquet Şādeqī, and in his early youth had studied painting night and day under the great master Možaffar ʻAlī. Možaffar ʻAlī, noticing that he had signs of real talent, took great trouble with his training. Şādeqī Beg proved an apt pupil. However, he had ambitions beyond what was proper in a painter; when things did not turn out the way he wanted them, he gave up painting and went around as a wandering dervish. Emir Khan Mowṣellū, when he was governor of Hamadan, heard about Şādeqī Beg. He made him leave aside his dervish robes and become one of his retainers. In this capacity, Şādeqī Beg discharged his

⁵⁷This term almost certainly indicates that Mowlānā Yūsuf was a convert to Islam from Christianity, and was either a Georgian, Circassian, or Armenian. Under Shah Abbas I, the *golāmān-e kāssā* (lit., personal slaves of the Shah), became a powerful "third force" in the state, designed to offset the influence of the *qezelbāš*.

⁵⁸Large handwriting of the *nask* type.

⁵⁹It was (and is) common practice in Iran for the master to sketch the drawing, and perhaps do some of the painting, leaving the rest to be finished by his pupils.

duties manfully. Because he 'had the character of a Turk and the background of a *qezelbaš*, he made much of his valor and bravery, and in his conceit poured scorn on the champions of the day. After the accession of Sultan Mohammad Shah, he entered the service of Badr Khan and Eskandar Khan Afšār. In the battle with the Turkmans at Astarābād, he performed prodigies of insane valor. But he never forgot his early training in painting, and eventually became a fine draftsman and painter. He also dabbled in poetry, and wrote some agreeable odes, lyrics, and *maṣnavīs*. However, since he was primarily a painter, I did not include him in the list of poets.

In the reign of Shah Esma'il II, he was on the staff of the royal library; under Shah Abbas I, he was appointed librarian. However, his bad temper, arrogance, and impatience would not leave him in peace, and he used to treat friends and peers roughly. They tolerated his ill-bred behavior, but eventually he made himself so offensive to people that they shunned him, and he lost favor with the Shah. But he continued to hold office until his death, and went on drawing his librarian's salary from the central *dīvān*.

Mowlānā 'Abd al-Jabbār Astarābādī. Mowlānā 'Abd al-Jabbār was a calligrapher and a copyist of *nasta'liq*, but at an early age he became interested in art and developed this skill along with his professional skill as a copyist. He had personality, and his talents as a conversationalist and wit made him much sought after by high society—so much so that he had no time left for his work. For a while, he went to Gilān, where he attended the court of Khan Aḥmad, the ruler of Gilān. When Khan Aḥmad rebelled and was imprisoned, Mowlānā 'Abd al-Jabbār came to Qazvin. Although he ran an artists' workshop there, he spent most of his time at parties given by emirs and other members of the upper classes. His son, Kaja Naṣīr, used to look after the students. One of the people with whom the Mowlānā associated most frequently was Ḥoseyn Beg *yüzbaşı*, an officer in the service of the faction supporting Sultan Heydar. As a result of this, the Mowlānā was dismissed from his post in the royal library by Shah Esma'il II, but his son was given a position there instead. During the reign of Sultan Mohammad Shah, when Khan Aḥmad was appointed governor of Gilān, the Mowlānā returned there with him and spent the rest of his days in that province.

Sīāvoš Beg. Dubbed Naqqāšī because of his skill as a painter, Sīāvoš Beg was the pupil of Ostād 'Alī Manṣūr. The elegance of his

pen attracted the attention of the Shah, who personally took a hand in teaching him. He developed into an excellent miniaturist, and was unequalled in pen and ink sketches (*sīāh-qalam*)⁶⁰ and in mountain scenes; the composition (*majles-sāzī*) of his paintings was flawless. In the reign of Shah Esma'il II he was appointed to the staff of the royal library; after the accession of Sultan Mohammad Shah, both he and his brother, Farrok Beg, became the trusted companions of Sultan Ḥamza Mīrzā. Under Shah 'Abbas I, he was constantly in attendance on the Shah, and died in his service.

Mowlānā Shaikh Moḥammad Sabzavārī. Mowlānā Shaikh Moḥammad was a handsome man and a witty speaker. In the painting of individual portraits, he claimed to be supreme—and with justification, since all his fellow artists agreed with him. He also wrote a fine *nasta'liq*; he used to copy the shorter pieces of the masters so well that his copies were virtually indistinguishable from the originals. It was he who introduced the European style of painting in Iran and popularized it, and no one equaled him in the delineation of faces and figures. In Sabzavār, he elected to enter the service of Sultan Ebrahim Mīrzā, and accompanied the latter to Iraq. In the reign of Shah Esma'il II, the Mowlānā joined the staff of the royal library, but he later returned to Khorasan. Later still, he entered the service of Shah 'Abbas I, and used to work in the new palace building.

Mowlānā 'Alī Asgar Kāšī. Mowlānā 'Alī was very good on color, and unrivaled in painting mountain scenes and trees. He too was in the service of Sultan Ebrahim Mīrzā, and joined the staff of the royal library during the reign of Shah Esma'il II. His son, Aqa Reżā, was a skilled portrait painter, but it is well known that, in recent times, he stupidly abandoned this art in which he had so much skill and took up wrestling, forsaking his talented artist friends. Fortunately, he has now given up this nonsense, but he does not do much painting. Like Şadeqī Beg, he has a foul temper, is impatient and disagreeable, and has a very independent character. He was greatly favored by Shah 'Abbas I, but because of his temperament, he has never been fully trusted, and so he has remained poor.

Mīrzā Moḥammad Eṣfahānī. Mīrzā Moḥammad, a painter with a fine touch, was the pupil of Kāja 'Abd al-'Azīz Kākā. The composition and finish of his pictures was unrivaled, and he was also a master of detail. Under Shah Esma'il II, he joined the staff of the royal library.

*A drawing entirely in black—a pen-and-ink sketch.

Mowlānā Ḥasan Bağdādī. Mowlānā Ḥasan was an expert on the illumination of manuscripts; the work of the illuminator Mowlānā Yārī, who raised this art to a high pitch of perfection, cannot compare with that of Mowlānā Ḥasan in its fineness and detail. Toward the end of the reign of Shah Tahmasp he was accused of having made a copy of the royal seal, and indeed he had shown himself to be extremely proficient in that art. Shah Tahmasp arrested him and threatened to have his hands cut off; but in the end the Shah forgave him because he had worked on the decorations of the shrine of Abū 'Abd-ollāh al-Ḥoseyn. The Shah sent him away with a warning not to do it again. During the reign of Shah Esma'il II he joined the staff of the royal library, and his son followed in his footsteps as a manuscript illuminator and portrait painter.

Mowlānā 'Abdullāh Šīrāzī. Mowlānā 'Abdullāh was another excellent manuscript illuminator, but not in the same class as Mowlānā Ḥasan. A jovial, witty man, he was in the service of Sultan Ebrahim Mīrzā. After the murder of that prince, he joined the staff of the royal library under Shah Esma'il II.

There were other artists and portrait painters, such as Moḥammad Haravī, Naṣrī Beg Kūsa, and others, but I have mentioned the leading men in each category.

Poets Still Writing at the Death of Shah Tahmasp

The number of poets who flourished at that time, either at court or in the provinces, was legion. Early in his reign, Shah Tahmasp gave special consideration to the class of poets, and for a time Mīrzā Saraf Jahān and Mowlānā Heyratī were companions at the Shah's table and other social gatherings. During the latter part of his life, however, when the Shah took more seriously the Koranic prescription to "do what is right and eschew evil," he no longer counted poets pious and upright men because of the known addiction of many of them to the bottle. He ceased to regard them with favor, and refused to allow them to present him with occasional pieces and eulogistic odes.

On one occasion, Mowlānā Moḥtašam Kāšī had written an ode in praise of the Shah, and another eulogizing Parī Khan Kānom, and had sent them from Kashan. Parī Khan Kānom had presented the former to Tahmasp, who remarked: "I am not willing to allow poets

to pollute their tongues with praises of me; let them write eulogies of 'Alī and the other infallible Imams. Tell him to look first for his reward to the holy spirits of the Imams, and after that to hope for a reward from me. He has used far-fetched metaphors and profound images and attributed them, most inappropriately, to kings; whereas, had he applied these metaphors and images to the holy Imams, it would have been impossible to use expressions too extravagant to describe their exalted rank." In short, Mowlānā Mohtāsam did not receive any reward for his ode. When the Mowlānā received the Shah's reply, he sent him a work by the late Mowlānā Ḥasan Kāšī on the Imam 'Alī, which he had put into verse in the form of a *haft-band*⁶¹ —a really inspired piece of work—and in reward for this he received a fitting present. At once all the poets at court set to work madly writing *haft-bands*; fifty or sixty such poems rained down on the Shah, and their authors were all rewarded. Of the other poets of note, some were at court, and some in the provinces.

Mowlānā Zamīrī Esfahānī. In the top rank of poets, Mowlānā Zamīrī was also an expert in geomancy, which is how he acquired his pen name of Zamīrī, indicating that he had knowledge of the occult. He was an extremely fast worker, and every day produced at least ten lyrics. He spent a lot of time answering the collected works of the poets of antiquity; he also threw off individual verses of limpid beauty. A selection of them may be found in the anthology of Mir Taqī Kāšī.

Mowlānā Mohtāsam. The Mowlānā was a celebrated poet from the Kashan district. He wrote an ode in praise of Shah Esma'il II, one hemistich of which contained the chronogram of his accession. He wrote a large number of carefully crafted odes, and also lyrics, "composite-tie" strophe poems (*tarkīb*) and "return-tie" strophe poems (*tarjīt*).⁶² His most famous poem, however, which will perpetuate his memory until the day of judgment, is his threnody on the Prince of Martyrs, Hoseyn. It superseded the threnody of Shaikh Āzārī, which no poet had succeeded in emulating up to that time. Mowlānā Moh-

⁶¹A *haft-band* is a poem of seven-verse strophes. Mohtāsam's *haft-band* in praise of the Imams consisted of twelve strophes each of seven verses, each strophe ending with an additional verse in a different rhyme—making 96 verses in all (see E. G. Browne, *History of Persian Literature*, Vol. IV, pp. 172-73).

⁶²Both the *tarjīt-band* and the *tarkīb-band* consisted of a series of stanzas containing an equal, or roughly equal, number of couplets, with a monorhyme. These stanzas are separated by isolated verses which may be in the form of a refrain (*tarjīt-band*), or different at the end of each stanza (*tarkīb-band*) (see Browne, Vol. II, pp. 39-40).

tašam also wrote some powerful love lyrics, but space does not permit me to quote from these.

Mowlānā Valī. The most elegant of poets, Mowlānā Valī came from the Dašt-e Beyāz⁶³ region of the Qāyen district of Khorasan. During the reign of Shah Tahmasp, he came to court with Kāja-zāda Maṭlūb, an eminent seyyed from that area, and resided for a while at Qazvin. He was on familiar terms with Mowlānā Zamīrī and other court poets. During the reign of Sultan Moḥammad Shah he returned to Khorasan, but was arraigned by Yatīm Sultan Uzbeg on a charge of being a Rāfežī⁶⁴ and put to death. As an excuse for this act, the latter used to say that "all poets have scurrilous tongues." "Since I knew that the Mowlānā had been vexed by me, I kept an eye on him in case he should satirize me in such a way that the stigma would remain for all time."

On one occasion, a distinguished Korāsānī made the following rejoinder: "What satire could possibly leave a worse stigma than your action in putting to death a man who was unique in his time? There is a perpetual record of this shameful crime in the pages of history." Yatīm Sultan admitted the justice of this remark, but later put to death the man who uttered it because of his insolence. The Mowlānā also composed love poetry.

Mowlānā Vahšī Yazdī. Mowlānā Vahšī spent his whole life at Yazd. He was unequaled in the composition of lyrics and *maṣnavīs*; his *maṣnavī* on the theme of Farhād and Šīrīn is particularly celebrated, and his love poetry is well known by everyone.

Kāja Hoseyn Sandī Korāsānī. Kāja Hoseyn is from Mašhad, where he was in the service of Sultan Ebrahim Mirzā, who favored him highly. He composed mostly odes, but his language is so involved and abstruse that the majority of contemporary poets are defeated in their attempts to understand it.

Mīr Heydar "Mo'ammā"-ye Kašān. Mīr Heydar was a Ṭabāṭaba'ī seyyed, and the possessor of benefices at Kashan. He was a master of acrostics, and unrivaled in the composition of chronograms. He lived to be more than ninety, but the murmurings of his libido were never stilled. In the time of Shah Tahmasp, he was the intimate friend of

⁶³Dašt-e Beyāz, the White Plain, lay northwest of Qāyen in the district of Qohestān.

⁶⁴A heretical Shi'ite sect.

Mirzā Ja'far, the son of **Mirzā Badi' al-Zamān**, the vizier of Kashan. **Mirzā Ja'far** was noted for his beauty, and was a paragon of physical and spiritual virtue. He went to India, where he rose to the rank of vizier.

About the time of the accession of Shah 'Abbas I, Mir Ḥeydar conceived the desire to go and see **Mirzā Ja'far**, and visited India. Through the favor of **Mirzā Ja'far**, he obtained an audience with the Mogul emperor Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, and was granted the privilege of appearing at royal assemblies. Although **Mirzā Ja'far** was not noted for his generosity, he gave Mir Ḥeydar 30,000 Akbarī rupees, the equivalent of 1,000 royal Iraqi *tomān*, and Mir Ḥeydar also received favors from the emperor. After he had spent some time in India, Mir Ḥeydar decided to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He stayed in Mecca for two years, and then his love of his native land drew him back to Kashan, where he was loaded with gifts and granted benefices by Shah 'Abbas I. Mir Ḥeydar was a prolific poet, composing occasional verse, odes, lyrics, and chronograms.

Mowlānā Malek Teyfūr Anjodānī and **Mowlānā Dā'i**. These brothers are both men of substance and profound learning. Malek Teyfūr, during the reign of Shah Tahmasp, was at the Zar-Menāriya seminary in Qazvin. He had a roving habit and an amatory disposition, and in spite of his piety and probity, had his share of handsome youths. His carnal desires dominated his nature. In the time of Shah 'Abbas I, he moved from Qazvin to Kashan in hope of getting a post. He had a curious idiosyncrasy; despite his penurious circumstances, he made do with barley bread and never resorted to mendicancy.

His brother, **Mowlānā Dā'i**, lives at Anjodān. Sometimes he comes into Kashan and mixes with the poets and people of that city. Like his brother, he is a man of ascetic temperament. He is the author of agreeable odes and lyrics.

Mir Valehī Qomī. Mir Valehī is a *seyyed* of Qom, and the author of elegant verse; his love poetry contains themes worthy of a master. He has a colorful personality, and his conversation is spiced with wit. He is also an accomplished musician.

Mowlānā Malek Qomī. From the outset, Mowlānā Malek's poetry had a distinctive flavor which was lacking in the poetry of others. As he progressed, his writing acquired maturity. He left Iran and emi-

grated to the Deccan in India, where he entered the service of the 'Ādelshāh. In collaboration with Mowlānā Zahūrī, he has just completed a book of poetry containing nine thousand verses, dedicated to the 'Ādelshāh. Each poet has contributed four to five thousand verses. As a reward for this, the two poets received a gift of nine thousand *hūn*,⁶⁵ which they divided equally.

Mowlānā Fahmī. A veteran poet, after Mowlānā Moḥtašam, Mowlānā Fahmī claimed supremacy at Kashan. He was held in greater respect than the other poets, and his utterances were taken for gospel.

Mowlānā Ḥātem Kāšī. Mowlānā Ḥātem was an extremely mellifluous poet. He had a very swarthy complexion, and the wags of Kashan used to assert that he was an Indian. They would talk about India in his presence, and the Mowlānā used to be incensed. On one occasion, the Mowlānā was wearing black hose, and one of the wits exclaimed, "Mowlānā, have you rolled up your breeches?" He was constantly being made the butt of jokes like this.

Mīr Hożūrī Qomī. Mīr Hożūrī was a *seyyed* of integrity and ascetic habit who spent most of his life in the practice of religion at the holy shrines. After the death of Shah Tahmasp and the accession of Shah Esma'il II, when Qazvin became the rallying point for members of the religious classes, Mīr Hożūrī took up residence there too. Since he was then advanced in years, and furthermore was a *seyyed*, he was accorded great respect by the other members of the religious classes there. Although his output of poetry was small, he possessed considerable skill in the composition of lyrics.

Mīr Şabrī Rüzbehān Eṣfahānī. Mīr Şabrī resided in the Isfahan district, and his ancestors were *seyyeds* of Ardestān.⁶⁶ He wrote lyrics.

Mīrzā Hesābī Naṭanzī. Mīrzā Hesābī came from Naṭanz and was a relative of Mohammad Qāsem the *mostowfi*. He was a talented and capable young man who wrote excellent poetry, was a skilled musician and composer, and produced unusual paintings that were the talk of Iraq. At Qazvin he spent his time in the company of members of the fair sex.

Qāzī Nūr Eṣfahānī. Qāzī Nūr Eṣfahānī was from Andelān in the

⁶⁵A gold coin.

⁶⁶Northeast of Isfahan.

Barā'ān district of Isfahan. He studied under Kāja Afzal Tarka at Qazvin, and also under Mīr Faqr al-Dīn Sammākī. At that time he had not acquired his reputation as a poet; indeed, he composed very little poetry, but his work was mellifluous and he spoke from the heart.

Mowlānā Ḥoznī. The Mowlānā was a learned and witty man who not only wrote good poetry but understood it well, unraveling with ease any knotty problems submitted to him in regard to the interpretation of particular verses. He was a complete extrovert, and since he was skilled in the understanding of poetry and unequaled in the art of idle gossip and witty off-the-cuff remarks—all necessary attributes of a poet—he acquired a reputation for being a poet.

Mowlānā Halākī Hamadānī. A man of ascetic habit, the Mowlānā was an illiterate; he had literally never read anything. He used to ask people he met in the street or in the bazaar to write down his poetry for him, but for a long while people did not realize this. He composed lyrics; he also composed a congratulatory ode on the accession of Shah Esma'il II, for which he received twelve thousand *tomān* as a reward. This produced a spate of odes from other poets, but they failed to find favor.

Mażharī Kaśmīrī. Mażharī was an agreeably handsome youth whose good looks made a great impression on women. His poetry created an equal sensation among contemporary poets. While still a young man he left Kashmir and came to Iran, where he traveled widely with the object of meeting Persian poets. Eventually he returned to Kashmir.

Poets of the Capital, Qazvin

In Qazvin, there was a considerable number of poets of note, and brief mention has already been made of the most celebrated of these. However, just as the people of this realm in general bear without complaint the greatest financial hardships, in the same way there are those among the ranks of the poets who are not without talent, but who are not accustomed to beg. They rarely dispatch occasional verses and odes to high officers of state in the hope of getting rewards and favors. The poets whom I am now going to mention eked out their livelihood by engaging in trade on a modest scale.

Mowlānā Forūḡī Atṭār. The Mowlānā made his living as a drug-

gist, and poets used to congregate in front of his shop. While he dealt with the needs of his customers, the conversation turned on the subject of poetry.

Mowlānā Tabkī Qazvīnī. The Mowlānā was a man of short stature, simple habits, and pleasant countenance. He loved good company, and was a man with a social conscience, so that many penniless poets and indigents down on their luck received lunch and dinner from his restaurant.

Solṭān-e Foqarā. Initially, Solṭān-e Foqarā made his living as a moneychanger, and he went around dressed in the style of a dervish. He modeled his poetic style on that of Ḥāfez; he wrote a rejoinder to the *dīvān* of Ḥāfez and claimed equality with him. Intelligent men used to distinguish between the two by means of the greater esoteric meaning of Ḥāfez's verse. Solṭān-e Foqarā spent some time in India and then returned to Iran, where he attracted the notice of Shah 'Abbas I. He expressed the desire to live at Mašhad, and was granted a stipend from the revenues of the shrine administration there. However, death intervened before he reached Mašhad.

Kākā-ye Qazvīnī. Kākā-ye Qazvīnī was a man of swarthy complexion, but pleasant visage. He made his living as a barrow-boy and greengrocer.

Mowlānā Šarmī. The son of a tailor, the Mowlānā made his living as a tailor in the bazaar. He was exceedingly modest and unassuming—qualities not usually found in poets—and for this reason was given the pen name of Šarmī (bashful). He composed verse in the Rāmāndī dialect, after the fashion of Ḥāfez Ṣabūnī, and eventually made considerable progress in the composition of lyrics.

Minstrels and Musicians

Since Shah Tahmasp always eschewed all practices forbidden by religious law, musicians found little favor with him. He fired most of those who already had employment at court, and retained only the singer Ostād Ḥoseyn Šuštārī Balānī and Ostād Asad, who was the haut-bois player in the royal military band. Toward the end of his life, the Shah expelled from court various celebrated minstrels, such as Ḥāfez Ahmad Qazvīnī, who was renowned for his superb tremolo singing and for his graceful style; Ḥāfez Lala Tabrizī; and others. The

Shah had the idea that perhaps the royal princes, by associating with them, might begin to pay too much attention to music, and that they might corrupt the emirs who were their moral tutors and guardians and thus generate a general demand at court for such forbidden pleasures. Even *Ostād Ḥoseyn* the haut-bois player was arrested as he entered the royal assembly, and spent some time in prison. Finally, he swore a solemn oath that he would not play his haut-bois at any other place than the one appointed for performances by the royal military band.

After the accession of Shah Esma'il II, however, musicians began to gather again at court. They included such singers as *Ḥāfeẓ Ahmād Qazvīnī* and *Ḥāfeẓ Jalājel* (the bells) *Bākarzī*, who excelled at both singing and chanting. He was appointed master of the musicians (*Čalejī-bāšī*) under Shah Esma'il II and continued in favor under Shah 'Abbas I until his eventual death at Qazvin. There was also *Ḥāfeẓ Moṣaffar Qomī*. Chanting is the special forte of *Korāshānīs*, and singing is the forte of the people of Iraq. Although *Ḥāfeẓ Moṣaffar* came from Iraq, he used to chant in the *Korāshānī* style, in which art he was supreme in Iraq. *Ḥāfeẓ Hāšem Qazvīnī*, although at the period we are speaking of was not in the same class as the others, later came into his own and was raised to the heights by Sultan *Ḩamza Mirzā*. *Mohammad Kamānčā'ī* (the violinist) was an unrivaled performer on the violin, and he also played the lute. In the time of Shah Esma'il II, he performed at court. *Mohammad Mo'men* was an unrivaled lute player, his playing being distinguished by the precision of his bowing, his technical skill, and his sweetness of tone. Eventually he decided to enter the service of Khan Ahmād *Gīlānī*, and he died in *Gīlān* while still a young man. *Ostād Sāhsavār Čahār-tārī* played the four-stringed guitar (*tonbūr*). His playing was technically excellent, but lacked sweetness and character.

Ostād Šamsī Ŝeypūrgū'ī was a master musician who was also a composer. He served at court during the time of Sultan *Ḩamza Mirzā* and continued in favor after the accession of Shah 'Abbas I. *Ostād Ma'sūm Kamānčā'ī*, his brother, was an unrivaled performer on the *qačak* (a type of ten-stringed violin). In the *Varāmīn* district, a group of talented brothers became accomplished players, and the quality of musical entertainment there reached a high level through their efforts. *Ostād Sultan Maḥmūd Tonbūra'ī* was a skilled performer on the *tonbūr*. He remained at Mašhad in the service of Sultan Ebrahim *Mirzā*, and did not travel elsewhere. *Mirzā Ḥoseyn Tonbūra'ī*

was the champion *tonbür* player in Iraq; Ostad Sultan Mohammad Çangi was a skilled harpist. Skilled musicians existed in other places too, but this brief list is sufficient.

Of the class of professional storytellers, *Şâh-nâma* reciters, and the like, there was a considerable number, but I will just mention two or three: Mowlânâ Heydar Qeşşa-kân (the storyteller), who was unequaled in his art; Mowlânâ Mohammad Kûrşîd Eşfahânî, also a good storyteller but not better than Mowlânâ Heydar; Mowlânâ Fathî, the brother of the preceding, unrivaled *Shâh-nâma* reciter whose peerless voice carried—without exaggeration—for several miles, without any loss of quality.

Martyrdom of Prince Sultan Ḥeydar Mīrzā and the Accession of Esma'il Mīrzā as Shah Esma'il II

As I have previously stated, on the night of Shah Tahmasp's death Sultan Ḥeydar Mīrzā, who was the heir-apparent and the aspirant to the throne, remained in the palace at the wish of his father, or on the advice of his mother, or of his own free will. By remaining in the palace, he thought, he would be closer to the attainment of his objective, but through an evil destiny, he not only failed in his purpose but lost his life in the attempt.

To begin with, on the advice of foolish women he dismissed his supporters and retainers and sent them outside the palace, while he himself remained within. The second factor in the tragedy was that, by a coincidence, the guard that night was composed of supporters of Esma'il Mīrzā. Ḥeydar Mīrzā was unaware of the fact that the guard consisted of his enemies, who would in all probability bar the doors of the palace and prevent any of his own supporters from entering. By remaining inside the palace, he had made himself the prisoner of his opponents. A third factor was that Pari Khan Kānom, who was an extremely clever woman, was hostile to him and a member of the pro-Esma'il faction. On this fatal night, Pari Kānom was actually held prisoner by Ḥeydar Mīrzā, but by dint of a little flattery she managed to gull him.

It happened this way. On the night in question, Pari Khan Kānom, who was in the harem, realized she was a virtual prisoner of Ḥeydar Mīrzā. She decided that her only course lay in being tractable and submissive. Approaching Ḥeydar Mīrzā with an air of helplessness and perturbation, she said: "Women are foolish creatures. If, in my stupidity and short-sightedness, I have been guilty of any misdemeanor, I beg you to pardon me and spare my life. In that event, I will follow the path of obedience to you, and will not deviate by so much as a hair's breadth from the course of conduct which is pleasing to Your Royal Highness." Then she kissed her brother's feet and, turning to the prince's mother, said: "Be my witness that no one has taken precedence over me in the formal act of kissing the king's feet and congratulating him on his accession." The prince, being extremely ingenuous, was deceived by this flattery. Looking fondly at his sister, he said, "I have always loved you. Make your brother, Sultan Soleyman Mīrzā, and your mother's brother, Šamkāl Sultan, my allies, and

I shall hold you even dearer than I did during our father's lifetime." The princess made her brother swear to this, and Ḥeydar Mīrzā produced a copy of the Koran and swore a solemn oath on it. Parī Khan Kānom then requested permission to leave the palace so that she might go and bring her brother and uncle to Ḥeydar Mīrzā. The latter let her go, and she slipped out of the palace by a path which led from the harem garden to the Meydān-e Asp.

When she reached her house, Parī Khan Kānom summoned her uncle, Šamkāl Sultan, and gave him the keys of the palace. With three hundred Circassians, all enemies of Ḥeydar Mīrzā, he made himself master of the harem. Other enemies of Ḥeydar then entered the harem garden by this route, and Ḥeydar Mīrzā was slain, as will be related. Parī Khan Kānom, who had betrayed her simple-minded brother, did not live long to enjoy the fruits of her crime, as will be described in its proper place.

The next day, Ḥeydar Mīrzā placed the royal crown on his head, buckled on Shah Tahmasp's personal sword, and produced the late Shah's will. This will, he claimed, was in the late Shah's own handwriting from beginning to end; in it he was named heir-apparent, and all the royal princes, emirs, Sufis and supporters of the Safavid house were enjoined to tender their allegiance to him. Then, putting the letter in a fold in his turban, he went to the Čehel Sotūn hall. His enemies muttered that the will was not in Tahmasp's handwriting, but in that of one of the women of the harem whose hand resembled Tahmasp's. The document, they alleged, had been written after Tahmasp's death, and his signet ring removed from his finger and the will sealed with it. God alone knows the truth!

Heydar then spoke warmly to the centurions, *qūrčīs*, *eštīk-āqāsīs*, guards, and other officers who were assembled in the hall, distributed gifts among them, and uttered fair promises. Several times he gave the order that the main gates of the palace should be opened so that his retainers might enter. But the group which was inside from morning till noon continued to pay its respects to him in the customary manner and kept on postponing the opening of the gates, soothing him with evasive replies. It is reliably related on the authority of Valī Beg, centurion of the harem and a relative of Qolī Beg Afšār, the governor of Kerman, that Heydar summoned him and promised him the governorship of Kerman and the office of *qūrčībāst* if he would take up his station with the *qūrčīs* who were guarding the main

gates, open them, and admit the Shah's personal retainers. According to the account of Valî Beg, he made his way to the gates and then came back and reported without equivocation to Heydar Mirzâ that the *qûrcîs* were behaving mutinously.

The *qûrcîs* were saying, he reported, that the Shah was dead, and that the *qezelbaş* tribes had split into two factions. "We say," said the *qûrcîs*, "a plague on both your factions. We are concerned only to guard the palace, and to protect the harem and the honor of the Shah. Until the emirs and the principal officers of state of both factions are able to reach agreement, until this vital question is solved to the satisfaction of the statesmen and elders of both parties, and until we loyal servants of the dynasty, who have no other thought but to protect the rights of the heir-apparent, are quite satisfied that the danger of treachery and a *coup d'état* is passed, we will allow no one to enter or leave the palace." Heydar Mirzâ, realizing that the *qûrcîs* were up to some mischief, put his hand on his sword hilt and said, "I am sure I am going to be killed." His mother, who was watching him from behind a curtain, shrieked and prevented him from drawing his sword, and he turned and went into the harem. For the rest of the day, Heydar Mirzâ was in a highly nervous state, and kept emerging from and returning to the harem. He knew that he was the prisoner of his enemies, and that his own allies and supporters were unable to enter.

The bulk of the emirs and principal officers of state had heard the news of Shah Tahmasp's death shortly before daybreak. Emir Aşlân Khan Afşâr, together with Sultan Ahmed Mirzâ, went to the house of Hoseynqoli Kolafâ and brought there Sultan Mahmûd Mirzâ, who was staying with the parents of Aras Khan Rümlü. All the pro-Esma'il faction assembled there. The Şeykâvand tribe, the Ostâjlû, the Georgians, and the rest of the supporters of Sultan Heydar gathered at the house of Hoseyn Beg yüzbâşı (the centurion). Their leaders were Ma'sûm Khan Şafavî, Hamza Sultan Taleş, Seyyed Beg Kamûna, Ali Khan Beg Gorji, and Allahqoli Khan Enjik-oglû Ostâjlû. They pledged themselves to the service of Sultan Moştafa Mirzâ, and were joined there by Sultan Ebrâhim Mirzâ, the son of Bahram Mirzâ. A number of the leading *qezelbaş* emirs, such as Heydar Sultan Çabûq Torkmân, Qoli Beg Afşâr (the governor of Kerman), Mohammad-qoli Kalifa Zu'l-Qadar (keeper of the seal), and Mirzâ Ali Sultan Qajâr, kept to their houses the whole day and joined neither faction.

The supporters of Heydar were confident of their strength and

scornful of the opposition. Their plan was to mass in front of the palace gates, storm the palace, and place Heydar on the throne. Their minds were easy in regard to Esma'il Mirzā, who was still imprisoned at Qahqaha, because the commandant of the fortress, Kalifa Anṣār Qarādāğlū, was one of their number. He had agreed to carry out whatever orders should be issued about Esma'il Mirzā after the enthronement of Heydar Mirzā. Some of the wiser heads among them pointed out that, since the *qūrcīs* on guard duty had barred the palace gates and shown signs of hostility toward Heydar Mirzā, fighting might break out when Heydar's supporters forced their way into the palace, and their enemies inside the palace might be compelled to take some action against Heydar's person.

Every few minutes Heydar's supporters changed their minds and produced some new plan. In the end, they agreed to do nothing until evening, when the guard would be changed. Then, on the pretext that it was the turn of the *Ostājlüs*, they would go on guard duty in the usual way. One of Heydar's supporters, Allāhqolī Sultan Enjik-oğlū, said: "To parade fully armed before the royal palace is incompatible with Sufi conduct and with true devotion to the Safavid house; moreover, we will not attain our object in this manner. The group which has gathered at the house of Kolafā is not yet very large. Let us first march against him, deal with him as we will, and scatter his followers. When their dispersal becomes general knowledge, those within the palace will open the gates without delay and will join Heydar."

Indeed, this was the most sensible plan. But Heydar's supporters were blinded by their arrogance, and each of them wanted the earth. Hoseynqolī Kolafā, on the other hand, an intelligent man who had seen the world, was extremely anxious about the turn of events. He feared that Heydar's supporters might attack him, and he kept thinking of ways to delay them. First of all, he sent Büdaq Rümlü and Şahqolī Sultan Tabat-oğlū Zu'l-Qadar, both experienced officers, to Sultan Moṣṭafā Mirzā, Hoseyn Beg, and their followers on behalf of Sultan Mahmūd Mirzā and his followers. He suggested they should put their heads together and try to avoid conflict; the gist of the message was that they should heal the division between them and work in harmony together. First of all, he said, they should all don mourning for the late Shah, and see that he received a fitting burial. After that, the elders should sit down together and discuss the rights and wrongs of the matter and the wishes of both parties, bearing in mind the best

interests of religion and the state. They should choose as king whichever of the two princes would, in their judgment, best uphold religion and the state. Although Ḥoseynqolī Kolafā knew that there was no point to such a meeting, his object was to gain time. Heydar's supporters sent back uncompromising replies, and some time was spent in negotiations.

Ḥoseynqolī Kolafā's second delaying tactic was to send a courier to a point about one *farsak* (6 km) from Qazvin, with orders to gallop into the city and spread the news that Esma'il Mîrzâ had arrived. Early in the forenoon, the courier galloped into the city, his horse all in a lather, shouting 'Esma'il Mîrzâ's here!' It was rumored that twelve days before his death, Shah Tahmasp had secretly sent a courier to summon Esma'il Mîrzâ with all urgency, and now here he was. The populace of Qazvin, which supported Esma'il Mîrzâ, rose excitedly and made their way toward Ḥoseyn Kolafā's house, and a large crowd gathered there. This disconcerted Heydar's supporters and dissuaded them from taking any action before evening.

Toward the end of the day they received reports that the whole thing was a hoax devised by Ḥoseyn Kolafā, but by that time the false rumor had had a tremendous effect, and people began to think less of the pro-Heydar faction's chances. One important result was that some of the uncommitted emirs, men like Moḥammadqolī Kalîfa *mohrdâr* (keeper of the seal) and Heydar Sultan Čâbûq Torkmân, now went to Kolafā's house and threw in their lot with Esma'il's supporters.

In the evening, Ḥoseyn Beg and his followers decided to put into effect their plan to go to the palace and replace the guards with their own men, and they marched out with Sultan Moṣṭafâ Mîrzâ. While all the troops were mounting, however, Sultan Ebrâhîm Mîrzâ took advantage of the confusion to slip away to his own residence, which was nearby; his example was followed by Allâhqolī Sultan Enjîk-oğlû, who retired because he disapproved of this action.

Ḥoseyn Beg followed the usual route to the palace, along the main road. When he neared the district where Kalîfa *mohrdâr* and Qolî Beg Afsâr resided, he found that their troops had barricaded the street. As his men approached, they opened fire on them from the rooftops. Ḥoseyn Beg retreated and took another route which led him behind the royal treasury. The clerks ('azabs)¹ of the royal treasury,

¹See *TM*, p. 144.

thinking that Ḥoseyn Beg's men were making for the treasury, also opened fire on them. Ḥoseyn Beg shouted, "We have no quarrel with anyone; we are going to mount guard. What do you think you are doing?" The treasury clerks ceased firing, and Ḥoseyn Beg's men proceeded to the palace, where they found the gates locked. They pounded on the doors, but no one opened them.

At this point, they received news that Kolafā and his followers had marched to the Meydān-e Asp, which is adjacent to the harem garden. Heydar's supporters, terrified that Kolafā's men might get to the harem garden first by that route and that some harm might befall the prince, smashed the palace gates with battle axes and poured into the palace. Heydar was in the harem, with the doors barred. His supporters rushed in all directions, but could not find a way in. Finally they got in via the kitchen, and they stormed on, smashing down every door they came to, until they reached the residential part of the harem. As they went, they shouted "Shah Heydar!"

Meanwhile, on the other side, Kolafā's men had reached the gate of the harem garden, which Šamkāl Sultan unlocked for them. The men, most of them mounted, poured into the garden, and they too began to search for the prince. When Sultan Heydar saw his enemies pouring in, he realized that the barricaded doors and posterns were an obstacle to his escape rather than a protection. He went back into the women's quarters and sat down by his mother, thinking that the *qezelbāş* would respect the sanctity of the harem and that he would be safe there for a few minutes until his supporters could reach him. What he did not realize was that the group of men who had dared to ride into the harem garden, a place particularly sacred to those loyal to the Safavid house, would not be stopped by any consideration of the niceties of etiquette. Kolafā's men came on, showing no respect for their surroundings, and entered the women's quarters, searching for the prince. Heydar saw his only chance was to don women's clothing and leave the building with the women of the harem and the maid-servants.

One of the *eşik-āqāsīs* of the harem, 'Alı Beg Šamlū, recognized him and pointed him out to his pursuers, saying "There's your man!" Jamšid Beg Čerkes, a *golām* of Sultan Soleyman Mirzā, and Vali Khan Beg Rümlü the centurion seized Heydar and dragged him outside. Kolafā and Šamkāl Sultan, declaring that it was lawful to kill him, fell on the prince and slew him with their battle axes, swords, and

daggers—heedless of the wrath of God. They severed his head from his body with a dagger and, as Ali Khan Beg Gorji, the prince's maternal uncle, with Zal Beg Gorji and a number of other loyal supporters of the prince, reached the door of the harem, Kolafa's men threw the prince's head down from the roof of the portico and shouted, "There's your king!"

All the ardor went out of Heydar's supporters. Although they had with them another prince, the twenty-year-old Sultan Moṣṭafā Mirzā, who was capable of ruling and whom they might have been able to place on the throne, they were thrown into black despair by the death of Heydar and had no thought but to get out of the city. They left the palace in a body and rode outside the city, intending to hold a council in the saddle and decide what to do.

Since fate was completing its preparations for the accession of Shah Abbas I, the plans of the leaders of both factions turned out to be right or wrong depending on whether they contributed to the attainment of this ultimate objective or not. Moreover, since divine providence had decreed that Esma'il Mirzā should hold power for a short while and rule the state, naturally all the plans made by the former supporters of Heydar proved to be wrongly conceived.

After the latter left the palace, some two-thirds of the troops, and all those who had no regular military affiliation and were subject to no particular discipline, retired to their homes. Sultan Moṣṭafā Mirzā and Hoseyn Beg were forced to flee because so few men remained with them. When day broke, even those few who were left were fearful and suspicious of one another. Some of the Ostajlūs had deserted and gone to join Piri Beg Qūčilū, a former Heydar supporter, at Varāmīn. Sultan Moṣṭafā Mirzā wanted to join the Bayāt tribesmen, who were his supporters and comprised about ten thousand households living in the Kazzāz and Karahrūd area. Hoseyn Beg accompanied the prince for two or three marches, but fearing some treachery on the part of the Bayāts, decided to visit Moḥammad Tar-kā, the governor of half of Lorestan-e Feyli,² who was a friend of his. He left his two brothers with the prince.

Once he had left the prince, Hoseyn Beg gave his clothes to a shepherd, and dressed himself in shepherds' garb; then he set off on foot to Lorestan. But since he was an affluent man, of good family and

²See TM, p. 172.

proud of it, he could not endure hunger and traveling on foot, and he longed to see some sign of civilization. Some passing nomads peered closely at his aristocratic features and realized he was a fugitive from the fighting at Qazvin. Finally, a certain Kaja Farrok, a retainer of Hājjī Veys Beg Bayāt, recognized him and took him into custody. On the day that Esma'il Mīrzā entered Qazvin, he took his prisoner to that city.

As for Sultan Moṣṭafā, when he reached the Bayāt tribe he was received by Hājjī Veys Sultan Bayāt, but with no marked enthusiasm. The Bayāt chief observed the proprieties in his conduct toward the prince, but gave secret orders for him to be watched. At the same time, he sent a courier to Qazvin to notify Kolafā and the pro-Esma'il faction that he had Sultan Moṣṭafā Mīrzā in custody and would bring him to Qazvin as soon as he heard that Esma'il Mīrzā had reached the city from the fortress of Qahqaha. The remaining fortunes of Sultan Moṣṭafā Mīrzā, Ḥoseyn Beg, and the other former supporters of Heydar Mīrzā will be related in the section on the history of the reign of Shah Esma'il II.

Kolafā and the supporters of Esma'il Mīrzā, after the murder of Sultan Heydar Mīrzā and the dispersal of his followers, left a detachment on guard at the palace and retired to their homes. That night, men of all classes mounted their horses and rode off to Qahqaha; there were even some Ostājlūs among them, on their way to offer their allegiance to Esma'il Mīrzā.

The following morning, all the emirs and princes assembled at the royal palace. Sultan Ebrahim Mīrzā, declaring that his sole object in joining Heydar's supporters had been to admonish them and try to prevent them from taking up arms, and that he had stayed behind when they marched on the palace, now proclaimed himself to be a supporter of Esma'il. He came to the palace, where he was greeted with due respect by the emirs. Allāhqolī Enjik-oğlū, who had similarly left the cavalcade when the men mounted and was relying on this to save him, entered the palace with 'Alī Khan Beg, the son of Pīra Mohammad Khan, and a group of emirs' sons from the Ostājlū tribe, and sat in the circle of the emirs. But people ignored him. Zāl Beg the Georgian, Ḥamza Beg Tāleš, and a number of other supporters of Sultan Heydar, some of whom were wounded and some of whom had disobeyed Ḥoseyn Beg Kolafā and had not gone to the palace, were arrested in their houses, taken to the palace, and executed.

Hakim Abū Naṣr, the son of Ṣadr al-Šarīfa-ye Gilānī, who had been one of Shah Tahmasp's private physicians and a supporter of Sultan Ḥeydar, had remained at court with the prince after the Shah's death. During the assault on the palace, looking in vain for a way of escape, he had hidden himself in one of the palace buildings, behind a stove. The *qūrcīs* of the cistern house (*howzkhāna*), at the instigation of some enemies of the physician, accused him of treachery while the Shah was under his care. They alleged that the physician, on instructions from Ḥeydar Mīrzā, had mixed some deadly poison in the Shah's depilatory, with the result that surgery had been necessary. They dragged him out of his hiding place and cut him to pieces on the spot. Ṣadr al-Dīn Khan Šeykāvand, the guardian of prince Ḥeydar, was placed in chains to await the Shah's pleasure.

In this interregnum, before the arrival of Esma'il Mīrzā from Qahqaha, it was Pari Khan Kānom who gave the orders. Among the emirs, Hoseynqolī Kolafā suffered from an inflated ego by virtue of having pulled off a coup of such magnitude, and all the emirs and royal princes obeyed his orders. On the advice of Pari Khan Kānom, Heydar Sultan Čābūq Torkmān was sent to Qahqaha to fetch Esma'il Mīrzā. The '*olamā* and shaikhs then assembled for the funeral rites. The body of Sultan Ḥeydar Mīrzā was ritually washed for burial. The body of Shah Tahmasp was placed in a coffin inscribed with the words, "May the Ever-living God have mercy on him!" The coffin was placed in the gabled building in the palace to await the Shah's orders; the account of its removal to Mašhad for burial will be given in the chapter on Shah Esma'il II. The body of Sultan Ḥeydar Mīrzā was taken to the shrine of the Imamzāda Hoseyn and buried there.

During the interregnum, which lasted from the death of Shah Tahmasp, which occurred on Tuesday, 15 Ṣafar 984/14 May 1576, until Friday of the following week, that is to say, for a period of ten days, the city was in turmoil. The terror of judgment day afflicted the populace, as the riffraff and unruly elements of various districts of the city turned to rioting. Anyone who had an old score to pay off went out and murdered his enemy, calling his action "killing government informers." No one dared to stir from his house for fear of suffering injury at the hands of undisciplined *qezelbaş* or others, and everyone who could hired armed men to protect himself.

On Friday, 24 Ṣafar 984/23 May 1576, heralds, at the orders of Mirzā 'Alī Sultan Qajār, proclaimed in all quarters of the city that

the barricades should be removed, and that henceforth any citizen who molested another would be put to death. The bazaar was re-opened, and trade began again. The populace was urged to go to the Masjed-e Jame'. When all the royal princes and emirs had assembled there, the *koṭba* was recited in the name of Esma'il Mirzā. The *kaṭib* first recited an obituary ode on Shah Tahmasp. When he came to the hemistich "The city is full of sorrow and woe; O where is our king?" cries and lamentation rose on all sides. Until the arrival of the new Shah, all the emirs waited daily upon Ḥoseynqoli Kolafā, and then proceeded with him to the residence of Parī Khan Kānom, where they brought to her notice pressing administrative and financial problems. Not one of them dared to contravene her orders.

At this juncture, Sūlag Ḥoseyn and Ordūgdi Kalifa, who had been in Gilān, at Samām and Eškavar and Sīmgar, arrived at Qazvin. These Takkalū troublemakers intended to revive the long-standing feud between the Takkalūs and Ostājlūs, and to take this opportunity³ of getting revenge on the Ostājlūs for what they had suffered at their hands during the reign of Shah Tahmasp. One matter that rankled particularly was the dismissal and disgrace, as a result of Ostājlū intrigue, of Qarā Khan, the son of Mohammad Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oglū, who was governor of Herat. Since a number of Ostājlū emirs, including Allāhqoli Sultan Enjīk-oglū, and a large number of the sons of Ostājlū emirs were then in Qazvin, the Takkalū emirs determined to kill them. Ḥoseynqoli Kalifa gave them their head and took no steps to prevent them, because it had been reported to him that Allāhqoli Sultan, on the day the Ostājlūs marched against the royal palace, had expressed the opinion that the best plan would be to march first to Ḥoseynqoli Kalifa's house. In fact, Ḥoseynqoli had once alluded to this in conversation with Allāhqoli Sultan, saying, "If Heydar's supporters had followed your advice, they would have succeeded in their purpose!"

The Takkalū emirs, having made inquiries and discovered that Ḥoseynqoli would not interfere, mounted and rode in a body to the house of Allāhqoli Sultan. The latter, forewarned, barricaded the doors of the house and prepared to defend it, but most of his retainers deserted him; only some forty trustworthy men stayed with him. The Takkalūs, who numbered some fifteen hundred men, poured in from all sides and put the Ostājlūs to the sword. Among the slain were Allāhqoli Sultan, several of his sons and other kinfolk, 'Alī Khan

³When the Ostājlūs were in disgrace because of their support of Heydar Mirza.

Beg, the son of Pîra Mohammad Khan, a number of men of the Čauš-lü tribe, and other supporters of the Ostâjlüs—altogether about twenty-four men. The house was looted and its inmates, even the women and children, plundered. This was the signal for the urban riffraff to follow the Takkalû example and plunder houses belonging to former supporters of Heydar, and no one stopped them. In this way, fantastic amounts of personal property and precious items were looted from the houses of Hoseyn Beg *yuzbâšî*, Sadr al-Dîn Khan, Hamza Sultan, and other members of the pro-Heydar faction.

The purge of the Ostâjlüs spread to the provinces too. Emir Khan Mowsellû Torkmân, who was in the Kâr district of Rayy province, conspired with Hoseyn Khan Sultan Kenûslü to slay Pîrî Beg Qûçilü and the Ostâjlüs who were with him at Varâmîn, and they besieged Pîrî Beg's house. Once again most of his supporters defected; only some thirty or forty men of substance remained loyal to him, and fought on as long as they had arrows in their quivers. But the Turkmans and the Kenûslüs, who numbered altogether ten thousand men, slew Pîrî Beg and all his men, and scattered their possessions like dust.

The reason for all this lawlessness was that for ten to fifteen days no word came from Qahqaha. The emirs and the people feared that Heydar's former supporters, with the help of Kalifa Ansâr Qarâdaglu, the commandant of the fortress, had harmed Esma'il Mirzâ. Thinking there was no hand at the helm, people threw off all restraint in their behavior. Finally, word came that Esma'il Mirzâ had left the fortress. Parî Khan Kânom ordered the Takkalûs to go out and welcome the new Shah; and as soon as they had left the city, law and order was restored. After the Takkalûs had gone, Sultan Ebrahim Mirzâ, who held the office of *eşik-aqasibâšî*, together with Mirzâ Salmân,⁴ who was the keeper of the royal regalia, including the golden parasol, and supervisor of the royal workshops, went to meet Shah Esma'il II on the plain on Zenjân.

⁴For the career of this powerful official, see R. M. Savory, "The Significance of the Political Murder of Mirzâ Salman," *Islamic Studies, Journal of the Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi*, III/2, 1964, pp. 181-191.

The Accession of Shah Esma'il II and Events During His Reign

As already recorded, Esma'il Mīrzā, the bravest¹ of the sons of Shah Tahmasp and the brother of Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā, had been guilty of a number of forbidden practices—the sort of behavior that is part of the rashness of youth, such as associating with certain crazy fools among the *qezelbāš*. These practices had not been acceptable to the Shah, who had considered it advisable to send Esma'il Mīrzā away from the court and recall Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā from Herat. Esma'il had been appointed in his place as governor of Khorasan, with Mohammad Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oğlū Takkalū as his guardian. However, Esma'il's behavior in Khorasan had not pleased the Shah either. Tahmasp recalled him and sent Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā back to Herat. Esma'il Mīrzā was not even granted an audience with the Shah, but was met by Sevendük Beg the *qūrčībāšī* who, acting on orders from the Shah, bypassed Qazvin and took Esma'il Mīrzā directly to the fortress-prison of Qahqaha. There he was placed in the charge of the commandant, who was changed every few years.

After Esma'il Mīrzā had been in prison for nineteen years, six months, and twenty-one days, at a time when Kalifa Anṣār Qarādāğlū was commandant and Esma'il's guard had been reduced to no more than eight *qūrčīs*, he received the news of the death of his father, Shah Tahmasp, and the murder of his brother, Sultan Heydar. As it happened, the commandant had gone hunting and was not in the fort when the news arrived. Since Esma'il Mīrzā distrusted Kalifa Anṣār, considering him a supporter of Sultan Heydar, and since he thought it possible that the report of Heydar's death was false, he conspired with the *qūrčīs* to overpower the commandant's retainers, some twenty in number, and to tie them up and hold them prisoner in the fort. He then had the gates of the castle barricaded, so that no one could go in or out, and awaited confirmation of the news from Qazvin.

Meanwhile Kalifa Anṣār, at the hunting grounds, had received a well-corroborated report and was convinced that Sultan Heydar was in fact dead. He returned to the fort and found the gates barred. However much he abased himself and declared his fealty to Esma'il Mīrzā

¹It is not clear what the author means by *arşad*. Clearly it cannot mean "eldest," since Esma'il Mīrzā was the second son of Shah Tahmasp, unless it means "eldest of those fit to reign."

it had no effect. For three days, not one person succeeded in getting into or out of the fort. Finally, a crowd of people from court and from Azerbaijan appeared before the castle and confirmed the news of Sultan Heydar's death. Esma'il then ordered the gates to be opened, and troop after troop of men flocked into the fort and made their obeisance to the new Shah. Among them were some men from the Ostājlū tribe; one of them, who was a close companion of Sultan Heydar, and a few others who were recognized by Esma'il Mirzā, were put to death in the fort. This caused the rest of the Ostājlū emirs to panic; they fled to Ardabil and sought asylum at the shrine of Shaikh Šaffī al-Dīn.

When all the *qezelbāš* had assembled and Heydar Sultan Čabūq had arrived from Qazvin to escort him, Esma'il Mirzā came out of the fortress, at an hour selected by himself, and took up residence in Heydar Sultan's tent. Daily large numbers of men entered his tent, prostrated themselves before him, and kissed his feet. The men of the Qarādāglū tribe planned to put Kalifa Anṣār to death, and the latter presented himself to the Shah and fully acknowledged his guilt. "If the Shah wishes to put me to death," he said, "let him give the sign, so that the servants of the Safavid house may hasten to carry out his order. If the Shah decides to pardon me, it will be such a token of royal favor that it will raise me from my present humiliation and abasement." Esma'il Mirzā replied: "I have vowed that, if I emerge unscathed by the machinations of my enemies and my affairs prosper, I shall not exact vengeance on anyone. You have faithfully performed the services of a servant of the crown, in that you have kept me in close confinement and have ignored my commands and prohibitions, and it is the duty of a good servant not to be deflected from his allotted task by taking the part of even a royal prince like myself." Esma'il Mirzā then gave orders that Kalifa Anṣār should resume his former place in the ranks of the emirs. Kalifa Anṣār was slightly reassured² and the Qarādāglū tribe abandoned its intention of killing him.

After three days, Esma'il Mirzā marched away from the fortress and proceeded by easy stages toward Ardabil, where he visited the sacred enclosure of the Safavid mausoleum. From Ardabil he marched to the meadows of Zenjān, where Sultan Ebrahim Mirzā, Mirzā Salmān the *nāz̄er*, and the majority of the servants of the court had assembled. The tents of the royal complex—the harem pavilion, the audience pavilion, and the tents for the royal workshops—had been

²Personally, I regard Esma'il's remarks as sinister in the extreme!

erected, and Esma'il Mirzā entered the camp with full ceremony, the golden parasol of royalty held high above his head. Sultan Ebrahim Mirzā was received by the new Shah, and the prince congratulated him and offered him felicitations. Esma'il Mirzā embraced him warmly and sought to win his heart; he addressed him as "brother," and made him a favored companion of royal assemblies and a constant confidant.

While the court was still encamped at Zenjān, Pīra Moḥammad Khan Ostājlū arrived from Gilān, bringing Emāmqoli Mirzā. I mentioned previously that Shah Tahmasp, after he had fully recovered from his illness, sent Morād Khan Ostājlū, the leader of the pro-HEYDAR faction, to capture the fortress of Kojür. Morād Khan was still encamped before the walls of this fort when he heard the news of the death of Shah Tahmasp and the murder of Sultan Ḥeydar Mirzā. Morād Khan marched from Kojür to Lahijān, where he joined forces with Pīra Moḥammad Khan Ostājlū. The latter was suspected of being a friend of Esma'il Mirzā because, when Shah Tahmasp sent him and a number of other emirs to Qahqaha to bring back Esma'il Mirzā's coffers and to investigate the charge of misappropriation of funds from the royal treasury, all the Khan's companions, with a view to ingratiating themselves with the Shah, treated the prince with great insolence; but Pīra Moḥammad Khan maintained correct behavior toward him. It was rumored that he had concluded a pact with the prince and had promised him his daughter. As a result, the Sufis and other loyal servants of the Shah had accused him of being a partisan of Esma'il Mirzā.

When Esma'il Mirzā heard of the concentration of Ostājlū forces at Lahijān, although he considered Pīra Moḥammad Khan to be one of his supporters, he was apprehensive that Morād Khan might have diverted him from the path of loyalty. He feared that he might decide to keep his hands on Emāmqoli Mirzā and stay in Gilān, which was a strong and easily defended region, and that the Ostājlū tribe might raise the standard of revolt there. Esma'il therefore sent 'Alī Khan Beg Torkmān, the *dārūga* of the *daftarkāna*,³ to Pīra Moḥammad Khan Ostājlū to tell him that the pact between them was still in force on the same terms they had agreed to at Qahqaha. As far as the Ostājlū tribe as a whole was concerned, any submission he might care to make stood a reasonable chance of success. Morād Khan, however,

³See *TM*, pp. 71-72. The *dārūga* was an official of the royal secretariat, called by Chardin *prévôt de la chambre* (*TM*, p. 198).

who had caused division and discord among the *qezelbaš*, he could not pardon. Pīra Moḥammad Khan was bidden to pluck out Morād Khan's eyes and then to present himself at court with Emāmqoli Mirzā.

After 'Alī Khan Beg reached Gilān, Pīra Mohammad Khan hastened to carry out Esma'il's orders. He arrived at Zenjān with Emāmqoli Mirzā, as stated above, and was received with great favor by the Shah. Esma'il Mirzā greeted Emāmqoli Mirzā as "my son," and embraced him warmly. The Shah then proceeded to the capital, Qazvin, which he reached on Thursday, 17 Rabī' I, 984/13 June 1576.⁴ The royal princes, together with Ḥoseynqoli Kolafā and other great emirs who were in the city, paid their respects to him. The Shah did not enter the city at once, but camped on the northern side of it, since he was awaiting a propitious hour for his entry. While he was there, Ḥoseyn Beg was brought in, disguised in a shepherd's felt cloak and hat so that no one should recognize him. But he was recognized, and the populace began to revile him and to brandish knives, daggers and swords at him; they were prevented by the guards from harming him. When he entered the presence of Esma'il, he looked around at those in attendance and said, "Glory be to God! I am the only guilty one here!" Esma'il Mirzā replied, "There were others who were more zealous in the cause of Sultan Heydar than you, but all their hopes were smashed because of you." Ḥoseyn Beg retorted, "O king! the whole world supported Sultan Heydar! Yet in the end, your affairs prospered, and Almighty God acted as He thought fit. If you now are of a mind to exact vengeance, you will have to slay the whole world!"

Esma'il Mirzā acknowledged the truth of his remarks, and this preliminary exchange led him to delay Ḥoseyn Beg's execution. He sent him off to the audience hall, entrusting him to the care of the royal guards on duty there. Those who were present in the audience hall, especially Ḥoseyn Kolafā, who had demanded the extreme penalty for Ḥoseyn Beg, now held their peace.

The following day, Shah Esma'il II visited the Bāg-e Sa'ādatābad, a beautiful garden which was the creation of Shah Tahmasp. Still observing the hour his astrologers had indicated, however, he did not enter the royal palace, but took up residence for a few days in the house of Ḥoseyn Kolafā, which had been made available to him. There, Hajji Veys Sultan Bayat brought before him Sultan Moṣṭafā Mirzā.

⁴I.e., one month after the death of Shah Tahmasp.

Esma'il Mīrzā embraced him and bade him take his place among his brothers. Sultan Moṣṭafā Mīrzā did so, but not one of his brothers had the courtesy to greet him; he took his place below Sultan Soleyman Mīrzā, who was a year older than he, and saluted his brothers in turn. Esma'il Mīrzā then offered some words of advice to his brothers, speaking to them in kindly fashion: "If you treat me lovingly and justly, I shall, God willing, treat you in a way in which no other king has treated his brothers." But in his heart he planned only to eliminate them, and in the end he carried out what was hidden in his heart, as will be related at the proper place.

Hoseyn Beg's brothers, Fathollāh Beg, Šāhqolī Beg, Nader Ālī Beg, and Šāhverdī Beg, were brought in and handed over to Morād Khan Kangarlū, who was enrolled among the Ostājlū emirs.⁵ He, to show how reliable he was, at once put all four to death in Kolafā's house. (It had been stipulated that each should be entrusted for safekeeping to a tribe other than his own, because anyone who was handed over to the men of his own tribe was at once put to death.)

For fourteen days, Esma'il Mīrzā remained in Kolafā's house. During this period, the majority of the emirs continued their usual practice of calling at the house of Parī Khan Kānom, thinking in this way to improve their standing in the eyes of the Shah and to assure him of their trustworthiness. Parī Khan Kānom's stewards began to act with greater pomp and circumstance than during the reign of Shah Tahmasp, and her doorkeepers, chamberlains, and other retainers instituted ceremonies more appropriate to the court of a king. Parī Khan Kānom confidently expected that, since Shah Esma'il II owed his throne to her, and since she had also been his supporter during the reign of Shah Tahmasp, she would have greater influence in matters of state than Tahmasp's sister, Šāhzāda Solṭānom. But fate decreed otherwise. Shah Esma'il began dropping hints to the emirs about their practice of dancing attendance on Parī Khan Kānom, and on one occasion he came out openly and said: "Have you not understood, my friends, that interference in matters of state by women is demeaning to the king's honor, and that for men to associate with the women of the Safavid royal house is an abominable crime?" The emirs soon understood the message, and stopped going to Parī Khan Kānom.

Meanwhile, the Shah had turned against Kolafā, and determined to smash him. The apparent reason for this—at least the one which com-

⁵The Kangarlūs were a clan of the Ostājlū tribe.

mends itself most to reason—was that Kolafā had got altogether too big for his boots, and had begun to act like a king. Moreover, Shah Esma'il was under a great obligation to him, and kings hate to be placed in this situation; they usually do not allow anyone to survive who does not owe his existence to them. Another reason, which only came to light later, had its origin in events following the murder of Sultan Ḥeydar Mīrzā. A few days after this, when still no word had come from the fortress of Qahqaha, the people of Qazvin became perturbed, and Kolafā inquired what they were worried about. Sultan Mahmūd Mīrzā, who was also a son of the late Shah Tahmasp, and who was a young man of ability, capable of being king, had informed Pari Khan Kānom that most people thought the pro-Ḥeydar faction had done away with Esma'il Mīrzā at Qahqaha as soon as the news of Shah Tahmasp's death had reached that prison. If this was so, they wished to make Sultan Mahmūd Mīrzā king. At this juncture, however, the news reached Qazvin that Esma'il Mīrzā was alive and well. During the period that Shah Esma'il resided at Kolafā's house, the enemies of the latter seized their opportunity to relate all these events to him and to poison his mind against Kolafā.

But no! I am mistaken; neither of the reasons mentioned above is the real one. Rather, God (may He be glorified and exalted), who is the true Avenger, in conformity with the saying, "If any man help a tyrant, God has already placed that man in the tyrant's hands," turned the Shah against Kolafā. Fate demanded revenge for the blood of the murdered Sultan Ḥeydar Mīrzā, and would no longer allow the tyrant Kolafā to remain in power. Within a short time, all those who had had a hand in the murder of Sultan Ḥeydar were struck down by some calamity.

In short, Shah Esma'il had lost confidence in Kolafā, and he enjoined him to assume the office of *vakīl* and the position of deputy (*nāyeb*) to himself.⁶ Esma'il's purpose was this: Since the Sufis considered Kolafā their *kalīfa* and the deputy (*nāyeb*) of their *morṣed-e kāmel*, and considered his orders second in importance only to those of their *morṣed* (i.e., the Shah); and since at that time there were about ten thousand Sufis at Qazvin, subject heart and soul to the orders of Kolafā, who had acquired all this power and position with their help, the Shah wished to test his loyalty. He therefore said to

⁶For a discussion of this incident, see my article, "The Office of Khalīfat al-Khulafā under the Ṣafawids," *JAO*S, 85/4, 1965, pp. 499ff. I have corrected here a serious error contained in that article.

him: "Your power has exceeded that appropriate to the rank of *kolafā*. You must assume the office of *vakil-e dīvān-e 'alī*." *Kolafā* replied: "I will not surrender the position of *kalifat al-kolafā*. If the office of *vakil* be added to that, well and good; but if not, I will not be satisfied with the office of *vakil* alone." He said this because he considered his power to be greater than that of a *vakil*.

The Shah showed his annoyance at these words and took exception to them. He addressed the Rümlü emirs and said: "In Sufi practice, and according to the rules of conduct drawn up by the Safavid shaikhs, what is the penalty for any Sufi or postulant who transgresses the limits of the words and directions of the *moršed-e kāmel*?" They replied: "Whoever opposes or disobeys the will of the *moršed-e kāmel* is guilty of error and is to be rejected." The Shah asked: "Then why does *Kolafā* reject my words?"

This was reported to *Kolafā*. In the morning, he came to pay his respects to the Shah and to report certain matters to him. When he reached the gatehouse, the *eşik-āqâsîs* and *häjeb*s, on instructions from the Shah, blocked his path, saying: 'Although this is your house, it is also the residence of the Shah. As long as it is the place where the Shah resides, it is also the royal lodging of the *qezelbâš*. You are guilty of error and of shortcomings in your service to the Shah, who is our *moršed*. Until the *moršed-e kāmel* overlooks your sin, you are not allowed, according to Sufi conduct and practice, to enter the court. Sit opposite the entrance, until the *moršed-e kāmel* comes to see you at his convenience.'

Kolafā, confronted by an order he had never conceived of or expected, was overcome by consternation. He sat in the gatehouse, like a malefactor, until midday. Early in the day, a large number of Rümlüs and others expressed their sympathy for him. Eventually, the Shah sent a man out to tell *Kolafā* to return to his own house; the Shah would say in person what he wanted to say to him. *Kolafā* was greatly reassured by this statement, and everyone thought that the Shah would go to his house and seek to conciliate him. But *Kolafā* sat at home, ignored, for two days, and there was no sign of the promised visit from the Shah. The Rümlü emirs continued to befriend him in the usual way.

On the third day, Delî (Mad) Bodâq, a Rümlü emir of integrity and sincere faith, was summoned by the Shah, who asked him how

Kolafā was feeling. He replied: "He is full of remorse and regrets his disobedience to the royal order, and he will thankfully accept and discharge any duty the Shah may bid him to do, even if it be the duty of keeper of the royal kennels." The Shah said: "If he is sincere and obedient to my command, in return for his services to the crown I will appoint him to a post that will exalt his position both in this world and the next. We hereby appoint him commander of the *qūrčīs* at Mašhad, in order that, being in the service of the holy shrine of the Imam 'Alī al-Reżā, he may acquire credit in this world in Khorasan, and obtain his reward also in the next world. You must see that he mounts and sets off immediately."

Deli Büdāq and the Rūmlū emirs, and the other supporters of Kolafā, realized that the Shah had no confidence in him, and that it was impossible for him to remain at court. They further realized that, to a man whose pride and arrogance were such that he would turn down the office of *vakil-e dīvān-e a'la*, the offer of the post of commander of the *qūrčīs* at Mašhad—an office he would consider beneath the dignity of the humblest of his retainers—was a clear indication of royal anger and disfavor. They therefore kept their distance from him. Not one of the Rūmlū tribe, not even one of the servants, went to his house, and he was left aghast at his action. At this point, Deli Büdāq arrived and delivered the royal message. Deli Büdāq did not give Kolafā a chance to speak, but mounted him on his horse, escorted him one *farsak* outside the city, and returned. His arms, equipment, and baggage were loaded at once and sent off. When Kolafā reached Damghan, 'Alī Kalifa Āqča-Qoyūnlū, governor of Damghan, showed him a royal order to the effect that he was to remain there pending the arrival of further orders from the Shah. A few days later, Kür Shah 'Alī Rūmlū reached Damghan, and at the Shah's command, blinded Kolafā. The Shah, after he had expelled Kolafā from Qazvin, left the latter's house and went to the home of Sahqolī Yakān Ostajlū, which was situated between the Meydān-e Asp-e Šāhī and the home of Parī Khan Kānom. There, Parī Khan Kānom and other women of the royal harem were received in audience by the Shah, but Parī Khan Kānom was not honored by the overwhelming display of royal favor she had expected. From there, the Shah proceeded to the royal palace, at an hour chosen by himself.

Shah Esma'il II made considerable changes in the buildings of the palace complex, and ordered the construction of some new buildings. Every day the builders were at work, and during the construction the

Shah lodged at the house of Yakān Shahqolī or at that of Pari Khan Kānom, or in the Bāğ-e Sa'ādatābād. The *qezelbāš* tribes came to court from all parts of the Safavid empire. Qazvin became so crowded that it was difficult to push one's way through the streets and markets. Such vast quantities of gifts reached the capital from emirs, from the rulers of neighboring countries, and from the nobility and populace in general that officials confessed their inability to enumerate them.

When the Shah had determined on the hour of his coronation, he placed a moratorium on all state and royal business, and set the time for the ceremony. The people counted the days in anticipation of this event. The *qezelbāš* tribes were so completely subject to his command that, if they perceived he entertained the slightest suspicion of anyone, that person's relatives would murder him on the pretext that he had belonged to the pro-Heydar faction. In this way, a considerable number of the Ostājlū tribe were put to death. Even men like Sārū Lājīn and Allāhqolī Beg, the brother of Mohammadi Khan Tokmāq who had been sent as an ambassador to Turkey, who were assiduous in their daily attendance on the Shah, were murdered by one of their cousins, Abū Torāb Beg the son of Eyğüt Mīrzā. The latter, with a group of his retainers, lay in ambush for these two emirs' sons in an alley, and as they were making their way home after leaving the royal palace, cut them down.

When acts of this sort were perpetrated at court, without any inquiry being instituted, men became more bold, and these odious practices spread to the provinces. Wherever anyone was in a position to murder a member of the Ostājlū tribe, he rushed off and killed him without delay. Among those murdered in this way was Šāhqolī Sultan Yakān, the governor-general of Herat and the guardian of the prince 'Abbas (the future Shah 'Abbas I). After the death of Shah Tahmasp, Šāhqolī Yakān had summoned all the emirs of the regions near Herat with a view to making plans for the defense of the frontier. These emirs had worked on Hoseyn Sultan Afšār, the governor of Farāh, and persuaded him to join a conspiracy against the governor-general. The conspirators gathered outside the Molk gate; the Ostājlū nobles, learning of the plot, assembled in the governor-general's gatehouse, fully armed.

The conspirators sent a message to them saying that the Ostājlū tribe had incurred the royal wrath and forfeited the confidence of the Shah. They (the conspirators) would not leave the city of Herat in

Ostājlū hands; they would allow no interference from Ostājlüs, but would take over the citadel and the defense of the region themselves, and would it hand over to whomever the Shah might appoint. The best course was for the governor-general to leave the city; if he wished to go to court, let him go; otherwise, he should retire from the scene and await orders from the Shah. The Ostājlüs protested that they had been charged by the Shah with the government and security of the province of Khorasan, and until they received an order from the Shah dismissing them from this charge, they would continue to govern. Troublemakers on both sides whipped up the fervor of their respective parties, and there were many inflammatory statements and much saber-rattling.

Although there were some cooler heads in Herat, men like *Mir Hoseyn* the *katib*, who could have extinguished the flames, they made no effort to check the attack on the Ostājlüs, because they knew that the latter were out of favor with the Shah. Šāhqolī Sultan, an intelligent Tork of sound judgment, who did not want to bring the Ostājlüs into still greater disfavor, gave orders that his men should not wear their weapons or make military demonstrations. He himself stopped seeing people, ceased to take any part in the business of government, and waited to see what orders the Shah would issue concerning himself and the government of Herat. The Afšars were not satisfied with this, however, and launched a sudden attack on Šāhqolī Sultan's house. The few Ostājlüs who were in the house put up some resistance, but in vain; the Afšars rushed upon Šāhqolī Sultan with drawn swords and cut him down as he stood there unarmed, trying to prevent his men from offering resistance. The Afšars then plundered his house.

After the murder of their leader, the Ostājlüs fled from Herat, abandoning their possessions. Some took refuge with Šāhqolī Sultan's son, Ebrahim Sultan, who was governor of Sarakhs, and others went to court. The young prince 'Abbas, then six years of age, was thus left without a guardian. The Afšars and other *qezelbāš* who were in Herat paid no attention to him, thinking that if they did they might incur the Shah's displeasure. When the news of the murder of Šāhqolī Sultan reached court, the Shah appointed as governor of Herat and *amīr al-omarā* of Khorasan 'Alī Beg Šāmlū, the son of Sultan *Hoseyn Beg* Šāmlū and the grandson of Dürmiš Khan;⁷ he also raised 'Alī

⁷The famous Šāmlū chief of the time of Shah Esma'il I. He was governor of Herat 1521-24.

Beg to the rank of khan and honored him by a marriage alliance with the Safavid house. The Shah turned a blind eye toward the murder of Šahqolı Sultan and did not order a judicial inquiry. The Ostajlūs who had gone to court fell into even deeper despair; not one of them slept peacefully in their beds at night, and their lives were filled with terror.

At this juncture, Mohammadi Khan Tokmāq, a trusted Ostajlū emir and governor-general of the province of Čokür-e Sa'd, returned from his mission to Turkey. He was received in audience by Shah Esma'il II, but the Shah did not display the degree of warmth toward him which he had expected. On the contrary, the Shah decided to take away his tribal lands in Čokür-e Sa'd and give it to his cousin Abū Torāb Sultan. Šahqolı Sultan Qāranja-oğlu Ostajlū, who had been in Tiflis, also returned to court, but he did not receive any mark of royal favor either. Thus in the eyes of the other *qezelbaš*, the Ostajlū tribe remained in disgrace, and lived from day to day in a state of great anxiety.

Finally, the Ostajlūs got together and decided to proceed in conformity with the rules of Sufi behavior. "Since we have been guilty of shortcomings in our duty toward our spiritual director," they said, "until our spiritual director pardons our sins, we are debarred from our homes, our wives, and our children, and we shall have no peace of mind." All the Ostajlū emirs and centurions gathered in front of the royal palace and camped opposite the audience hall. There, they were joined by Pīra Moḥammad Khan and Moḥammadi Khan Tokmāq, who decided to throw in their lot with the Ostajlūs. Shah Esma'il II, who did not approve of this move, said, "Pīra Moḥammad Khan was never one of this group. Why has he joined them and put himself forward to intercede for their sins?" But Pīra Moḥammad Khan did not waver in his support of his fellow Ostajlūs, who remained camped before the palace gates for about ten days, hoping to hear the good news that their lives had been spared. In the meantime, however, they set up pavilions, filled them with an impressive amount of equipment, and banqueted in royal style every day, eating off silver dishes that aroused the envy of passers-by.

After ten days had elapsed, Shah Esma'il II removed an arrow fired by the Ostajlūs on the night of Ḥeydar Mīrzā's murder that had imbedded itself in a plane tree opposite the Čehel Sotūn hall, and delivered it to the Ostajlūs by the hand of one of the *moqarrabs*, with

the following message: "You claim to be sincerely devoted to the crown, and to have acted in accordance with the rules of Sufi behavior. In that case, what is this arrow, and who fired it in the direction of the palace of their spiritual director, and toward the corpse of Shah Tahmasp?" The Ostājlüs replied: "From the time of the establishment of the Safavid dynasty, we have served the royal house, generation after generation. We have no other refuge than this court. Some misguided persons among us, incited by others, have strayed from the path of rectitude, and have been guilty of improper behavior. Those who are guilty have already paid for their crimes or will do so. What crime have the rest of us committed? However, we are all guilty and deserve to be punished, and we are grateful for any favors or kindness from the Shah which may fall to our lot while we are carrying out our duties."

At this point, the Shah sent some men out to pull down the tents about their ears, so that the common people might loot their belongings. People rushed in and began to plunder them, and the Ostājlüs, in their humiliation, slipped away quietly so that no one should see them, and reached their own homes. For some days, Pīra Moḥammad Khan remained under a cloud, but finally the Shah summoned him. "Sultan Moṣṭafā and Sultan Soleymān," said the Shah, "are hostile to me—the former because of his friendship with Sultan Heydar, and the latter because his credibility has been destroyed by Parī Khan Kānom and he has not obtained what he expected; I am not safe from either of them" Pīra Moḥammad Khan replied: "Whenever the king's mind is uneasy about either of them, they can be sent to one of the fortress-prisons and spend the rest of their lives there."⁸ Shah Esma'il retorted sarcastically, "Sultan Moṣṭafā was reared among the Ostājlū tribe. I am going to hand him over to you, and Soleymān to Šamkal Čerkes, his maternal uncle. If you wish, you may place them in prison; or, if you like, you may train them and make them king!"

The next day, Hajjī Veys Sultan was ordered to conduct Sultan Moṣṭafā Mīrzā to the house of Pīra Moḥammad Khan, hand him over to the latter, and get a receipt for him! In the same way, Sultan Soleymān Mīrzā was conducted to the house of his maternal uncle. For several days, the Ostājlüs discussed what to do. Although they did not want to sully their hands with the blood of the children of Shah Tahmasp, the wiser heads among the tribe realized that Shah Esma'il would be satisfied with nothing less than the deaths of the

⁸A tactless remark in view of the Shah's own experience!

princes, and that there was no way out of it. In the end, they agreed to put the prince to death. The prince realized what was being planned, and during his stay in Pīra Mohammad Khan's house, was in nightly expectation of being murdered. He spent his time at his prayers and devotions. Finally, a few vile men from the Ostājlū tribe entered his room at night and strangled him. Šamkāl did the same for Sultan Soleymān Mirzā, and both princes were murdered on the same night. Their corpses were taken to the Imamzāda Ḥoseyn, and buried there.

Pīra Mohammad Khan was then reinstated in royal favor, and his daughter, who was betrothed to the Shah, was given a royal wedding feast and conducted to her husband's house. The Shah also asked for the daughters of Šamkāl Sultan Čerkes and Ḥoseyn Khan Sultan Keneslū in marriage, and both women were admitted to the harem on the same night. Once he had become the son-in-law of an Ostājlū emir, Shah Esma'il II showed mercy toward the Ostājlū tribe. He took under his wing Ebrahim Sultan and Moršedqolī Sultan, the sons of Yakān Šahqolī; Ebrahim Sultan was appointed governor of Qazvin, and Moršedqolī Sultan governor of Sīstān. Since the Ostājlūs had now regained their prestige, no one dared to molest them further.

Among the royal princes, Sultan Ebrahim Mirzā was an intimate companion of the Shah and attended his private audiences. The Shah said to him: "During Shah Tahmasp's reign you were treated like one of his sons,⁹ and you served him devotedly. Now to me you are like a brother,¹⁰ and the office of *eşik-āqasibāşı* is not suitable to you." The Shah therefore made Ebrahim *mohrdar* (keeper of the seal) instead, so that he could always keep an eye on him, and the prince had the privilege of conversing with the Shah. The office of *eşik-āqasibāşı* was conferred on Ḥoseynqolī Sultan Šamlū. Mīrzā Šokrollāh Eṣfahāni, who had been comptroller of finance (*mostowfi al-mamālek*) under Shah Tahmasp, was made vizier of the supreme *dīvān*, and Mīr Shah Gāzī, formerly *mostowfi-e baqāyā*, was made comptroller of finance.

As the day selected by Shah Esma'il II for his coronation was still some way off, the Shah took no part in affairs of state. The settlement of the problems and petitions of all those, both Turk and Persian, military and civilians, who had assembled at Qazvin was put off until

⁹Ebrahim was actually Tahmasp's nephew—the son of his brother Bahram Mirzā.

¹⁰He was Shah Esma'il II's cousin.

this appointed day. Meanwhile, skilled craftsmen were hard at work on the construction of the new palace buildings; every group of artisans was under the supervision of a *qezelbāš* officer. The Shah had established himself on the throne so firmly that no neighboring ruler thought of displaying hostility toward him. Even though the frontiers were devoid of emirs, frontier guards, and troops generally, no one dared to set foot on Safavid territory without acknowledging fealty to the crown, or dared to steal even a calf from the realm of the *qezelbāš*. The Shah's power was unquestioned, and his ruthlessness inspired awe.

When the day appointed for Esma'il's coronation drew near, he expressed the wish to hold a wake¹¹ to comfort the spirit of the late Shah Tahmasp, and have his body, which still lay in the palace, borne to the Imamzāda Ḥoseyn shrine, to lie there until it could be transported to Mašhad in the autumn. Tahmasp's arms and personal possessions were taken to the shrine, and numerous tents were pitched there for the wake. Altogether, twelve thousand plates of different kinds of food and sweetmeats were prepared, and the great emirs were charged with the responsibility of providing one thousand plates each. The body of the late Shah was then brought forth from the palace, and the Shah himself, with the assistance of the royal princes, acted as pallbearer. Outside the palace the Shah mounted his horse, but the princes continued to act as pallbearers the whole way to the shrine. The coffin was set down within the shrine, close to the tomb of the Imamzāda, and a cloth was draped over it. The Koran reciters recited the Word of God, from beginning to end, in the prescribed manner. At the conclusion of this ceremony, the guests proceeded to the wake, where twelve thousand plates of food and dessert were distributed, and were enjoyed not only by the poor but by all believers, including both military and civilians.

On the day appointed for the coronation of Esma'il II, Wednesday 27 Jomāda I 984/22 August 1576, a great celebration was organized in the Čehel Sotūn hall. When the emirs, royal princes, and principal officers of state were assembled, Shah Esma'il II entered the hall and took his place in Shah Tahmasp's seat. Then there filed before him, to perform the ceremony of kissing the Shah's feet, the royal princes, followed by the *seyyeds*, '*olamā*, and *mojtaheds*. After them came the Georgian princes: 'Isā Khan, the son of Lavand Khan; Samā'ūn

¹¹Lit.: to distribute *as*—a dish distributed, especially to the poor, on mourning occasions (e.g., Moharram, etc.).

(Simon) the son of Luārsāb, who had been brought from the fortress-prison of Alamūt; and Shah Rostam the Lor. After them came the high-ranking emirs, the *qezelbāš* nobility, the viziers and members of the bureaucracy, men of note from the provinces, ambassadors from the Nezāmshāh and from Ebrahim Khan, the ruler of Lār, and from Mīrzā Khan, the ruler of Māzandarān, and from Seyyed Sah̄ar, the ruler of 'Arabestān, as well as ambassadors from Europe. All the presents and gifts from neighboring rulers which had reached the court from the time Esma'il left the Qahqaha prison until the day of his coronation were brought before him.

However, even after his coronation, the normal business of government continued to be in abeyance, and Shah Esma'il II made no decision on any important matter. The length of time people waited for their business to be attended to exceeded all reasonable limits. In order to pacify hostile critics, the Shah ordered Sultan Ebrahim Mīrzā, together with Mohammadi Khan Tokmāq, Mīrzā 'Ali Qajār, and the vizier Mīrzā Šokrollāh, to take their seats in the court of justice and to give judgment both in individual cases involving financial problems and in matters affecting the welfare of the realm as a whole. Their judgments and mandates were to be embellished with the endorsement "ratified by the supreme *dīvān*," and were to bear the imprint of the *mehr-āsār* seal,¹² which Shah Esma'il had allocated for this purpose, and on which had been engraved the formula "the seal of the supreme *dīvān*." Since the Shah was in the habit of composing poetry, he chose the pen name of 'Ādelī, and at the top of his orders and letters of appointment was the superscription "He is just."

The office of *sadr* was divided on a territorial basis, half the provinces being allocated to Mīrzā Ma'kūm Šarīfī, and half to Shah 'Enāyatollāh Eṣfahānī, the *naqīb*, who had been *qāzī*-*ye mo'askar* during the reign of Shah Tahmasp. They were empowered to make judicial decisions in accordance with the canon law.

For a few months, the court of justice gave rulings on comparatively minor legal and fiscal matters affecting ordinary people in all parts of the Safavid empire, and issued judgments and mandates bearing the imprint of the seal of the supreme *dīvān*. But the Shah took no steps to deal with the major problems relating to the royal household, the appointment of emirs and governors, and the like. The Shah

¹²See *TM*, p. 202. The entire question of the seals used by the Safavid shahs is confused and needs elucidation.

spent most of his time complaining about the inexperience and lack of expertise of the vizier, Mīrzā Šokrollāh, and making the latter the target of criticisms he did not deserve; no one was privy to the Shah's thinking.

At this juncture, news arrived of the death from natural causes of Sultan Ḥoseyn Mīrzā, the son of Bahrām Mīrzā, who had been appointed governor of Kandahar by Shah Tahmasp. Sultan Ebrahim Mīrzā went into mourning for his brother, and the Shah went to his house and offered his condolences. He gave robes of honor to the prince, his wife and daughter, and to Mohammad Ḥoseyn Mīrzā, his son, who was at court, and persuaded them to emerge from mourning. A few days later, however, the Shah completely changed his attitude toward him, and the prince received no more sympathy or attention. On the contrary, the Shah began to criticize him. Gradually the Shah became so ill-disposed toward him and toward the other royal princes that he determined to put them to death—and he put this plan into effect almost immediately.

The Martyrdom of the Royal Princes

Almighty God, the Creator of all created beings, has declared that cutting the bonds of kinship is the depth of depravity, whereas preserving them is a good act. Shah Esma'il II was a hard-hearted man, not possessed of normal feelings of affection toward his family. He never displayed any kindness toward his brothers, cousins, and nephews. On the contrary, he considered them to be a blot on the landscape. As for the formal civilities which he on occasion displayed toward Sultan Ebrahim Mīrzā, it turned out that the only reason for these was his concern regarding the latter's brother, Sultan Ḥoseyn Mīrzā, who was at Kandahar. The Shah was afraid that Sultan Ḥoseyn Mīrzā might start a revolt in Khorasan. After the latter's death, therefore, the Shah's attitude toward Sultan Ebrahim Mīrzā changed within a matter of days.

Sultan Ebrahim, who had a good head on his shoulders, sensed the change in the wind. Although he knew that nothing less than his death would satisfy the Shah, he left court and retired from the scene, hoping to mourn in private for a few days. He ordered his servants and retainers to keep to their houses and not to attend him, but he momentarily expected to receive his death warrant. Eventually, the Shah sent a squad of blue-eyed Circassians of hideous aspect to mount

guard over the prince's house. When the Circassians arrived, the prince was in his mirror room in the harem. The Circassians sealed all the outer doors, locked all the inner doors, and stationed themselves in the harem, where they kept watch.

Four or five days passed in this manner until one day a quarrel broke out in the Meydān-e Sa'ādat between some townspeople and the servants of 'Abd al-'Azīz Beg Ostājlū, the *dārūgā* of Qazvin, over the purchase of a sheep. The Sufis rushed into the fray and started beating the *dārūgā* of the bazaar and other retainers of the *dārūgā* of Qazvin. When the *dārūgā* heard what had happened he sent some men to arrest the Sufis, but they were unable to quell the riot. The *dārūgā* then rode to the Meydān with such men as he had at hand. The Sufis attacked him with stones, and finally the affair became one of knives and daggers, and the *dārūgā* was forced to retreat.

The Shah, who bore a grudge against the Sufis because of their devotion to Kolafā, seized the opportunity to order a group of emirs to arm themselves and assemble in the Meydān-e Asp-e Šāhī. The emirs gathered, troop by troop, and the Shah ordered them to take punitive action against the Sufis, and concluded by authorizing a general massacre. A body of the *qezelbāš*, led by Mosīb Khan Takkalū and Morteżāqolī Khan Pornāk, made for the homes of the Sufis, which were located in the vicinity of the home of Kolafā. When the Sufis realized what was happening they threw away their weapons and ran, but the *qezelbāš* *gázis* overtook them, slew some, and took others prisoner. In the twinkling of an eye, some five hundred Sufis were killed.

Shah Esma'il, having occupied the *qezelbāš* elsewhere by sending them against the Sufis, put into effect his plan to murder the royal princes, and sent word to the custodians of each prince to carry out their orders. First, the Circassians entered the harem of Sultan Ebrahim Mirzā, dragged him away from his wife, who was the daughter of Shah Tahmasp, and strangled him. His death was signaled by an outburst of cries and lamentations. One by one, the same treatment was meted out to the other princes. When the Shah was assured of the death of the princes, his mind was set at ease and he called off the troops who were hounding the Sufis, issuing a pardon to those who had survived the massacre. It is clear that the Shah deliberately escalated the conflict with the Sufis in case the *qezelbāš* had refused to have any part in these foul murders, in which case there might have

been a revolt against his authority. While the *qezelbās* were occupied elsewhere, the Shah was able to carry out his secret designs.

On that day, six royal princes were put to death at Qazvin by the order of the Shah: Sultan Ebrahim Mīrzā, a most talented and cultured man, who wrote a fine *nasta'līq* hand, was a skilled miniaturist, an outstanding musician, proficient in the art of composing rounds, the pupil of Mowlānā Qāsem Qānūnī in the art of composing ballads, an accomplished player of stringed instruments, and proficient in the crafts of carpentry, the manufacture of musical instruments, and inlay work. In Khorasan, he spent most of his time in the company of poets and men of letters generally. He himself wrote poetry under the pen name of Jāhī, and some of his love poems survive. He had built up an impressive private library, which contained specimens of the work of the master calligraphers of former times and of the finest miniaturists, in addition to other treasures. His collection of china was the envy of all. After his murder, his widow destroyed most of the contents of his library by throwing the manuscripts into water, so that they should not fall into the hands of the Shah; the china she smashed, and his other belongings she destroyed by fire. By her excessive demonstration of grief she exhausted herself to such an extent that she too died that same month.

The second victim was Sultan Ebrahim Mīrzā's nephew, Mohammad Hoseyn Mīrzā, who was an able youth of seventeen years. He was blinded but cried aloud from the pain, and would not be quieted; when this was reported to the Shah, he ordered him to be put out of his misery.

The third victim, Sultan Mahmūd Mīrzā, who was in the care of the Rūmlū tribe, was an innocent, pious man, free from any suspicion of worldly ambition. He was dispatched along with his brothers, but when his corpse was being washed and prepared for burial, he stirred and opened his eyes. Apparently, the stranglers' cord had missed one of the veins in his neck. Shah Esma'il gave orders for him to be finished off, since he had been a witness to the Shah's vile crimes; his infant son, Mohammad Bāqer Mīrzā, who was only a year old, was also murdered. Emāmqolī Mīrzā and Sultan Ahmad Mīrzā, both of whom had been taken to the palace and kept in custody there, were put to death in the vicinity of the Meydān-e Asp.

Shah Esma'il II than sent men to Sīstān to put to death Bādī' al-

Zamān Mīrzā, the son of Bahrām Mīrzā, together with his infant son Bahrām, and sent other men after Sultan 'Alī Mīrzā, who was at Ganja. A few days later, a group of Qājārs brought in the prince; the Shah spared his life, but had him blinded.

The Shah was also apprehensive about his own brother, Sultan Moḥammad Kōdābanda, whose sight was already seriously impaired, and about the latter's sons. But his mother, Solṭānom, was inordinately fond of her sons and grandsons, and this induced some slight feeling of shame in the Shah and made him hesitate to take action against them. Nevertheless, he pondered their fate night and day, and ultimately his evil intent toward them came out into the open.

First of all, he murdered at Tehran Ḥasan, the eldest son of Sultan Moḥammad Kōdābanda.¹³ This prince had been summoned to court from Herat by Shah Tahmasp. After several years at court, he was appointed governor of half the province of Māzandarān upon the death of Sultan Morād Khan, the independent governor of Māzandarān; the other half of the province went to Mīrzā Khan, the son of Sultan Morād Khan. Mīrak Dīv, a veritable Māzandarānī demon,¹⁴ was appointed his *vakīl*, and assumed effective control of the administration. However, the prince did not like the way in which Mīrak Dīv managed affairs, since he made decisions as he thought fit, and excluded from any participation in the government of the province retainers of the prince who had served him for years. The prince was naturally displeased with this state of affairs. Refusing to brook Mīrak Dīv's control any longer and urged on by some of his officers, he had Mīrak Dīv put to death without obtaining authorization from Shah Tahmasp. Ḥasan Mīrzā followed this up by restricting the influence of Māzandarānīs in the management of the province, but the Māzandarānīs appealed to the Shah.

Shah Tahmasp, when he learned the facts of the case, strongly disapproved of the prince's temerity and headstrong behavior. It was represented to the Shah that the prince had been instigated to act in the way he did by Mīr 'Azīz Khan, the son of Mīr 'Abdollāh Khan, who was the prince's maternal uncle and had been the prince's companion at court. The Shah sent some officers to make an unexpected

¹³The five sons of Sultan Moḥammad Kōdābanda were Ḥasan, Ḥamza, 'Abbas, Abū Taleb, and Tahmasp. L. L. Bellan, *Chah Abbās I*, p. 4, is incorrect in stating that Ḥasan was the son of Shah Tahmasp.

¹⁴A pun on the word *dīv*, demon; in Persian legend, the forests of Māzandarān were the home of many demons, including the celebrated White Demon (*dīv-e sapīd*).

raid on the prince's quarters, and they brought back all his private papers and effects. Among his papers were discovered some letters from Mir 'Aziz Khan which made it clear that the prince had acted on his prompting. Mir 'Aziz Khan was arrested and imprisoned at the fortress of Eştaqr. In order to appease the Māzandarānis, Shah Tahmasp removed from Māzandarān all Ḥasan Mirzā's old retainers, with exception of a few. The prince's prestige and credibility in Māzandarān were reduced.

The prince protested that Mirak Dīv had exceeded his powers and had been guilty of disobedience and insubordination; if he (Ḥasan Mirzā) had delayed taking action until he had received authorization from the Shah, all kinds of disorders would have broken out within a short space of time. For this reason, the prince asserted, he had dared to act in an improper manner. The prince was to some extent forgiven; and his situation improved, no further attempts at reparation were made, and he continued to rule the province rather ineffectually. In the end, the prince won over a number of Māzandarānis by his moderation and kindness. He was in the process of rehabilitating himself when Shah Tahmasp died and Shah Esma'il II succeeded to the throne.

Since Solṭānom, Shah Esma'il's mother and the grandmother of Ḥasan Mirzā, was extremely fond of her grandchildren, Ḥasan Mirzā thought he would gain power and influence during his uncle's reign, particularly because his uncle had no children. He became dissatisfied with the inglorious position of governor of a truncated Māzandarān. People whispered in his ear that in the service of his uncle and grandmother he might come to be treated as if he were the Shah's own son. He might become a powerful man in the affairs of Iran—he might even become heir-apparent. Ḥasan Mirzā therefore left Māzandarān and came to court, but without obtaining permission from the Shah. It never entered his head that Shah Esma'il might attribute some ulterior motive to his coming.

In fact, Shah Esma'il, who was excessively cautious and wary, viewed his arrival with displeasure, but could do nothing to get rid of him without some overt cause. Ḥasan's father and one brother were at Shiraz, residing among the Zu'l-Qadar tribe and another brother was at Herat, in the care of the Ostājlū tribe, and he had to be mindful of public opinion to the extent of not doing anything to upset his own mother. Shah Esma'il therefore sent the following message to Ḥasan

Mīrzā: "My revered mother, your grandmother, is presently at Qom; I plan to bring her back to court with all due pomp and ceremony, and am in the process of equipping her retinue. I am told that you have arrived also without a retinue, and so I suggest that you remain at Tehran for the time being. After I have organized my mother's cavalcade, I will send an officer to you who will make plans for the equipping of your own retinue. This being done, I will send one of the great emirs to my mother to arrange where the two of you will meet."

Hasan Mīrzā, obeying orders, remained in Tehran, but the Shah put off making arrangements for the meeting. He brought forward various excuses for the delay: the need to complete some new buildings, the need to make houses ready for their occupation, and all sorts of other reasons. Finally, rumors of religious differences were heard at court; certain people gleefully told the Shah that the majority of the *qezelbāš* suspected him of being a Sunni at heart, and had therefore withdrawn their allegiance from him and aimed to make Hazan Mīrzā king. This gave the Shah exactly the excuse he was looking for, and he gave orders for the execution of the prince. Initially, he designated for this task Mosīb Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oğlū Takkalū, who was Solṭānom's nephew and therefore cousin to himself and Sultan Moḥammad Kodābanda. Mosīb Khan, regarding his task with abhorrence, marched as slowly as possible; word came four or five days later that he still had not passed Karaj in the province of Sāūj Bolāğ. The Shah, infuriated by his procrastination and sympathy for the victim, sent another *qezelbāš* emir, Kūsa 'Alīqolī, with forty-four men of the royal bodyguard, two men being drawn from each tribe. The idea was that they should place a cord round the prince's neck and then, with twenty-two men pulling on either side, strangle him. When Mosīb Khan heard the news, he rejoiced that he did not have to commit the murder and returned to court.

At Tehran, Hasan Mīrzā had gradually inferred some loss of the Shah's favor from the inordinate delay, and had come to despair of receiving any kindness from his uncle. When he tried to leave Tehran, however, he found his way barred. When the *qūrčīs* burst into Tehran, he bolted the doors of his house, picked up his bow and quiver, and went up on to the roof, vowing to himself that he would fight valiantly as long as he had strength remaining and arrows in his quiver. Kūsa 'Alīqolī announced that he and his men had come at the Shah's command to fetch him and take him to court, and they swore a false oath to this effect on the Koran. Relying on their oath, the

prince went down to meet them, whereupon the *qūrčīs*, heedless of God's wrath, fell on him and strangled him as they had been ordered.

The same day, Shah Esma'il sent Čāzī Beg Zu'l-Qadar, a member of the royal bodyguard, to Shiraz with orders to place Sultan Mohammad Kodābanda and his sons under arrest and not to allow people to have access to them—particularly any member of the Zu'l-Qadar tribe. Having done this, he was to await further orders. Word went round that the Shah's ultimate intention was to destroy Sultan Mohammad Kodābanda, his sons who were with him at Shiraz, and 'Abbas Mirzā who was at Herat. It was rumored that the Shah had issued a warrant for their execution. However, events proved inauspicious for the Shah; before his orders could be put into effect he died, as will be recorded in greater detail at the appropriate place. Thus, through the intervention of Almighty God, who had ordained that 'Abbas Mirzā should become king and had sealed the diploma of his kingship with the inscription "Thou givest sovereignty to whomsoever Thou willst," and inscribed it on the Preserved Tablet,¹⁵ the Shah's orders were not carried out, and his own life and reign were brought to an end.

Certain Events Which Occurred during the Reign of Shah Esma'il II

Shah Esma'il II, after his mind was set at rest concerning his brothers and cousins, turned his attention to state affairs. Since the Shah was displeased with the conduct of the vizier, Mirzā Šokrollah, and was always complaining about him, he dismissed him from his post as *vazir-e dīvān-e a'lā*, and appointed to that high office Mirzā Salmān the *nāzēr*.¹⁶ The Shah raised Mirzā Salmān to a position of great power and decreed that the vizier was not obliged to make obeisance to any of the great emirs. Mirzā Salmān took up his duties with complete independence of action. However, the Shah rarely devoted his personal attention to the affairs of state. He was excessively negligent in ordering the affairs of the frontier regions, and none of the orders and letters-patent issued by former rulers had been renewed. Every few days he would appoint someone to some post or other, but then change his mind. Some of the emirs had actually received their letters of appointment and had departed to take up their posts, but the remainder were still at court when the Shah died.

¹⁵On which, according to Muslim belief, the decrees of God are preserved through all time.

¹⁶This appointment was made on 26 Rabi' I, 985/15 June 1577.

The appointments actually made by the Shah included the following: Mosib Khan Šaraf al-Din-oğlū Takkalū, the son of Mohammad Khan Šaraf al-Din-oğlū, the cousin of the Shah, promoted to the rank of khan and appointed governor of Rayy; Sūlag Hoseyn Takkalū, sent to Kurdistan and given jurisdiction over the tribes and certain places in the district of Hamadan; 'Alıqolı Khan Šamlū and his father Sultan Hoseyn Khan, both appointed to governorship. 'Alıqolı Khan was appointed governor of Herat and was given in marriage Zeynab Begom, the daughter of Shah Tahmasp, the agreement being that his bride should follow him to Herat the next year. Morteżāqolı Khan Pornak was appointed governor of Maşhad; Peykar Sultan, Shah Tahmasp's nephew, was appointed governor of Ganja and *amir al-omara* of the province of Qarabag in place of Yüsuf Kalifa Ziād-oğlū, who had held the post under Shah Tahmasp.

It occurred to Peykar Sultan that, since Yüsuf Khan had been accused of being one of the partisans of Sultan Heydar, he might acquire credit with the Shah and increase his own power by putting Yüsuf Khan to death. Peykar Sultan accordingly awaited his opportunity. One morning when Yüsuf Khan had just emerged from the bath and was putting on his clothes, he and a few of his retainers fell on him and murdered him. Not content with this, Peykar Sultan murdered his mother and brother as well. The Shah, however, did not approve of this action and dismissed him, giving the governorship of Ganja to Emāmqolı Khan Qajār. Allāhqolı Beg Afşār, the governor of Kerman, was appointed to the office of *qurčibāši*; Mahmud Sultan Afşār was appointed governor of Kerman; Valı Khan Qolqançı-oğlū was confirmed in office as governor of Shiraz.

At this juncture, one of the Shah's slave girls, who was pregnant, was delivered of a son. The Shah, beside himself with joy, sent an announcement of the birth to all the emirs and lavishly rewarded the bearer of the good tidings. A few days later, the Shah named his son Šoja' al-Din Mohammad, and appointed Valı Sultan Zu'l-Qadar, the governor of Shiraz, his guardian. He hoped that the young prince, being brought up in Shiraz, the seat of the ruler of the Možaffarid dynasty,¹⁷ might revive in the province of Fars the customs and practices of Jalāl al-Dīn Shah Šoja'. Valı Sultan organized a festival on a

¹⁷The Možaffarids, a fourteenth-century Iranian dynasty, controlled Fars from about 758/1356 until the extinction of the dynasty at the hands of Timur in 795/1393 (see C. E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties*, pp. 161–62). Jalāl al-Dīn Shah Šoja' reigned from 765/1364 to 786/1384 and was the patron of the poet Hafez.

royal scale in his own house; the royal crib was brought there from the palace, preceded by horsemen and escorted, at the governor's command, by the emirs and chief officers of state on foot.

However, Šojā' al-Dīn's being brought up at Shiraz led to strained relations between him and Sultan Mohammad Kodābanda. The Zu'l-Qadar tribe, in accordance with the rules of Sufi conduct, gave their support to the latter and treated Šojā' al-Dīn with disdain and dis-courtesy. Šojā' al-Dīn, feeling himself despised and ignored, left Shiraz and returned to court. His arrival there fanned the flames of the Shah's resentment against his elder brother, and he decided to see to the prince's education himself. Meanwhile he lost confidence in, and censured, those Zu'l-Qadar emirs who had been guilty of dis-courtesy toward his son—especially Ali Beg and his brothers, and the sons of Mohammad Khan Aqa Šadı¹⁸ Takkalū, a former governor of Shiraz.

About this time there was much debate among the people concerning sectarian differences. On the basis of the Shah's conduct and various remarks he had made in private regarding Shi'ite beliefs, people generally regarded the Shah as being weak in his attachment to Shi'ism and suspected him of being a Sunni. The grounds for their suspicion were first that the Shah was reluctant to speak ill of 'Ā'ešā.¹⁹ In order to remove the cause of his reluctance, he sought instruction from the doctors of theology who were in attendance at court, partic-ularly from Kāja Afzal Tarka. "For what reason," inquired the Shah, "do Shi'ites consider it lawful to speak ill of the members of the harem of the Prophet of God? For the Koranic verses concerning chastity and purity were revealed specifically with reference to her;²⁰ she had the privilege of sharing the Prophet's bed, and had shared many private and intimate moments with him; and she was dearly loved by the Prophet. How can such a pure woman, beloved of the Prophet, the companion of his bed, deserve hell fire and the everlast-ing torments? Further, what transpired at Baṣra between 'Ā'ešā and the Caliph Ali occurred at the instigation of Talha and Zobeyr,²¹ and

¹⁸I have been unable to identify this clan, which is variously given as Šadı, Sadı, and Sāvı.

¹⁹The daughter of Abu Bakr and the favorite wife of the Prophet Mohammad. Dis-liked by the Shi'ites because of her hostility toward Ali.

²⁰See Koran, *sura* 24, revealed to Mohammad immediately after he had been assured by God in a vision that 'Ā'ešā was innocent of the slanders uttered against her.

²¹'Ā'ešā, because of her dislike of Ali, joined the revolt of Talha and Zobeyr against Ali after the murder of the caliph 'Osmān in 36/656.

'Alī later forgave her, attributing her actions to women's lack of judgment and intelligence. The proof that 'Alī forgave her may be seen in the fact that he sent her to Medina with every mark of veneration and, out of reverence for the Prophet, spoke no ill of her; on the contrary, he himself accompanied her and her attendants for several stages on their journey. To abuse 'Ā'eša, therefore, is to abuse the Prophet, and the Shi'ite theologians have exceeded all reasonable bounds in this respect.' The Shah uttered remarks like these in a number of assemblies—either openly or by allusion.

The theologians did not contradict him openly or make any categorical denial, but whenever the occasion seemed appropriate, they answered him with veiled words. Mīrzā Maķdūm Šarifi,²² who during the reign of Shah Tahmasp had been accused of being pro-Sunni, encouraged the Shah by supporting his arguments and daily bringing forward fresh evidence to support their case. Under his tutelage, the Shah came out into the open and engaged in debate and argument with the '*olamā* regarding strengthening the position of the Sunnis, and the abolition of the ritual cursing of the three Caliphs Abū Bakr, 'Omar, and 'Oṣmān. For their part, the '*olamā* in the main gave oblique replies, and tried to avoid a confrontation.

One day, Shah Esma'il addressed Bolğar Kalifa, who held the high office of *kalifat al-kolafā*, as follows: "O Kalifa, if someone should speak ill of your wife in a public place and revile her, would you be annoyed or not?" "I would," said the Kalifa. "Then how is it," said the Shah, "that men curse the revered wife of the Prophet of God?" "Abuse," replied the Kalifa, "is forbidden, but cursing implies the denial of God's mercy and constitutes an imprecation; if you curse someone, you are in fact submitting his case to God, and there is no harm in that." The Shah exclaimed, "You are indeed a simple-minded Turk! Who told you that story?" He replied, "I heard it from the '*olamā* during the time of Shah Tahmasp. Some sycophants said to the Shah, "He is lying. This same story was related by a group of '*olamā* a few days ago in the royal palace, in the presence of Sultan Ebrahim Mīrzā, and Mīr Seyyed Hoseyn the *mojtahed* and Kāja Afżal saw to it that he learned it by heart."

The Shah flared up in anger and gave a sign to his Sufi guards, saying, 'A Kalifa who lies to his spiritual director deserves to be pun-

²²He was the grandson of Tahmasp's celebrated vizier Qazī Jahān. Because of his pro-Sunni tendencies, he was not regarded with favor by Shah Tahmasp.

ished." The Sufis fell on Bolğar Қalıfa and beat him with their clubs and left him for dead. His body was wrapped in felt and carried to his house for burial. After a while he regained consciousness, and a few months later regained the power of movement. The Shah appointed Dada Қolafə Ostajlū to his office and censured the 'olamā severely. They were, he said, holding meetings every day, and by uttering abominable statements like these they were poisoning the minds of the *qezelbāš* against him. They had fooled his father (Shah Tahmasp), he said, by their hypocritical remarks, but they were not going to fool him. The Shah made various derogatory remarks about the 'olamā, and in particular about Mir Seyyed Hoseyn and the Astarābadīs, who were zealous Shi'ites. Despite the 'olamā, the Shah decreed that the *tabarrā'iyān*²³ should abandon the practice of ritual cursing which was current in the streets and wards of the city. He was displeased, he said, with the *tabarrā'iyān*, who derived their livelihood from this practice of ritual cursing.

The Shah then extended his favor to a group of 'olamā who were suspected of being pro-Sunni—men like Mīrzā Maķdūm Šarīfī, Mowlānā Mīrzā Jan Širāzī, and Mir Maķdūm Lāla. Mīrzā Maķdūm Šarīfī sometimes used to preach in the mosque. On one occasion, he reported to the Shah that a group of *tabarrā'iyān* had interrupted his sermon in the mosque by uttering their ritual curses, and had made insinuating remarks about himself. The Shah sent twelve *qürčīs* to the mosque, with orders to punish anyone who gave utterance to ritual curses. One Thursday evening, a sermon was in progress; at its conclusion, Darvīš Qanbar the *tabarrā'i* recited the following verse:

With all my heart and soul I invoke blessings on 'Alī
and his house,
So that the enemies of 'Alī may be cursed for all eternity.

Mīrzā Maķdūm Šarīfī charged that he was alluding to himself, and became enraged. The *qürčīs* beat Darvīš Qanbar and cracked his skull in several places. The Shi'ites were filled with grief at this incident; the people's suspicion of the Shah increased, and there was much talk. People censured the Shah for his action in private, and the loyalty of the *qezelbāš* toward him began to wear thin, but no one

²³The *tabarrā'iyān* were a special corps of men who went through the streets calling down curses on the "rightly-guided" caliphs and other enemies of the Shi'ites. In the time of Shah Esma'il I, who instituted the practice, anyone who failed to respond "may it (the cursing) be more rather than less" stood in danger of his life.

dared to breathe a word in public. Relations between the Shah and the '*olamā* in general deteriorated, and the Shah looked with particular disfavor on Mir Seyyed Hoseyn the *mojtahed*, Mir Seyyed 'Ali the *kaṭib*, and the Astarābādī faction, which consisted of especially militant Shi'ites who were extra-zealous in the practice of ritual cursing. Some of this faction were expelled from court, and the Shah ordered all Mir Seyyed Hoseyn's books to be impounded and sealed. Mir Seyyed Hoseyn himself was evicted from his house, which was then rented.

The Shah had vowed he would give a sum of money to any pious Muslims who had never cursed the Ten Blessed Ones.²⁴ Mīrzā Maḳdūm Šarīfī made an inquiry, and many avaricious persons came forward, but their claims were rejected. A number of deserving persons in Qazvin did register their names and swear that not once in their lives had they cursed the Companions of the Prophet, especially the Ten Blessed Ones. Since, in former times the people of Qazvin were adherents of the Šafe'i rite, and there was a possibility that some of these still existed, Mīrzā Maḳdūm Šarīfī proceeded to verify their claims and to pay out the sum allocated by the Shah for this purpose, which amounted to about two hundred *tomān*. After the accession of Sultan Mohammad Shah these grants were revoked, and the recipients forced to pay back the money; in the long run, therefore, these people acquired nothing but a reputation for being Sunnis.

As a result of all this, the people, both Turk and Tājīk, became convinced that Shah Esma'il II had a strong predilection for Sunnism, but such was the Shah's power and the awe in which he was held that no one dared to say anything openly about this. Certain members of the '*olamā* who had acquired a reputation for being zealous in the practice of ritual cursing during the reign of Shah Tahmasp and had continued this practice under Shah Esma'il II fell under a cloud and were forbidden to attend this Shah. They could not enter his presence without permission. Others, more prudent—men like Kāja Afzal Tarka—would talk about these matters in secret and continue to come and go freely at court.

On one occasion, when conversation in the royal assembly turned

²⁴Those to whom the promise of Paradise was made. The names on the list vary (sometimes the Prophet Mohammad himself heading the list), but a list commonly accepted is Abu Bakr, 'Omar, 'Osman, 'Ali b. Abu Taleb, Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas, Talha, Zubayr, 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Owf, Sa'd b. Zeyd, Abu 'Obeyda b. al-Jarrāḥ.

to matters of religion, Kāja Afžal made some excellent remarks to the effect that the Eṣnā Ašarī rite was the true religion and the beliefs of the Sunnis false, but he remained silent on the question of the ritual cursing of and hostility toward the Companions of the Prophet. Still others remained aloof from these proceedings, assuming them to have been considered necessary in the best interest of the king and to conciliate the hearts of the people.

As for the *qezelbāš* emirs, they just did not believe what was happening to be even remotely possible until one day it was stated in a royal assembly that it was illegal to recite or write down poetry in the mosques. Now the doors and walls of the mosques in Qazvin were plastered with love poems people had written down. The Shah ordered Mīrzā Zeyn al-Ābedīn Kāšī, the *mohtaseb*,²⁵ who despite his innate predilection for Shi'ism was a man given to jest, to go to the mosques and remove all traces of poetry from the ceilings and walls. The *mohtaseb*, to please the Shah, also obliterated the name of the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī and verses written in praise of the Twelve Imams (the blessings of God be upon them!). The people were extremely disturbed by this action, and the talk to which it gave rise among the common people reached the ears of the Turks.

A group of emirs and *qezelbāš* nobles met near the gatehouse of the Bağ-e Sa'ādatābād and told one another that the people were saying extraordinary things about the religious beliefs of their spiritual director (*moršed*), who was the true son of Shah Tahmasp, and the descendant of Shaikh Šaftī and of 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, and were accusing him of being a friend of the enemies of 'Alī. "God forbid that this be so!" they said. "We do not know the reason for all this talk among the people, or what has happened to give people this idea. The people have given us a problem as to what our proper course of action as Sufis and loyal supporters of the Shah should be. We do not dare to ask our *moršed* himself to resolve the problem." Some of the greybeards and wiser heads among the *qezelbāš* said: "To question the actions of one's *moršed*, according to the rules governing discipleship and the loyalty of the *qezelbāš* toward the Safavid family, is tantamount to unbelief. Why is it necessary to admit the possibility that this suspicion of the Shah may be justified? If the Shah has taken various actions which have been criticized by his detractors, they are not necessarily inexpedient. Our best course is to take no part in this argument because it would be improper for us, the servants of the

²⁵The officer charged with the protection of public morals.

Shah, to raise this matter in his presence. In any case, who would dare to raise it?"

Ordūgđi Kalīfa Takkalū, a Sufi loyal to Shah Esma'il II who stood high in the Shah's favor because of his sincere devotion to his *morśed*, said: "God forbid that these accusations against the Shah should prove to be true. If you want to set your minds at rest, let a deputation of *gāzīs* and Sufis drawn from the retainers of Emir Khan, one of the great emirs, go to the Shah. I will address the Shah and beg him to resolve our problem." A number of ambitious toadies who were present at this meeting at once went to the Shah and reported to him privately that a group of Turkman and Takkalū emirs, led by Emir Khan and Ordūgđi Kalīfa, had banded together and declared that their king had abandoned the true religion. They were plotting to do away with the king, and to put on the throne Sultan Hasan Mirzā, the son of Sultan Mohammad Kodābanda, who was then at Tehran. Meanwhile, Ordūgđi Kalīfa announced to the *qezelbāš* that Emir Khan had arrived to support him, and that he (Ordūgđi) would lead the way and speak to the Shah. Others say that it was Kalīfa-e Anṣār²⁶ who went and reported to the Shah, in the hope of making amends for the past by demonstrating his solidarity with him. God alone knows the truth!

Esma'il II was perturbed by this tale, which had no foundation in fact, and he proceeded to vent his wrath on those involved. He summoned Emir Khan and upbraided him harshly: "You have given me a bad name among the *qezelbāš* by alleging that I have embraced the Sunni rite, and you have poisoned men's minds against me." Emir Khan answered stoutly: "God forbid that I should ever believe such a thing, or that I should have entertained any unwarranted suspicions of the king. I say that if the king has on occasion been negligent in matters of religion, it has doubtless been for reasons of state and to pacify his enemies. It is Mirzā Maķdūm Šarīfī who has given your majesty a bad name by openly saying that you are inclined toward the Sunni rite and that you dispute with the Shi'ite 'olamā concerning the status of Sunnism as the true religion. Every time the Shah fails to deny these stories, he gives him encouragement. What fault have we committed?" The shah then turned on Ordūgđi Kalīfa and said, "I see that Emir Khan is standing close behind you, supporting you. What is *your* story? Come on, speak out!" But Ordūgđi Kalīfa refused to speak.

²⁶The former warden of the fortress of Qahqaha, where Esma'il Mirzā was imprisoned.

Emir Khan resumed, "Why do you listen to tales told about us, your loyal servants, by men who have their own personal reasons for doing so? Before even finding out the truth or falsehood of their charges, you brand your devoted servants as seditious persons!" The Shah replied, "If I am not worthy to be the ruler of the *qezelbāš*, then bring Sultan Hasan from Tehran and make him king, as you plotted and planned among yourselves to do." Emir Khan replied, without a trace of fear or dissimulation, "For twenty years I have been your supporter and friend. Now we have come to the real point at issue. What benefits have we ever received, or are likely to receive, which would lead us to expect any advantage from Sultan Hasan? The idea of his accession to the throne has never even entered our heads!"

The argument went on for a long time. Ordügdi Kalifa was seized and placed in a solitary cell. Ali Khan Beg, the *dārūğā* of the *daftarkāna*, was accused by his own brother, Babor Beg, who hated him, of being in league with Ordügdi Kalifa, and he too was arrested and placed in confinement. To Emir Khan and Mosib Khan Takkalū, who were both his protégés, the Shah said, "If you are speaking the truth, set my mind at rest in regard to Sultan Hasan." The two emirs, whether they liked it or not, were forced to acquiesce. They sent Kusa Aliqoli Torkmān, one of their emirs, and a detachment of forty-four *qürčis* to perform the dastardly deed. As I reported earlier, this detachment went to Tehran and murdered Sultan Hasan. Despite this, the Shah was still slightly mistrustful of the Takkalūs and the Turkmans, and began to favor the Ostajlūs more.

As I have already mentioned, he extended his patronage to the sons of Yakān Şähqolı Khan: Morşedqolı Sultan was appointed governor of Sistān; Ebrahim Sultan, his brother, was favored, together with his cousins; Mohammadi Khan Tokmāq was confirmed in his post as governor of Çökür-e Sa'd; Abū Torāb Sultan, who had hoped to replace Mohammadi Khan Tokmāq as governor of Çökür-e Sa'd, was made governor of Şīrvān. In short, the Ostajlū tribe regained the Shah's confidence, and its fear and apprehension abated.²⁷ At the same time, in order to remove the suspicions of the people that his faith had been corrupted, the Shah turned on Mīrzā Maķdūm Šarīf and placed him under arrest. When the common people learned this, they began to revile Mīrzā Maķdūm Šarīf and subjected him to every kind of ignominy; they were delighted by this turn of events, which allayed

²⁷The Ostajlūs had supported the attempt to put Heydar Mīrzā on the throne after the death of Shah Tahmasp and had been purged by Esma'il II for this reason.

their suspicions, and there was no further talk of religion in the Shah's assemblies.

So far, Shah Esma'il had not minted any coinage in his own name, and all commercial transactions had been carried on using the old coinage. The officers of the mint were continually pressing the Shah to renew the gold coinage and show concern for the interests of the mint, but the Shah procrastinated in regard to the striking of coins which bore on one face the inscription, "There is no god but God; Mohammad is the Prophet of God, and 'Ali is the Friend of God." He kept on pointing out that *dirhams* and *dīnārs*, in the course of normal trade and commerce, were handled by all manner of infidels—Jews, Armenians, Zoroastrians, Hindus, and others; it was not right that such ritually unclean persons should handle coins bearing the name of God, for the Koran said, "None shall touch it except those who are purified."²⁸ So the Shah pondered what phrase he could put on the coinage that would be acceptable to the people. One day he spoke to a group of people as follows: "Since men have reviled my friends, on this issue too they will do the same, saying that the motive for my desire to change the inscription on the coinage is to remove from it the name of 'Ali.'" After much thought, he decided to stamp on one side of the coins the following verse:

Though there be Imams from East to West,
'Ali and his family are all-in-all to us,

On the reverse of the coins, there would be his own name and the place of issue. At an hour chosen by him as auspicious, therefore, the new die was cast and the coins stamped with it.

After these events, the Shah gave permission to Morteżāqolī Khan Pōrnāk, who had been appointed governor of Mašhad, to take the body of Shah Tahmasp there. Three hundred *qūrčīs* were to act as escort and to bear the coffin stage by stage on its journey. 'Alīqolī Khan Šāmlū, the governor-general of Herat, was instructed to proceed to Mašhad, take charge of the royal coffin there, and escort it to Herat. It was generally rumored that 'Alīqolī Khan had secret instructions, on his return to Herat, to put to death 'Abbas Mirzā, so that the Shah's anxieties on that score too might be removed. The Shah also sent a courier to Shiraz with orders for Čāzī Beg Zu'l-Qadar, instruct-

²⁸Koran, 56:80. The reference in the Koran is to the book of the Koran itself, not to the name of God.

ing him to keep Sultan Moḥammad Mīrzā and Sultan Ḥamza Mīrzā and his brother under close arrest until Valī Sultan Qolğānčı-oğlū, the governor of Shiraz, should arrive and put them to death. His plan was that no single member of the Safavid royal house should remain alive save himself and his own son Shah Šoja', but he forgot the adage "Man proposes, but God disposes."

At this juncture, a comet was seen under the sign of Sagittarius, and its tail was suspended in the midst of the western heavens. Since Esma'il II had considerable knowledge of astrology, he was filled with apprehension. He consulted his astrologers daily and inquired of them what the comet portended. The astrologers gave a soothing answer, but Esma'il reminded them that the appearance of a comet like this portended the downfall of a king. The astrologers then said that, because the tail of the comet appeared in the west, the bulk of its effect would be felt in the Ottoman empire and western lands. Although the assurances of the astrologers were of some comfort to him, the Shah was not entirely satisfied. And indeed he had good reason to be alarmed, because the principles of astrology show that, whenever a comet appears in the house of a person's ascendant star, that person will surely perish. Shah Esma'il II was born under the constellation of Gemini. The star governing his horoscope was Mercury, and this comet had appeared in the house of his ascendant star; but the astrologers misled him and prevented him from finding this out, and a few days later he died.

The Murder of Shah Esma'il II

On the eve of Sunday, 13 Ramażān 985/24 November 1577, Esma'il, together with Ḥasan Beg Ḥalvāčı-oğlū, with whom he had a close and affectionate relationship, and who was his boon companion night and day, left the palace and went for a walk accompanied by a number of personal attendants. He walked around in the side streets and quarters of Qazvin for two-thirds of the night. Then he returned to the palace and retired to rest in Ḥasan Beg's quarters, which adjoined the palace and had a door which gave on to the Meydān-e Asp-e Šāh. Esma'il closed his eyes, which never rested from the contemplation of the ephemeral desires of this deceitful world, and sank into the happy sleep of oblivion. Ḥasan Beg fastened the doors on the inside, and lay down near the Shah. The doors remained closed until breakfast time. The *moqarrabs*²⁹ and servants assembled there, wait-

²⁹Probably the staff of the *eşik-aqasibüsü* of the harem, who held the rank of *moqarrab al-hażrat* (see *TM*, pp. 63-64).

ing for the doors to be opened. No one had had the courage to enter the rooms adjacent to the Shah's bedroom.

When the length of his sleeping time and repose had exceeded all reasonable bounds, Mīrzā Salmān the vizier and the *qūrčībāšī* who were in the anterooms about noon, became extremely worried. They charged Ḥakīm Abu'l-Faṭḥ Tabrīzī, known as "the little physician," who was distinguished among the other court physicians by his rank and degree of intimacy with the Shah, to approach the door of the bedroom and investigate. Ḥakīm, plucking up his courage, went up to the door; but hearing no sound, he did not dare to speak, and returned. The vizier and the *qūrčībāšī* importuned him to go back and this time to speak in the manner of prayer and supplication. Ḥasan Beg Ḥalvāčī-oğlū cried out, "O Ḥakīm! I cannot move to open the door! Open the door from the outside in whatever way you can and come in, for an astonishing event has occurred!"

The physician, overcome by terror, returned and informed everyone of the situation. Mīrzā Salmān, with a group of *moqarrabs*, opened the door and went inside. They found Esma'il immobile but still breathing. The lower portions of Ḥasan Beg's body, when touched, had no sensation, and his voice emerged as a stutter. Everyone panicked. The *qūrčībāšī* was summoned to the *andarūn*³⁰ and someone was sent to summon Emir Khan, Pīra Muḥammad Khan, and the other emirs. At that moment, however, Shah Esma'il II died.

Ḥasan Beg, handicapped by his stutter, and with a hundred difficulties, stated that the previous evening, at the time of breaking the fast,³¹ the Shah had consumed pure opium and had given some to him (Ḥasan). "When we went out for a walk," continued Ḥasan Beg, "we reached the entrance to a bathhouse. A seller of sweetmeats was sitting there. The Shah took a lot of *halvā*³² and pastries from him. When we returned to the house, he said, 'Dawn is near; we will eat another electuary and then sleep.' When the servants brought the round box in which the Shah kept his electuaries, I noticed that the seal had been tampered with (I always sealed the box myself). I said to the Shah, 'The lid of the box does not bear my seal and mark,' but he paid no heed to my words. Taking the electuary, he consumed more than was his wont, and pressed it upon me with great insistence, but

³⁰The private quarters of the harem used by the women of the royal household.

³¹It was the month of Ramaḍān.

³²A type of sweetmeat.

I consumed rather less. Then we both slept. At breakfast time, when I awoke, I found myself in the state in which you see me, and the Shah was unable to speak. He moved his arms and legs, but after a while he ceased to move, and his breathing stopped. As soon as I heard the physician's voice, I called out. This is the truth of the matter. The rest you know better than I."

Emir Khan and Pīra Moḥammad Khan, who had just arrived and were surveying the scene, were overcome with astonishment. Emir Khan threatened to kill Hasan Beg Ḥalvāčī and said: "Tell the truth; whoever poisoned our king could not have done it without your help and assistance." Hasan Beg replied, "I, through the felicity of the Shah, was obeyed by all the *qezelbāš*; without him, I have no thought of life. Even though it is not certain whether I shall survive or not, what was evident to me is as I have stated." Emir Khan became more importunate in his efforts to ascertain the truth and to investigate the matter, but Mīrzā Salmān and the emirs intervened, saying, "What is the point of importunity in this matter? Now that an event like this has occurred, we must take thought for our religion and the state."

The physicians discovered indications of poison in the Shah's body. People had various theories about his murder: One was that the Shah had spurned Parī Khan Kānom, and the latter had therefore conspired with maidservants of the harem to arrange that poison be inserted in the electuary mixture. Another theory was that the Shah had died of the colic, which afflicted him from time to time, and had on another occasion flared up and brought him to the brink of death. The physicians had treated him, and he had recovered. This time, since he was in better health, there was no physician present, and so he died. Other people pointed out that the Shah had repeatedly consumed mixtures containing opium and had eaten excessive quantities of food; their theory was that severe flatulence had twisted his stomach and blocked his windpipe. However, none of these theories solved the fundamental problem of how it happened. The common people were stupefied by such an unexpected and curious incident.

The emirs were anxious that the news of the Shah's murder should not get out too rapidly, and so they gave orders to the gatekeepers to close the gates leading to the Meydān-e Asp-e Šāhī. Moreover, there had recently been a renewal of *qezelbāš* intertribal factionalism. The Takkalūs and the Turkmans had been guilty of numerous offenses

against the Šämlüs and Ostäjlüs. Blood had been spilled, and eventually the latter had gained the advantage. Mîrzâ Salman and Kalîl Khan Afşâr, who was an experienced statesman, acted to prevent a possible outbreak of general conflict among the *qezelbaš*. They called on the emirs to set aside tribal rivalries in the interests of the state and to swear friendship to one another. Emir Khan, who was the leading emir of the Turkman tribe, set the example by coming forward and swearing to observe a father-son relationship with Pîra Moğammad Ostäjlü. All the emirs followed their lead and swore mutual friendship toward one another.

This done, the debate began regarding the succession. Valî Sultan Qolkânçı-oğlu Zu'l-Qadar, the governor of Shiraz, urged the claim of Esma'il's infant son, Shah Şoja', on the ground that inheritance is from father to son. The other emirs demurred, alleging that Valî Sultan merely wanted to become *vakîl al-salṭana* and thus to exact obedience from the rest of the *qezelbaš*. How could an eight-month-old infant be a suitable king of Iran, they asked. Valî Sultan then tried another tack. Since he knew that all the emirs would obey Parî Khan Kânom, he suggested, hoping to flatter Parî Khan Kânom, that she should be the real ruler of the state, but that coins should be minted in the name of Shah Şoja', since it was not appropriate that a woman should sit on the throne. But he did not have any luck with this suggestion either.

Emir Khan Torkmân, Pîra Moğammad Khan Ostäjlü, Kalîl Afşâr, and the other emirs then declared: "Sultan Moğammad is the eldest son of Shah Tahmasp, and the father of several royal princes. God's choice has fallen upon him." Some shortsighted persons objected, saying, "He is almost blind; how can he possibly discharge the weighty burden of being monarch? In order to control the military and civil affairs of the kingdom, one has to be able to see! The choice must fall on his sons." The *qezelbaš* nobles who were present, given inspiration by the Almighty, shouted, "Sultan Moğammad is our king; his sons, who are now children, will in the years to come, God willing, come to the throne after being nurtured in the shadow of their father's protection. Let Sultan Moğammad name as his heir-apparent whichever son he considers most suitable." No one spoke. Valî Sultan, who had been guilty of many discourtesies toward Sultan Moğammad Mîrzâ at Shiraz, was extremely apprehensive and did not like the decision at all. But no one listened to him, and in any case he could not say very much.

All those present shouted "The realm belongs to Sultan Moḥammad the king," and they chanted 'Allah! Allah!' for it is the agreeable practice of the *qezelbāš*, whenever they take a decision on any matter, to repeat this holy word by way of benediction and blessing. The emirs then rose and went to the private apartments of Parī Khan Kānom, both to seek her advice and to inform her of what had happened. Parī Khan Kānom considered herself to be the ruler. She agreed that, when Sultan Moḥammad Mīrzā arrived from Shiraz, he would become the titular king, but the real power would reside in her hands.

Sultan Ḥoseyn Khan Šāmlū, the father of 'Alīqolī Khan, immediately sent to Herat a certain Sultan Maḥmūd, 'Alīqolī Khan's agent who was at court on business, to give the news of the death of Shah Esma'il II and to cancel the order for the execution of 'Abbas Mīrzā, if by any chance it had not been carried out.

The emirs all affixed their seals to a covenant pledging their allegiance to Sultan Moḥammad, and sent it to Shiraz by the hand of 'Alī Khan Beg Mowṣellū Torkmān, who was Sultan Moḥammad's cousin. Following him went 'Alī Beg Zu'l-Qadar, the son of Moḥammad Khan Aqa, who was a supporter of Sultan Moḥammad Mīrzā and an enemy of Valī Sultan, bearing an order testifying to the death of Shah Esma'il II and the accession of Sultan Moḥammad Shah. It was late afternoon when the gates of the Meydān-e Asp were opened and the couriers galloped on their way; it was about the time of the breaking of the day's fast that the people realized that Shah Esma'il II had died.

The next day, Parī Khan Kānom gave orders that all the emirs and nobles who were languishing in jails and dungeons as political prisoners—either because they had supported the cause of Sultan Ḥeydar Mīrzā or for some other reason—should be released. Men of every class were held in jail, including Ṣadr al-Dīn Khan, the son of Ma'-ṣūm Beg and Seyyed Beg Kamūna. They were all released with the exception of Ḥoseyn Beg *yūzbāšī*, who had died of dysentery a few days earlier.

Mīrzā Maḳdūm Šarīfī was spared because of Parī Khan Kānom's affection for his mother, but he felt he could not stay in Iran. With a view to visiting the holy places, he went first to Baghdad, where he was received with favor by the Ottomans. For several years he held the post of *qāzī al-qoīdāt* at Mecca, where he handed down legal

decisions in accordance with the Ḥanafī school of law. He eventually died there. It is reported by many sources that on his deathbed he asked that his body be washed and buried according to the Imami rite; for, he said, "I am an Esnā 'Aṣarī, even though I have committed many unworthy actions out of worldly considerations and spurred by my own ambition; knowledge resides in God, and He knows the inner truths of all matters."

Since most people had suffered as a result of the evil actions of Shah Esma'il II, no one was particularly disturbed by his death, and the transfer of power was effected without any disturbances. All servants of the royal household, heads of departments, members of the royal bodyguard, and *moqarrabs* who wished to travel to Shiraz to present their respects to the new Shah had to seek permission to do so from the emirs, who in turn cleared the names with Parī Khan Kānom. Only then were they allowed to leave Qazvin.

The Accession of Sultan Mohammad Shah

As previously mentioned, Esma'il II had sent a *qūrčī* named Ğazı Beg Zu'l-Qadar to Shiraz to see that Sultan Mohammad Mirzā and his sons were kept under close arrest and that no one had access to them; this *qūrčī*'s conduct toward the prince was most unpleasant. After the death of Shah Esma'il II, the great emirs dispatched Ali Khan Beg Mowsellū Torkmān and Ali Beg Zu'l-Qadar in succession to Shiraz. But Eskandar Beg Šamlū, who was the son of a Šamlū emir, left for Shiraz without permission before either of the other two emissaries, and rode hell for leather to Shiraz. Traveling day and night and not stopping to rest, he reached Shiraz two days before Ali Beg. Horse and rider were covered with sweat, but he rushed into Sultan Mohammad Mirzā's rooms and gave the good news that Shah Esma'il II had died and that all was now right with the world.

Ğazı Beg was not there at that time, and the servants ran in panic to the harem to tell the prince that a *qūrčī* had arrived from Qazvin with news of the Shah's death. The prince, either because his lofty mind was above such mundane matters or because he considered it inexpedient to show his hand prematurely, showed no reaction at the news. It occurred to him that Esma'il might merely be putting him to the test, and had deliberately sent the courier to find out whether he had any ambitions regarding the throne or not.

At this point, Ğazı Beg Zu'l-Qadar arrived and began shouting at Eskandar Beg and threatening to kill him. Eskandar Beg said, "What is so surprising about my news? Even the Prophet Mohammad died, and now Shah Esma'il II is dead. You will know within three days whether I am lying or not; if I am, do your worst to me." Meanwhile, the news spread through the city, causing an uproar, and people flocked to the palace. Sultan Mohammad Mirzā said to Ğazı Beg, "Perhaps this fellow is an epileptic, and does not know what he is saying. Lock him up! If his news is confirmed, that is God's will, and we must bow to it; if not, visit upon him a severe punishment." Although Ğazı Beg did not dare to arrest Eskandar Beg, he uttered threats against a group of Širazis and Zu'l-Qadars who came to offer their condolences. Every hour he sent some message to the prince, and got the same reply. No news came from Qazvin that day, and Ğazı Beg's confidence was restored.

But on the second day, toward evening, 'Ali Beg arrived and confirmed the news. He was received by the new Shah. A group of Zu'l-Qadars who were friends of 'Ali Beg and enemies of Valı Sultan then entered and saluted Sultan Mohammad Shah and congratulated him on his accession. Eskandar Beg was promoted to the rank of emir, with the sobriquet of Koş-kabar-Kān,¹ and the Zu'l-Qadars, in accordance with Sufi practice, began to revile Ğazı Beg. The Shah stopped them, saying, "I have suffered considerably at the hands of Ğazı Beg, but I pardon him in gratitude for God's act of grace toward me; Ğazı Beg is a reliable and experienced officer who was merely carrying out the orders of his king in regard to me, and therefore deserves my patronage." The Shah then conferred on him the office of *eşik-āqāsī*, and for a few days Ğazı Beg was in attendance at court. But Mahd-e 'Olyā² had not forgotten his insolent manners and harsh words, and she had him seized and sent in disgrace to the fortress of Eştağr, where he died.

The next day, all the *seyyeds* and nobles of Shiraz, together with the elders of the Zu'l-Qadar tribe, presented themselves at court and performed the ceremony of kissing the Shah's feet. 'Ali Beg was appointed governor of Shiraz, with the title of khan. Of the *seyyeds* of high rank, Shah Mozaffar Enjū, a strong supporter of the Shah, was made *qāzī 'askar*. Mirzā Ahmād Kofrānī, who had been vizier and superintendent of the royal household at Shiraz for a number of years and had performed notable service in these offices, particularly during the reign of Shah Esma'il II, was promoted to the office of *nāzər-e sarkār-e kāşa-ye şarīfa*.³ Since the new Shah's household had been allowed to run down, 'Ali Beg Zu'l-Qadar and Mirzā Ahmād Kofrānī the *nāzər* provided everything that was necessary from their own budget, from the resources of the Zu'l-Qadar tribe, and from the revenues of the state treasury.

Every day, fresh contingents of centurions, *eşik-āqāsīs*, and court officials, both Turks and Persians, kept arriving at Shiraz from Qazvin, and were graciously received by the Shah. Mir Qavām al-Dīn Hoseyn, the comptroller of finance at Shiraz, had sided with the Zu'l-Qadars in their dispute with Valı Sultan; in revenge, Valı Sultan

¹Lit.: the Khan who brings good news.

²Sultan Mohammad Shah's wife, and the real power behind the throne until her downfall in 1579 (see R. M. Savory, "Safavid Persia," in *Cambridge History of Islam*, 1970, Vol. I, pp. 410-11).

³In other words, the *nāzər-e boyutat*, or superintendent of the royal household (see TM, pp. 48ff).

had lodged a complaint against him at Qazvin with Shah Esma'il II. Mīr Qavām al-Dīn had been arrested and placed in irons in the solitary cell. He had now been released, and made his way to Shiraz, where he was appointed vizier to the Shah's wife, Mahd-e 'Olyā Fakr al-Nesā Begom.⁴ Mahd-e 'Olyā was the architect and organizer of the affairs of state; no decision was taken without her approval, and Sultan Mohammad Shah deferred to her constantly.

Mahd-e 'Olyā wished to release from prison in the fortress of Eş-ṭaqr Khan Ahmād, the semi-independent governor of Gilān, who was related to her. To please her, Sultan Mohammad Shah released him, made much of him, and appointed him governor of the province of Gilān. The Shah also released from jail Şāhroğ Beg Tātī-oğlu Zu'l-Qadar, promoted him to the rank of governor and *khan*, and appointed him to the office of *mohrdār* (keeper of the seal). The latter had been arrested, along with other friends of Esma'il Mīrzā, and imprisoned with him by Shah Tahmasp; when Esma'il Mīrzā came to the throne, he promised him the post of personal *vakīl* and *vakīl* of the supreme *dīvān*. He kept promising to release him from prison, but he never carried out his promise.

About this time, the vizier Mīrzā Salmān⁵ arrived in Shiraz and went first to the house of 'Alīqolī Khan to seek his good offices. An audience was arranged for him with the Shah by the latter and by Mīrzā Ahmad the *nāzér*, who was a friend of his, and he was received by the Shah and by Mahd-e 'Olyā. While Mīrzā Salmān was giving the Shah news of happenings at Qazvin and of the activities of Parī Khan Kānom, and assuring the Shah of the fealty of the emirs, he managed to slip in a few words to indicate his own undying loyalty to the Shah. He was well received, and at the same audience was re-appointed *vazīr-e dīvān-e a'lā* with the title of *e'temād al-dowla*.⁶

Meanwhile, at Qazvin, Parī Khan Kānom had taken upon her own shoulders the responsibility for the conduct of state affairs. The emirs obeyed her orders, and every day presented themselves at her house. Each tribe chose a trusted elder to represent it and agreed to follow his counsel: the Turkmans chose Emir Khan; the Ostājlūs, Pīra Mohammad Khan; the Şamlūs, Sultan Hoseyn Khan, the grandson of

⁴Mahd-e 'Olyā was the daughter of a local ruler in Māzandarān.

⁵Appointed vizier 26 Rabī' I, 985/13 June 1577, by Shah Esma'il II (see R. M. Savory, "The Significance of the Political Murder of Mirza Salman.")

⁶Lit.: the trusted support of the state.

Dürmiš Khan; the Takkalüs, Mosib Khan Şaraf al-Din-oglū; the Afşars, Qoli Beg the *qırçıbaşı*; the Zu'l-Qadars, the keeper of the seal of the supreme *dīvān* (Şahrok Khan Tati-oglū Zu'l-Qadar); and so on. The council of emirs that was thus constituted submitted its requests to Parı Khan Kānom through her uncle, Şamkāl Sultan Čerkes, and carried out the orders relayed to it. One of the orders issued by Parı Khan Kānom was that, apart from those emirs who had been officially dispatched to Shiraz, no one else should leave Qazvin without permission; when Sultan Mohammad Shah approached the capital, all the emirs were to escort her litter and go out to greet the Shah.

After a few days, Mīrzā Salmān, who did not entirely trust the Kānom and Şamkāl, decided that his best course of action was to leave Qazvin and join the Shah at Shiraz. Talking smoothly, he got Emir Khan to agree to this; then he went behind the lattice of the harem and got some of the inmates to persuade the Kānom that it was in the best interests of the state that he should hasten to Shiraz and be in attendance on the Shah. In that way, he could frustrate any attempts by outsiders to cause a rift between brother and sister. The Kānom, although she doubted whether either the Shah or the army would act contrary to her wishes, admitted there was something in what he said and gave her permission. Without wasting a moment, Mīrzā Salmān left the harem and departed for Shiraz, not taking the usual route. The following day, the emirs learned of his departure; since they disapproved of his being allowed to go, Şamkāl Sultan wanted to send a courier to fetch him back, but Emir Khan prevented him. Mīrzā Salmān rode hell for leather to Shiraz, reached that city before the Shah's cavalcade had left, and as already described, entered the Shah's service.

Mīrzā Salmān soon perceived that the Shah's wife, Mahd-e 'Olyā, held the reins of power. Looking to his own interests, therefore, as all officers of state and aspirants to high office have to do, he told the Shah and his wife the truth about events at Qazvin, and something about the powerful position of Parı Khan Kānom and the way in which the *qezelbāş* emirs obeyed her. It is generally agreed he made it clear to the Shah and Mahd-e 'Olyā that, as long as Parı Khan Kānom was mistress in the palace and controlled affairs of state, the Shah would possess nothing but the title of king, and his wife would not be admitted to the harem. The Shah and his wife, deciding that the Kānom had to be rendered powerless, deliberated as to how this

might be achieved. All the reports that came from Qazvin confirmed them in this resolve. In short, Sultan Mohammad Shah and Mahd-e 'Olyā determined to remove Parī Khan Kānom from the scene because they were filled with apprehension by reports of her treacherous plotting against Shah Esma'il II—and indeed, they had good reason to be apprehensive. Day by day, Mīrzā Salmān consolidated his position and increasingly took charge of state affairs.

About a month passed, and then the Shah and his party left Shiraz for Isfahan, where the citizens gave them a great welcome and showered them with gifts. The city was placed under the personal jurisdiction of Sultan Hamza Mīrzā, and Emir Ḥoseyn Khan Māzandarānī, the nephew of Mahd-e 'Olyā, was appointed its *dārūga*. From there the royal party traveled to Kashan, where they spent three days, and thence to Qom, where they visited the Shah's mother, Solṭānom. The latter was still mourning the death of her son, Shah Esma'il II, and the murder of her grandson, Sultan Hasan Mīrzā, but she rejoiced at the sight of her eldest son, Sultan Mohammad Shah, and her other grandchildren, from whom she had been separated for an age. While they were at Qom, Ḥoseynqolī Sultan Šāmlū, the *eşik-āqāst-bāšī*, arrived from Qazvin bringing with him a quantity of stores from the royal workshops and the royal regalia to greet the Shah. A number of *moqarrabs* also arrived at Qom and kissed the Shah's feet.

Meanwhile, reports had been reaching the emirs at Qazvin that the Shah and Mahd-e 'Olyā were displeased by the degree of power wielded by Parī Khan Kānom, and by the fact that they themselves were concentrated there. Accordingly, Emir Khan, Pīra Mohammad Khan, Kalīl Khan, the *qūrčibāšī*, and other emirs and high-ranking khans sent their sons and leading nobles of their tribes (having obtained a sort of permission for so doing) to Qom to greet the Shah. In the end, matters reached the point that emirs were leaving Qazvin without Parī Khan Kānom's permission, and were making their own way to Qom. Gradually, almost all the emirs and nobles came to pay their respects to the Shah, and even Parī Khan Kānom's lieutenants, including Šāmkāl Sultan and his supporters, felt the Shah's displeasure and were perturbed.

Finally, the royal cavalcade moved off from Qom toward the capital, Qazvin. At Koškrūd, just past Sāva, Emir Khan, Pīra Mohammad Khan, Kalīl Khan, the *qūrčibāšī*, Mohammadi Khan Toğmāq, and others still left at Qazvin (the group which had agreed to escort Parī

Khan Kānom's litter and meet the Shah with her) considered it to be in the best interests of the state⁷ to leave her service and presented themselves to the Shah. Some had left Qazvin with the Kānom's permission, some without. Word reached the Shah that Šamkāl Sultan was maintaining a group of Circassians under arms at the house of Parī Khan Kānom and was in a rebellious mood. When he neared Qazvin, the Shah summoned Emir Aşlān Khan Areşlu Afşar, who had been a staunch supporter of Shah Esma'il II, and charged him with the task of dealing with Šamkāl Sultan.

With him the Shah sent a letter to the following effect: "I hereby grant you the governorship of the province of Šakki, which was your fief for a number of years in the time of Shah Tahmasp, and which you have always wanted. The moment is now opportune; take your men and camp outside the city. When I enter the city and take up residence in the royal palace, come alone and perform the ceremony of kissing my feet; then you may depart for Šakki." Emir Aşlān Khan, who was a close friend of Šamkāl Sultan, delivered the Shah's letter and ordered him to mount. Šamkāl Sultan, although he realized full well that this was not an act of generosity on the part of the Shah, could see no other solution to his problem. So he accepted joyfully the chance of retiring from the scene and going to Šakki. Whether he really wanted to or not, he mounted and rode with Emir Aşlān Khan to Šantan, about one *farsak* outside the city.

The next day, 1 Zu'l-Hejja 985/9 February 1578, the Shah reached Pīra Şūftān, one *farsak* from Qazvin. Parī Khan Kānom was carried into the royal presence in her litter, which was carried on the shoulders of the *qūrčis* of the harem and her own personal attendants, some four or five hundred of whom escorted her. The court eunuchs made the arrangements for her audience with the Shah, and she met her royal brother and his sons in the harem. They exchanged mutual condolences on the death of their father, Shah Tahmasp, and their brothers, and railed against the enormity of Shah Esma'il II's behavior and his temerity in flouting the ties of kinship. I heard from some of the eunuchs who were present that Mahd-e 'Olyā, as a point of courtesy, kissed the hand of Parī Khan Kānom, but that the latter, in her pride and folly, displayed no great regard for her in return.

On Tuesday, 3 Zu'l-Hejja 985/11 February 1578, eleven months of the Year of the Ox having elapsed, at a time fixed by Mowlānā Afzal

⁷A delicious piece of irony on the part of the author!

Qazvīnī, the court astrologer, Sultan Mohammad Shah and Ḥamza Mīrzā entered Qazvin, escorted by a large crowd of townspeople who had come out to Pīrā Šūfīān to greet them. The Shah entered the palace in triumph and with a joyful heart, and the daughters and wives of Shah Tahmasp came and kissed his feet. The author was in Qazvin on the day the Shah entered the city, and I was one of those who went out to greet him. It was Tuesday, the third of Zu'l-Hejja, but Ḥasan Beg the historian⁸ has stated that it was the fifth of Zu'l-Hejja, and it is possible that I may be mistaken. The Shah had given orders to Kalīl Khan Afšār, who had for a while during the reign of Shah Tahmasp been the guardian of Parī Khan Kānom, to take the latter to his own house when they reached the city and to keep her there.

After the Shah and Ḥamza Mīrzā had mounted, the *qūrcīs* picked up the litter as before, and Mahd-e 'Olyā and the other women of the harem rode behind it. When they neared the palace, they found the road blocked by the crowds. The *qūrcīs* and the personal attendants of the Kānom, at her order, started to carry the litter in the direction of her house, so that she might enter the harem garden, along with the other women of the royal household, via her own house. When the litter reached the gate of her house, the retainers of Kalīl Khan rushed forward to take it to the latter's house. At first the Kānom's personal attendants tried to prevent them, not realizing how the land lay, until Kalīl Khan's men stated frankly that they were acting on orders from the Shah himself. Parī Khan Kānom, who was being tossed to and fro as the two groups struggled for control of the litter, realized what had happened and acquiesced in her fate, unexpected though it was, and was taken to Kalīl Khan's house.

The same day, Aşlān Khan was ordered to go to Şantan and murder Şamkāl Sultan. He took a few men with him and went on the pretext of saying goodbye to Şamkāl. As soon as they met, some of the Afšārs drew their swords and killed Şamkāl, and the Circassians were powerless to intervene. Emir Aşlān Khan took Şamkāl's head back to court, where he was promoted to the rank of khan and suitably rewarded.

The same night, some of Kalīl Khan's men, acting on orders, strangled Parī Khan Kānom. The whole of her property, popularly estimated at some two thousand *tomān*, was bestowed on Kalīl Khan

⁸Ḥasan Beg Rūmī, the author of the chronicle *Aḥsan al-Tauḍīḥ*.

as a reward for this deed. Shah Esma'il's infant son Shah Šoja', who was not yet a year old, was also put to death. Valī Sultan Qolqančioğlū was seized and handed over to his enemies among the Zu'l-Qadars at Shiraz to be put to death.

With all these enemies out of the way, Mahd-e 'Olyā was in complete control of the state, and nothing was done without her order. Ȧamza Mirzā was appointed to the office of *vakīl-e dīvān-e a'lā*, and was authorized to place his seal on official documents above that of the vizier. Hoseyn Beg, the son of Ȧaja Šoja' al-Dīn Širazı, who was the maternal uncle of Ȧıraqolı Khan Šamlū (his sister, Kānī Jān Kānom, was a trusted servant of both Mahd-e 'Olyā and Ȧamza Mirzā), as a reward for his devoted service at Herat, was appointed vizier to Ȧamza Mirzā and entrusted with the seal of stewardship (*mohr-e vekālat*). Mollā Afzal Qazvīnī the astrologer, who was a house guest at the home of Mahd-e 'Olyā, whose confidence and trust he enjoyed, was appointed *kalāntar* and placed in charge of state transactions at Qazvin. Mirzā Salmān became vizier, with full independence, and acquired the titles of *rokn al-salṭana* (pillar of the kingdom) and *e'temād al-dowla* (trusted support of the state).

The office of *sadr* was entrusted to Mīr Šams al-Dīn Mohammad Kabişī Kermānī, a learned *seyyed* of pleasant temperament, formidable presence, and ascetic habit. He had attracted the attention of Sultan Mohammad Kodābanda when the latter stopped at the small town of Kabiş⁹ on his way from Herat to Shiraz, and the prince had promised he would petition Shah Tahmasp to grant him the office of *sadr*. Nothing happened at the time, but now that he was Shah, Sultan Mohammad was able to raise him to this office. A courier was dispatched to bring him to court, where he entered upon his new office with full independence of action.

Sultan Mohammad Shah divided up the Safavid empire among the emirs of the *qezelbāš* tribes: the governorship of Tabriz was given to Emir Khan Mowsellū, and a number of men (Esma'il Sultan and Šahqolı Sultan, the brothers of Emir Khan; his son, Sultan Morād Khan; and Ebrahim Sultan Piāda Torkmān) were promoted to the rank of emir on the recommendation of Emir Khan and were allocated fiefs in Azerbaijan. The office of *amīr al-omārd* of the province of Çökür-e Sa'd was given to Mohammadı Khan Toğmāq Ostajlū on the same terms on which he had held the office under Shah Tahmasp.

⁹Kabiş lay east-northeast of Kerman, almost on the edge of the Great Desert.

Emāmqolı Khan Qajār was confirmed in office as *amīr al-omāra* of Qarābāğ, a post to which he had been appointed by Shah Esma'il II. The office of *amīr al-omāra* of Šīrvān was awarded to Aras Khan Rūmlü, and Ordūğdī Kalifa Takkalū and a number of Rūmlü emirs were given fiefs in Šīrvān. Valı Khan Takkalū was made governor of Hamadan.

Of the Ostājlü emirs, Morshedqolı Khan Yakān was made governor of Bākarz and other districts of Khorasan; his brother, Ebrahim Khan, was given a fief at Eṣfarā'īn; Maḥmūd Khān Şüfloglū was given Torşız, and Kāf was given to Valı Khan the *čarkčibāšī* (commander of the skirmishers); Būdāq Khan Čegani¹⁰ was made governor of Kabūšān and districts of Khorasan; Abu'l-Fath Khan, the son of Ağzivār Khan Śamlü, and his brother Koş-ķabar Khan were given fiefs in the Kūsūya and Gūrlān districts. The governorship of Kerman was given to Valı Khan Afşār, a kinsman of the *qürčibāšī*, and Kalīl Khan Afşār was confirmed as governor of Kūh Gīlūya. The majority of the districts of Persian Iraq were allocated to the emirs of the court: Kashan was given to Mohammad Khan Mowṣellü, the kinsman of Emir Khan; Qazvin, to Sultan Ḥoseyn Khan Śamlü; Qom, as before, to Heydar Sultan Čābūq Torkmān; Sāva, to Abu'l-Ma'sūm Sultan Tarkān Torkmān; Rayy, to Moṣib Khan Takkalū; Kār and Semnān, to Śāhqolı Sultan Tabat-oğlu Zu'l-Qadar; Sā'ūj Bolāg and Jowšaqān, and some Arab districts, to Śahrok Khan the keeper of the seal; Tārom, Kalkal, and some other districts, to Pīra Mohammad Khan. The province of Fārs was allocated to the Zu'l-Qadars. Astarabād was granted to Mohammad Khan Ḥājjīlar Zu'l-Qadar, the cousin of Ebrahim Khan. In this way, all the emirs received fiefs appropriate to their station and were dismissed to their posts.

Khan Ahmad Gīlānī was placed in charge of Biya Piš (eastern Gīlān), as had been promised, and the title of "brother" was conferred on him; in addition, he was honored by a marriage alliance with the Safavid royal house and was given the hand of Maryam Sultan Begom, a daughter of Shah Tahmasp. The marriage was celebrated in fitting style at Qazvin, and Khan Ahmad departed for Gīlān.

Two Georgian princes were also honored by the Shah: 'Isā Khan Gorjī, the son of Lavand Khan, and Homāyūn Khan, the son of Luārsāb, both of whom had been imprisoned in the fortress of Alamūt and had been released by Shah Esma'il II. 'Isā Khan was given the

¹⁰A Kurdish tribe.

hand in marriage of a daughter of Sām Mīrzā, the brother of Shah Tahmasp, and sent to the province of Šakkī. Homāyūn Khan embraced Islam and assumed the Muslim name of Maḥmūd Khan; by virtue of the precept "Verily all believers are brethren,"¹¹ he too received the noble title of "brother." He then left for Georgia, where he took possession of his ancestral lands.

Of the eminent *seyyeds* and other nobility at court, some had remained there since the time of Shah Tahmasp, and others had gathered there during the reign of Shah Esma'il II; both groups had petitions and requests of every kind to present to the Shah. All received offices compatible with their station and were dismissed with robes of honor. Among them, Mīrmīrān-e Yazdī¹² had his *soy-ürgâls*¹³ renewed; his younger son, Shah Kalilollāh, was married to a daughter of Sultan Begom, the daughter of Shah Esma'il II, who was his nephew,¹⁴ and his elder son, Shah Ne'matollāh, was given in marriage to Kāneš Kānom, the daughter of Shah Tahmasp. Shah Ne'matollāh also received the noble style of "brother," and departed for Yazd.

When Sultan Mohammad Shah was firmly established on the throne, since he was zealous in the discharge of business, he opened the doors of the treasury and began to hand out money lavishly—so lavishly, in fact, that it bordered on extravagance. The principal officers of the state, and the vizier Mīrzā Salmān, because of the temper of the people and their eagerness for money, kept their own hands off these handouts. The result was that all the emirs who had been dispatched to the provinces received their pay and subsistence allowances for a year or even two—which was far more than they had expected to receive. For example, Emir Khan and his followers received seven thousand *tomān*. The royal tailoring department, which had an enormous stock of robes of honor that had accumulated over the years, distributed its garments to the emirs and officeholders, to financial agents, *kalāntars* (mayors), and other dignitaries in the pro-

¹¹Koran, 49:11.

¹²This was Emir Ğīas al-Dīn Mohammad Mīrmīrān, the son of Emir 'Abd al-Baqī, who held the posts of *sadr*, *vakīl*, and *amīr al-omārd* under Shah Esma'il I, and was killed at the battle of Calderān. It is significant that Sultan Mohammad Shah continued the policy of his predecessors of maintaining close marriage ties with the Ne'matollahī Order. Mīrmīrān himself held the posts of *naqib* and provincial *sadr*, under Tahmasp and Sultan Mohammad Shah (see A. K. S. Lambton, "Quis custodiet custodes?" in *Studia Islamica*, vi/1956, p. 130 and p. 131, n.1).

¹³Tax immunities.

¹⁴By marriage only.

vinces. Never a day passed without the Shah bestowing ten or twenty robes of honor on unknown persons. The troops of the royal body-guard, who had received no pay for ten years, if not longer, were paid all the arrears due to them. Every day, chests full of gold and silver coins were brought from the royal treasury, and the money was doled out to the *qūrcīs*; in this way, the Shah discharged the obligations of Shah Tahmasp.

The way was open for the holders of *dīvān* offices to line their pockets, and bribery became the order of the day. The *qezelbāš* tribes, with the support of the elders of each tribe, put forward demands that were often incompatible with one another, but having bribed the viziers and the principal officers of state, they pressed on with their schemes. New emirs were added to the establishment of every tribe, but since all the provinces had already been allocated in the form of fiefs, they drew their pay from the royal treasury.¹⁵ At the same time, militants in every tribe began to stir up trouble, and each tribe began to claim precedence over its rivals and to act in an independent manner. In short, the *qezelbāš* put the satisfaction of their own aspirations first, and the interests of religion and the state a poor second.

As a result, within a short space of time the royal treasuries were denuded of both money and goods, which were scattered like particles of dust.¹⁶ Turquoise dust from the mines, which had been accumulated over a period of fifty years, was squandered with reckless extravagance. Although there was little peace and security for the populace in general during the reign of Sultan Mohammad Shah, and the civilian population endured hard times, the military were loaded with benefactions and favors, and gained high office. The arrogant *qezelbāš* tribes pursued conflicting goals, and every head contained some selfish ambition. Arrogance and conceit produced discord and division among this traditionally loyal body of men, and factionalism reared its head.

As rumors of the dissension among the *qezelbāš* spread, grave weaknesses appeared in the body politic. Neighboring monarchs and other enemies, who were awaiting just such an opportunity, en-

¹⁵A radical departure from normal practice. The *qezelbāš* troops were paid by assignments on land or on the revenue from land in the "state" (*mamālek*) provinces; the resources of the royal treasury at this time were totally inadequate for the purpose of making cash payments to the troops.

¹⁶Koran, 25, 24.

croached on Persian territory from east and west. Sultan Morād,¹⁷ breaking the covenants made by his brothers, laid covetous eyes on Iran, especially Azerbaijan and Šīrvān, and various refractory elements seized the occasion to claim their independence and to make inroads on Persian soil.

Sultan Mohammad Shah, because of the disunity and factionalism in the army, the dissension among the emirs, the disputes between the *qezelbāš* tribes, and the disobedience of even the army commanders, and because of his own mild nature, was unable to ward off his powerful foes. Finally, matters reached such a pass that large areas of Iran, including Šīrvān and its dependencies, and the cities of Tabriz and Herat, both former capitals of mighty princes, fell into the hands of enemies. Men prayed for deliverance, which God in His mercy vouchsafed unto them by bringing to the throne 'Abbas Mīrzā, who subjugated the realm by his wise administration and his fiery sword, as will be described in more detail at the appropriate place, God willing!

The Invasion of Khorasan by Jalāl Khan Uzbeg and His Death at the Hands of Mortezāqolī Khan Torkmān

The news of the murder of the Safavid royal princes by Shah Esma'il II spread far and wide and called attention to the fact that, apart from the Shah himself and his year-old infant son, no descendant of Shah Esma'il I had survived.¹⁸ When Esma'il II was murdered, the external foes of Iran, thinking that the foundations of the Safavid empire were crumbling, and that dissension was rife among the *qezelbāš*, began to make inroads on Safavid territory. One of these enemies was Jalāl Khan, the son of Dīn Mohammad Khan, who after the death of Abu'l-Mohammad Khan, was distinguished by his valor above the other sultans of Ürganj.¹⁹

With six or seven thousand Uzbegs of the Nālman²⁰ tribe, Jalāl

¹⁷The Ottoman sultan Morād III (982-1003/1574-95).

¹⁸This is, of course, an exaggeration; Sultan Mohammad Kodabanda and his sons were still alive.

¹⁹The former Gūrganj, called by the Arabs al-Jūrjāniya. The earlier city was destroyed by the Mongols in 1220, and the site of the new city, named Ürganj, lay a few miles to the south. From the seventeenth century onward, Ürganj was gradually replaced by Kīva as the capital of the province of Kārazm.

²⁰Originally a Mongol tribe.

Khan, bent on plunder and pillage, swept into Khorasan from the regions of Nesā and Abīvard and reached Mašhad. Since none of the great emirs individually had the strength to oppose him, they crept into their forts and waited for one of the *beglerbegs*²¹ to organize a campaign against him; then they would rally round and take the field. After plundering the Mašhad region, Jalāl Khan moved to Jām; after plundering that province too of its flocks and herds, he planned to return by way of Sarakhs, driving the stolen animals before him. Morteżāqolī Khan Pornāk, the *beglerbeg* of Mašhad, sent couriers to the various emirs who had been placed under his command and issued a call to arms. Since he knew that Jalāl Khan did not have as his objective the conquest of territory but would be satisfied with the acquisition of booty and was, in fact, already on his way back, Morteżāqolī Khan did not wait for the arrival of his reinforcements, but set off in pursuit of Jalāl Khan with a body of his own retainers and a detachment of *qūrčis* stationed at Mašhad. When he reached Jām, he was joined by some of the emirs and some local troops—about three thousand men in all.

At 'Eşqbād, in the province of Jām, Jalāl Khan received news of the approach of Morteżāqolī Khan and the *qezelbāš* army, and halted his march. Some of the experienced Uzbeg elders counseled Jalāl Khan that, since they had come on a raid and were not prepared for a pitched battle, they should first put the stolen cattle in some safe place. Jalāl Khan, however, in his arrogance, cared nothing for the *qezelbāš* army and prepared for battle. On both sides the trumpets sounded the call to arms, and the fighting raged from late afternoon until sunset. Jalāl Khan, who had not previously experienced a *qezelbāš* charge or witnessed the steadiness of the *gāzis* in battle, was astonished at the prowess of the small band which faced him, and began to regret his decision. When the last rays of sunlight had departed, both sides broke off the battle, retired each to its own camp, and mounted guard for the night.

For their part, the *qezelbāš gāzis* were sufficiently dismayed by the valor of the Uzbeqs not to wish to resume the fight, but Morteżāqolī Khan was determined to rout the enemy. At first light, he led his men once again into the fray, urging them on by his personal example. At the height of the battle, Ommat Beg Ostājlū came upon Jalāl Khan, without recognizing who he was, and unhorsed him with a thrust of his spear. Ommat Beg was about to dismount and cut off his

²¹Provincial governors.

head when an Uzbeg in Jalāl Khan's retinue shouted, "Do not kill him; it is Jalāl Khan." When the *qezelbāš* heard the name Jalāl Khan, a group of Turkmans and Čegenis rushed up, snatched him from the grasp of Ommat Beg and the Ostājlüs, and dragged him into the presence of Morteżāqolī Khan. I have heard from some of the men who fought in this battle that the Ostājlüs displayed great valor, and that there was a dispute between them and the Turkmans and Čegenis over this incident of the capture of Jalāl Khan, each tribe claiming the credit for it.

Morteżāqolī Khan put Jalāl Khan to death. After the capture of their leader, the Uzbegs fled, and much booty fell into the hands of the *qezelbāš*. Jalāl Khan's head, equipment, and weapons were sent to court, and Morteżāqolī Khan was suitably rewarded. After this splendid victory, he raised the standard of independence in Khorasan. Since he had achieved a victory of such magnitude without the assistance of Aliqoli Khan Šāmlū, the *beglerbeg* of Herat, he began to ignore the latter, who was the guardian of the prince Abbās. Morteżāqolī Khan always did the opposite of what he was instructed to do by Aliqoli Khan, and considered himself superior to the latter. Their feud, fanned by mischief makers, became an open rift and eventually led to conflict; on several occasions the two officers led their forces against each other, as will be related in the appropriate place, God willing!

The Revolt in Sīstān and the Struggle Between the Rebels and Ja'far Sultan Afšār

After the death of Shah Tahmasp, discord and strife arose in various parts of the Safavid empire. The first revolt to occur in Khorasan was sparked by the people of Sīstān. When Shah Tahmasp died, Badi' al-Zamān Mīrzā, the son of the late Bahrām Mīrzā, was governor of the province of Nīmrūz²² and Timur Khan Ostājlū was his guardian. During the reign of Shah Esma'il Mīrzā, Timur Khan put Badi' al-Zamān Mīrzā to death on the orders of the Shah. Timur Khan himself remained in Sīstān, but his misdemeanors and unjust practices and those of the Ostājlū tribe caused the emirs and nobles of Sīstān to loathe the *qezelbāš* domination. They banded together and expelled Timur Khan from Sīstān, and for a while the province was without any *qezelbāš*.

²²Another name for the province of Sīstān (see Le Strange, p. 334).

As a result, rebels emerged on all sides. They tried to revive Ṣaffarid rule²³ by offering the government of the province to a number of emirs who had the ability to do the job, but some of the latter prudently declined the offer. After the death of Esma'il II and the accession of Sultan Mohammad Shah, the activities of seditious elements increased. Determined to repudiate *qezelbāš* dominance entirely and to declare their independence, they persuaded Malek Maḥmūd to accept the governorship of the province. Hardly had he done so, however, when Sultan Mohammad Shah appointed Ja'far Sultan Arešlū Afšār governor of Sīstān. Those who supported the local emirs and *maleks* retired to the islands and various other strongholds, but the rest of the people of Sīstān, including all the emirs and *maleks* who did not support Malek Maḥmūd, casting a prudent eye to the future, went out to welcome Ja'far Sultan and to tender their submission to him.

When Ja'far Sultan had taken stock of the situation in Sīstān, he realized he was not strong enough to deal with those he suspected of disloyalty. He therefore maintained a bland front of apparent friendship toward these elements, and allowed most of them to disperse to their own homes. He retained at his side, however, Malek Čīās al-Dīn Mohammad from among the *maleks*, and Emir Mōbārez 'Alī from among the emirs. The rest of the populace, both friend and foe, he dismissed to their own homes. Some of the notables of the province, for example the *maleks* of Sarāyān and Pošt-e Šahr, made common cause with Ja'far Sultan and submitted to him. Other districts alternated between hope and fear, and the Sultan kept up his conciliatory policy for six months. During this period, Malek Čīās al-Dīn Mohammad died a natural death, and his sons and dependents were allowed to rejoin their relatives. No sooner had they done so than the dissidents who had retired to the islands, at the instance of Malek Maḥmūd, began to make daily forays in the vicinity of the city.

When their behavior had exceeded all bounds, Ja'far Sultan, with 'Ebād Sultan Afšār, governor of Garmsīrāt, who had been ordered by the Shah to go to his assistance, marched out against them with two thousand fully equipped *qezelbāš* troops, together with some thousand Sīstānis loyal to the *qezelbāš*. Malek Maḥmūd and his emirs marched to meet him with a large army, crossed the Hīrmand River,

²³The Ṣaffarids were a native dynasty which had, in the ninth-tenth centuries, made Sīstān the center of a large but ephemeral empire. Descendants of the original Ṣaffarid rulers continued to hold intermittent authority in Sīstān for at least another six centuries (see C. E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties*, Edinburgh, 1967, pp. 103-106).

and fought a battle on its banks. Ja'far Sultan led charge after charge in the most intrepid manner, exposing himself to greater danger than was suitable for a commanding officer. Suddenly his horse was struck by an arrow, and Ja'far Sultan was flung down with such force that he lay stunned on the ground, where he was at once slain by one of the enemy. His death was the signal for the rout of his troops, who streamed back to the city in full retreat. Malek Maḥmūd forbade a pursuit, so the *qezelbāš* did not lose many men. He then sent a courier into the city to inform the *qezelbāš* that they were free to pack their bags and go, and the crestfallen *qezelbāš* left the province.

When Malek Maḥmūd was sure that the *qezelbāš* had left the city, he entered it in great style and took over the government of the province. News of his prowess spread to all parts of Khorasan, and notable men of every class of society gathered round him. So Malek Maḥmūd, who had hitherto had to make do with the modicum of respect shown to him by the *qezelbāš*, now found himself undisputed master of a rich province. He rejoiced the hearts of men by his prodigality, and he distributed largess to the extent that he was able. Soon, however, evil men and flatterers, seeking their own profit, began to whisper to him, "You are of the stock of Ya'qūb b. Leys,²⁴ who styled himself King of the World. Why be satisfied with Sīstān?" This sort of talk filled his head with wild ideas, and he aspired to be an independent ruler. But some prudent souls counseled him not to seek open conflict with the Safavid house, and he himself came to regret his action.

He sent an envoy to the royal court to offer his submission. He chose as his intermediary Moḥammad Khan Torkmān, who had been governor of Sīstān and guardian of Bādī' al-Zamān Mīrzā during the reign of Shah Tahmasp, and through him he petitioned for the governorship of Sīstān. Malek Maḥmūd's envoys reached court and delivered their gifts. Moḥammad Khan Torkmān, who at that time was a powerful figure in the state, supported Malek Maḥmūd's cause, and obtained for him from the Shah the governorship of Sīstān. Sultan Moḥammad Shah and his principal officers of state decided in the circumstances to turn a blind eye to the death of Ja'far Sultan, and the letters-patent were sent to Malek Maḥmūd without delay. The latter's power increased apace, as did that of the princess of Kandahar—but all this will be related in Book II of this work, under the events of the reign of Shah 'Abbas I.

²⁴The founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty (ruled 867-79).

Events in Azerbaijan and Šīrvān, the Ottoman Campaign in Those Regions, and Subsequent Events

Since God so willed, hardship and tribulation became the lot of the people of Azerbaijan and Šīrvān after the murder of Shah Esma'il II, and all peace and security departed from those regions. Sedition and discord consumed the lives and property of civilians and military alike. For some two years, these regions were the scene of repeated invasion by foreign troops, who killed and looted. Muslims were taken into captivity, a thing which had never happened before in history, and many wives and sons of seyyeds and men of rank were subjected to the yoke of slavery. I hope to give the details of this at the end of this section of the book. But since God had decreed that it should be the destiny of Shah Abbas I to restore stability to the realm of Iran and to remedy the affairs of Iranians, no relief was forthcoming until Shah Abbas came to the throne. Praise be to God that, under that king's beneficent rule, the enemies of Iran have received their just deserts and have disgorged the territory they had seized, and the warring tribes once again live together in harmony. Today the land of Iran, under the just rule of the *šāhanshāh* of the world, invites comparison with Paradise. May God preserve him and prolong his reign, so that his subjects may continue to enjoy peace and security! Glory be to God! What lay have I been singing, and whither has the Lord of Felicity been leading my involuntary pen?

To return to my theme. A number of seditious Kurds, notably Ğazı Beg and other sons of Šähqolı Balîlân and Ğazı Qerân, lived between Vâñ and the Azerbaijan border. As is the custom of landowners in frontier areas, these men, as occasion demanded, from time to time attached themselves to the saddle straps of one of the rulers in the area and claimed to be his retainers, but their real motive was to stir up trouble and achieve their own ends in the ensuing confusion. On the accession of Shah Esma'il II they professed to enter his service, and were received with favor. After his death, however, when they saw the weakness and disarray of the Safavid state and of the *qezel-bāš* army, they went to Vâñ and started to create trouble there. They incited Kosrow Pasha, the governor of Vâñ, to take advantage of the situation. As a result, Kosrow Pasha, either for his own ends or on orders from the Ottoman Sultan, cast into oblivion the treaty that had been concluded between Shah Tahmasp and Sultan Sülaymân. That treaty was reinforced by sworn oaths and by an instrument in Sultan Sülaymân's own hand, and binding on succeeding generations.²⁵

²⁵The reference is to the Treaty of Amasya (1555), which inaugurated a period of thirty years of peace between the two empires.

Kosrow Pasha sent a force composed of Ottoman troops and Kurdish emirs against Koy and Salmās; he thus rendered himself liable to the penalty expressed in the saying: "Sedition is sleeping; may God curse him who wakes her up."

Before Emir Khan, the *beglerbeg* of Azerbaijan, and his fellow emirs had arrived at Tabriz to take up their posts, this combined Ottoman and Kurdish force made a sudden attack on Ḥoseyn Khan Sultan Keneslū and Mahmūd Sultan Rūmlū, who were holding the area of Tūprāq Qal'a-Orūmī-Salmās-Koy. The *qezelbāš*, lulled by years of peace and not expecting the Ottoman sultan to break his covenant, were caught off guard. They went out to do battle, but heavily outnumbered and deceived by a stratagem of the Kurds, were defeated. Since most of the *qezelbāš* had their families with them, they fought desperately to protect them. But they were wiped out, their women and children taken prisoner, and their belongings plundered. The enemy also ravaged the surrounding area. The Kurds then occupied the forts of Gowgar-Çinliq and Tūprāq-Qal'a in the district of Orūmī.

When Emir Khan reached Tabriz, he assembled a force of about fifteen thousand men and marched against them. Some of the Kurds decided to remain in their forts; others retreated whence they had come. Emir Khan found the region devastated and the peasants scattered, and no *qezelbāš* force could obtain the supplies necessary for its maintenance. He was therefore unable to reduce the forts or bring the region under Safavid control, and he retired to Tabriz. As a result, the plight of that region became worse; the inhabitants were forced to choose between leaving their homes and submitting to the Ottomans, who continued to occupy the area.

The pasha of Erzerum also sent a force of some six or seven thousand men, in the depth of winter, to Šūra Gel, and burned the tents of Qarā Sultan Bāybordlū. Qarā Sultan counterattacked with two to three thousand men, and the Ottomans suffered some three hundred casualties; he pursued the retreating Ottomans and slew many more as they got stuck in the snow. The Bāybordlūs lost no more than forty or fifty men, but they moved their campgrounds from Šūra Gel.

The presence of the Ottomans and the successful revolt of the Kurds encouraged others to rebel: among them was a tribe which had long enjoyed the favor of the Safavid royal house, and which resided in the Soldūz and Miāndūab districts of Maraga. The leader of this

tribe, Amīra Beg, now styled himself Amīra Khan, came to Marāgā, seized possession of the royal stud at Qarācūq, and went off with nearly ten thousand horses of Bedouin Arab stock—stallions and mares, large and small. When Emir Khan heard of this he rushed off in pursuit, but succeeded only in recovering and taking to Tabriz a few horses which had foundered along the road and been left behind by the raiders lest they slow up their retreat.

In Šīrvān too, there was trouble. Abū Bakr Mīrzā, the son of Bōr-hān, a descendant of the former kings of Šīrvān, who for fear of the *qezelbāš* was in exile in Dāgestān and Circassia, was persuaded to put himself at the head of a force of several thousand Lezgis²⁶ and men of the Qarā Būrak tribe, who were descended from the former soldiers of the armies of Šīrvān. They began to ravage the borders of that province. Abū Bakr Mīrzā sent an envoy to seek the aid of the Ottoman sultan in installing him as vassal ruler in Šīrvān, and a delegation of Šīrvānis went to Istanbul, where they made much of their common faith with the Ottomans as they sought help against the *qezelbāš*. These events led Sultan Morād to break the treaty of peace with Iran and to decide on the annexation of Azerbaijan and Šīrvān.

The invasion force, more than 100,000 strong, was led by Moṣṭafā Pasha, the Sultan's guardian and thus known as Lala Pasha. He ordered Mohammad Gerāy Khan Tātār, an ally of the Ottomans and the son of Dowlat Gerāy, who was descended from Jočī the son of Genghis Khan, to mobilize a large Tartar army and march to Šīrvān via the Kazar steppe. Mohammad Gerāy lived in Bağča-sarāy with some one hundred thousand Tartar households. The Crimean khan, attracted by the prospect of plundering that reputedly rich region, responded eagerly to Moṣṭafā Pasha's summons. When this news reached Qazvin, the Shah's advisers counseled him first to send a friendly letter to the Ottoman sultan inquiring why he had broken the peace treaty and permitted his wardens of the marches to act with such insolence, and reminding him that on the Persian side the treaty had been observed. The letter was sent with Valī Beg Ostājlū, a retainer of Mohammadī Khan Tokmāq, but the courier was intercepted by the governors and pashas in the frontier regions and not allowed to proceed to Istanbul.

Moṣṭafā Pasha continued his march: he left Anatolia and reached

²⁶Or Lakz; see V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvan and Derband*, index, especially pp. 80-81.

the province of Qārṣ, which lies between the provinces of Čokūr-e Sa'd and Erzerum. One of the conditions of the Treaty of Amasya was that the province of Qārṣ should remain a no-man's land between the two empires, and that neither side should attempt to rebuild or fortify it. Moṣṭafā Pasha now set about repairing the forts in the area and installing garrisons and commandants. He then marched on to the province of Ākesqa, a district of Georgia, the fief of Manūčehr Khan Gorjī, the son-in-law of Samā'ūn (Simon) Khan. The latter opposed the Ottomans, put his fortress in a state of defense, and himself visited Samā'ūn Khan. Moṣṭafā Pasha invested the fort with artillery, and leaving the siege in the hands of a detachment of Janissaries, marched on into Samā'ūn Khan's territory.

Mohammadi Khan Toğmāq Ostājlū, the *beglerbeg* of Čokūr-e Sa'd, reported the approach of Lala Pasha to the Shah, who ordered the *beglerbeg*, Emir Khan, and Emāmqolı Khan, the *beglerbeg* of Qarābāğ, to mobilize the troops from Azerbaijan and move against the enemy. After several meetings of the council, it was agreed that since the Ottoman sultan was not leading his army in person, it would be beneath the dignity of the Shah to lead the Persian forces. Ḥamza Mīrzā was ordered to mobilize the troops of Iraq and Fārs, join forces with the Azerbaijan army, and take charge of operations. Meanwhile, Mohammadi Khan had written to Emir Khan and Emāmqolı Khan, bidding them join him in Čokūr-e Sa'd, since this seemed to be the probable line of Ottoman advance. Once they arrived, he said, they would take counsel together as to how to proceed. But Emir Khan, because of the quarrel between the Turkmans and the Ostājlūs, did not want any member of the Ostājlū tribe to hold any post of importance, and delayed his departure beyond all reasonable bounds. Emāmqolı Khan joined Mohammadi Khan at Čoldor, but there was no sign of Emir Khan.

Moṣṭafā Pasha, meanwhile, had repaired the fort at Qārṣ, and was engaged in reducing the fort at Ākesqa. It became clear that he was making for Georgia. The two *qezelbāš* khans decided to bar his passage, thinking in their arrogance that it was an easy matter to give battle to the Ottomans. They marched against the Pasha with fifteen thousand men from Čokūr-e Sa'd and Qarābāğ. When he heard of their approach, Moṣṭafā Pasha sent out large patrols daily—about ten thousand men from the troops of the *sanjaq-begs* and the frontier regiments, under the command of reliable pashas and *beglerbegs*. The Pasha did not pay much attention to this *qezelbāš* threat because

of the size of his own army and the reports he had received, from rebel Kurds and others, of the disunity of the *qezelbāš* tribes.

When the skirmishers on both sides met, the *qezelbāš* charged and scattered the Ottomans and put to flight the troops stationed behind them. The *qezelbāš* emirs in the center then charged and slew two or three thousand of the enemy, mostly frontier Kurds; others were taken prisoner, secured by lassos. The emirs, realizing that their men had gone too far ahead in pursuit of the enemy, decided to follow them in case there was an Ottoman counterattack. When the news reached him, Lala Pasha calmly detailed a force of thirty thousand men, under the command of certain notable pashas and *beglerbegs*, to counterattack. As soon as the Ottomans sighted the *qezelbāš*, now strung out some two or three *farsaiks* ahead of the emirs, they launched an attack with ten thousand men, driving the *qezelbāš* back before them. By this time, the *qezelbāš* horses were beginning to flag; any man who had a prisoner alongside cut him loose, but even so the *qezelbāš* sustained a severe defeat, losing about a thousand men killed, mostly Mohammadī Khan's men from Çökür-e Sa'd. The emirs, trying to keep up with the *qezelbāš* ahead, had lost formation and had no time to re-form; they therefore fell back on their own camp.

The first crime of which the *qezelbāš* were guilty was intertribal bickering, which prevented them from working harmoniously together. Their second fault lay in their taking on an Ottoman army of one hundred thousand men with their own force of fifteen thousand, without waiting for other contingents to arrive. The result of their folly was that Lala Pasha was encouraged, and the slight apprehension he had felt in regard to the *qezelbāš* was removed. If all the forces of Azerbaijan and Sīrvān had assembled at one rendezvous, they would have numbered more than fifty thousand men; if the Georgian princes had joined them, Lala Pasha's task would have been difficult. As it was, because of *qezelbāš* disunity, their strength in Azerbaijan was gradually frittered away; their leaders were killed one after the other, and the financial resources they had built up over the years were dissipated.

A few days after his victory at Čoldor, Lala Pasha captured the fort of Ākesqa. Leaving a garrison there, he pressed on toward the territory of Samā'ün (Simon) Khan. Mohammadī Khan remained in his own province, and the Qarābāğ army under Emāmqolı Khan returned to its base. Lala Pasha called on Samā'ün Khan and Alex-

ander to submit, but there was even dissension between the two Georgian princes. Samā'ūn remained steadfastly loyal to the Safavid royal house, took his men into the mountain fastnesses, defied the Ottomans, and scored some notable successes over them. Alexander Khan, on the other hand, was a diplomatic man who looked to his own future; he dissembled with the Ottomans and sent gifts to Lala Pasha, declaring his submission. Cheered by this, Lala Pasha marched without trouble through the mountain passes and reached Tiflis. In the time of Shah Tahmasp, the fortress there had been held by Dā'ūd (David) Khan, the brother of Samā'ūn. When the Ottomans arrived, Dā'ūd Khan, despairing of help from his brothers because of family quarrels, evacuated the fort, which was promptly occupied by the Ottomans and garrisoned.

At Gori, the capital of princes of Georgia, the Ottomans put the fort in order and then marched against Širvān. 'Alī Khan Gorjī, the brother of Alexander, who was at Šakkī, was unable to oppose the Pasha, who marched without hindrance into Dāgestān. The Lezgīs and the governors of Dāgestān submitted to him. The populace showed itself hostile to the *qezelbāš*, and Aras Khan, the *beglerbeg* of Širvān, a sensible commander, considered himself unable either to meet the Ottomans in the field or, in view of the hostility of the citizens, to attempt to hold the fort. He therefore withdrew, with all his baggage and dependents, to the river Kor, and the province of Širvān was annexed by the Ottomans. Lala Pasha appointed 'Osmān Pasha *beglerbeg* of Širvān, left Qeytās Pasha at Aras, and appointed governors for all areas of Širvān. He strengthened the forts at Šamākī, Aras, and Bākū, and then began his homeward march. Abū Bakr Mīrzā, the son of Borhān, who had expected to be installed as governor of Širvān on condition that he send tribute to the Ottoman sultan, was left behind in Širvān to cooperate with the Ottomans in administering the province. Moṣṭafā Pasha pacified him by promising, on his return to Istanbul, to obtain from the Sultan letters appointing him governor of Širvān.

When the Ottomans withdrew, Emāmqolī Khan joined forces with Samā'ūn Khan, and on several occasions they suddenly emerged from the forests of Georgia and achieved notable successes against the Ottomans. Although the Ottomans, in the course of this whole campaign, lost about twenty thousand men, this did not affect the overall strength of Lala Pasha's army, because of its size. Emir Khan,

the *beglerbeg* of Tabriz, had belatedly marched with ten thousand men to the assistance of Moḥammadī Khan Tokmāq. When he heard that Moḥammadī Khan had been defeated and that the Pasha had gone on to Georgia and Šīrvān, he marched to Qarābāg, where he joined forces with Emāmqolī Khan. Together, the khans marched from the river Kor and caught up with the Ottomans on the banks of the river Qabri, in Georgia. Awaiting their opportunity, they fell on a detachment of some four or five thousand Ottoman troops who had left the main body to forage, slew two thousand of them, and carried off their horses and possessions. A number of Ottoman emirs were taken in this engagement.

Emir Khan, satisfied with this victory, wished to retire and winter in Qarābāg, and there await the arrival of Hamza Mīrzā and the main royal army. A number of inexperienced hotheads among the *qezelbāš*, including Emir Khan's own son Sultan Morād Khan, wanted another victory. They crossed the river Qabri and gave battle. The Ottomans crossed the river and encircled the *qezelbāš*, catching some two or three thousand of Emir Khan's men in a trap. The *qezelbāš* were defeated, with the loss of several thousand men dead, and Emir Khan saw nothing for it but to retire to Tabriz. Lala Pasha wintered at Erzerum.

The Arrival of Sultan Hamza Mīrzā in Qarābāg and Šīrvān and His Successful Campaign There

Sultan Hamza Mīrzā, accompanied by the chief officers of state and by his mother, Mahd-e 'Olyā, who could not bear to be parted from her favorite son, left Qazvin and marched to Azerbaijan. Royal mobilization orders were sent to all parts of the empire. When the prince reached Miāna he paused for a few days' rest to be briefed on the course of operations in Georgia and Šīrvān, and to hold a council of war. The consensus was that the best plan was to march in the direction of Qarābāg, and the prince adopted this plan. En route, he went to Ardabil and visited the shrine of Shaikh Ṣafī, where he invoked the aid of the spirits of the Safavid shaikhs. Then he marched to Qarābāg. It was agreed that he and Mahd-e 'Olyā should encamp at Qezel Āğāj, and the emirs and the vizier, Mīrzā Salmān, should cross the river Kor and enter Šīrvān.

When they heard of the approach of the royal army, Aras Khan

and the emirs of Šīrvān feared that they might be criticized by the officers of the central administration and censured by the *qezelbāš* for failing to give battle to the Ottomans and for abandoning Šīrvān. They therefore decided that, before the prince arrived, they would mount an expedition against Šamākī and lay siege to it; if they took it, they would redeem themselves. Accordingly, they recrossed the river Kor and marched on Šamākī. But the Rümlüs had been in Šīrvān for a number of years, and their discipline had become soft. Disaster overtook them, most of their leaders were killed, and the large quantity of stores and possessions they had accumulated was plundered. It happened in the following manner.

I mentioned earlier that Sultan Morād Khan, the Ottoman sultan, had enjoined Mohammad Gerāy Khan, the son of the khan of the Crimean Tartars Dowlat Gerāy, to attack the *qezelbāš* by way of Darband, and Mohammad Gerāy had sent his brother, 'Ādel Gerāy, with twenty thousand men, to the assistance of the Ottomans. Aras Khan and the Šīrvān emirs were preparing to give battle to the Ottomans when the advance guard of the Tartars came in sight, and within a short time the hills and plain were swarming with them. Some of the *qezelbāš* emirs were for turning back and fighting their way through to some secure place. Aras Khan, however, could not bring himself to retreat; and indeed, it was already too late. Resolved to die valiantly, the *qezelbāš* flung themselves upon the hordes advancing on them from all sides—Ottomans, Tartars, Lezgls, Qarā Būrak, and Šīrvān rebels. Aras Khan and others were taken prisoner and put to death; still others died in battle; the rest fled back to their camp. After the battle, 'Oşmān Pasha retired again to the fortress at Šamākī, but 'Ādel Gerāy Khan and the Tartars went in pursuit of the *qezelbāš* toward the river Kor, intending to plunder their camp.

Ordügdı Kalifa Takkalū and some of the sons of Aras Khan who had escaped from the battle reported the affair to Ḥamza Mīrzā, Mīrzā Salmaṇ, and the emirs who had reached Qarābag. Hamza Mīrzā ordered the emirs of Ṭavaleš to hasten to Aras Khan's camp, to set up patrols along the Kor river, and to guard the camp. The royal army, he said, was on its way to Šīrvān. The Ṭaleš emirs were holding the bridge at Javād to permit the passage of the *qezelbāš* wounded and patrolling the banks of the river when they received the news of the approach of the Tartar and Lezgī army. The emirs at once cut the bridge, but a group of the enemy flung themselves recklessly into the water, swam across, and gave battle to the *qezelbāš*. While the fight-

ing was in progress, the *qezelbāş* heard that another group of the enemy, guided by Širvānī rebels, had crossed the river at another point and made its way around to their rear. *Sauve qui peut* became the order of the day for the *qezelbāş*, who fled in disorder back to the camp, where their arrival caused the utmost panic and confusion. The men in the camp were still struggling to pack their equipment when the Lezgīs and Tartars fell on them; the women and children were taken prisoner, and all their stores were plundered. 'Ādel Gerāy Khan, with his Tartar and Lezgī forces, retired across the river with their loot the same day and returned to Širvān.

Meanwhile, Mīrzā Salmān and the great emirs marched from Qarā Kūtal in Qarābağ, crossed the river Kor at Qūmīn Ülāmī,²⁷ and laid siege to Šamākī. Leaving a force to prosecute the siege, the main army, under Mīrzā Salmān, the *qurcībaşı*, Şahroğ Khan the keeper of the seal, Mōhammad Khan Torkmān, Pīra Mōhammad Khan Ostājlū, Sultan Hoseyn Khan the grandson of Dürmīš Khan Šamlū, Valī Kalīfa Šamlū, Mosīb Khan Saraf al-Dīn-oğlū Takkalū, Emāmqolī Khan Qājār, Emir Ḥamza Khan the son of Abdollāh Khan Ostājlū, and others, went in pursuit of the Tartars. 'Ādel Gerāy, confident of his ability to repeat his recent victories over the *qezelbāş*, moved toward Šamākī in support of 'Osmān Pasha, and the two armies met at the village of Mollā Hasan. 'Ādel Gerāy Khan drew up his forces, consisting of twelve thousand Tartars and four or five thousand Lezgīs, Qarā Būrak, and Širvānī rebels, and Emir Ḥamza Khan Ostājlū led the attack on him with the Safavid skirmishers. Some of the emirs who were besieging Šamākī, deciding that there was more to be gained by taking part in the action against the Tartars than in their siege operations, marched without orders and joined the royal army.

The Tartars stood firm under repeated *qezelbāş* charges, and the battle raged all day. When 'Ādel Gerāy Khan perceived some signs of weariness among his men, he cheered them on. At this point, a certain Baba Kalīfa Dānqarālū unhorsed 'Ādel Gerāy with a thrust of his spear; when the Khan disclosed his identity, he took him prisoner. The Tartars broke and fled, and the *gazīs* in their pursuit slew many of them, but many of the Lezgīs and Širvānīs, because they knew the land, escaped. When the *gazīs* saw the rich booty to be had, they abandoned their pursuit of the Tartars. Almost all the booty which had been taken by the Tartars from Aras Khan's camp fell into their hands—whole camel trains of goods, just as they had been carried off

²⁷I have been unable to identify this place.

by the Tartars. Because there was no one there to claim them, the *gazis* officially took possession of them.

Mirzā Salmān and the great emirs, following this great victory, returned to Šamakī. ‘Osmān Pasha, considering his position there untenable as a result of the defeat of his Tartar allies, abandoned the fortress and retreated in the direction of Darband. A detachment of *qezelbāš* emirs pursued him as far as Šabarān²⁸ and captured a number of Ottoman guns and a quantity of equipment. ‘Osmān Pasha occupied the fort at Darband, and awaited help from the Lezgis and Dāgestānis.

When the news of the victory reached the royal camp, Ḥamza Mirzā and Mahd-e ‘Olyā had the kettledrums sound a triumphal fanfare and sent a troop of *qūrčis* to bring ‘Ādel Gerāy to the camp and to instruct the emirs to attack Darband. Against the wishes of Mahd-e ‘Olyā, however, Mirzā Salmān and the emirs left a detachment in Širvān and themselves returned to the royal camp in Qarabāğ, bringing with them ‘Ādel Gerāy. The advisers of the prince and his mother counseled them to establish friendly relations with the Crimean Tartars in the hope of weaning them away from the Ottomans and thus making Širvān immune from their attacks. This advice was accepted; ‘Ādel Gerāy Khan was received with honor, and several Tartar prisoners were released to serve him. A number of *qūrčis* were placed at his service and also ordered to keep watch on him.

The emirs' choice as governor of Širvān was Emir Ḥamza Khan, but Mahd-e ‘Olyā, still angry because the emirs had returned to Qarabāğ instead of marching against Darband, decided to leave the decision to the Shah. The emirs and Mahd-e ‘Olyā did not see eye to eye on many matters, and she made some quite reasonable criticisms of their behavior. This dispute led Mahd-e ‘Olyā to strike camp and return, and no one could stop her from taking this imprudent action. So the army set off, in the depths of winter, with mountains and plains covered in a blanket of snow. Despite the fact that it snowed continuously on the way, the army covered a distance normally considered to be a month's hard march in a fortnight, and entered Qazvin on the fifteenth of Dey.²⁹ The great emirs, ashamed of the uncivil words they had spoken to Mahd-e ‘Olyā, were constant in their attendance on her and the prince, and entered Qazvin with them. The Shah gave

²⁸Three days' march from Šamakī on the road to Darband (Le Strange, p. 180).

²⁹About the end of the first week in January, 1580.

'Ādel Gerāy lodgings in the state apartments alongside the hall of audience, and detailed a group of *qūrčīs* to guard him and to serve his needs and those of his men in regard to food, drink, and clothing. It was agreed that 'Ādel Gerāy should send a courier to inform his brother, Mohammad Gerāy Khan, and his mother that he was safe and being well looked after at the Safavid court. So 'Ādel Gerāy detailed ten of his retainers for this task, and the Shah sent a letter of friendship with them by the hand of one of his *qūrčīs*.

The post of governor of Šīrvān was awarded by the Shah to Mohammad Kalīfa Ḥājjīlar Zu'l-Qadar, who had been governor of Astarābād at the end of the reign of Shah Tahmasp, but had been forced to leave his post and come to Qazvin by the seditious activities of the black-robed ones and the Yaqqā Turkmans. A number of other governorships were also filled. Mohammad Kalīfa and his emirs left for Šīrvān, and went each to his fief.

After 'Ādel Gerāy had been in residence in the state apartments for some time, differences of opinion arose among the emirs and principal officers of state concerning him, but the consensus was that he should be removed from the state apartments and possibly transferred to one of the fortress-prisons which had pleasant apartments. They considered this step particularly desirable since a further campaign in Azerbaijan was being planned, and it would not be expedient that 'Ādel Gerāy should accompany this expedition. Sultan Mohammad Shah said that Shah Tahmasp, in order to conciliate the hearts of his Georgian followers, had lodged in the state apartments as an honored guest the Georgian prince Samā'ūn, although he was a stranger to the true faith. "Since we started off by treating the Tartar prince with respect," said the Shah, "we would acquire a bad name if we were now to incarcerate him in a fortress, however agreeable the spot might be. Such a course is therefore not expedient. I suggest that he remain in the state apartments as at present, until the expedition has left; after that, we will take whatever course of action seems appropriate. As it is, he is actually a prisoner within the walls of the palace, although the polite fiction is that he is a guest. He does not have permission to go out or to ride a horse, and a group of *qūrčīs* guard him day and night."

The emirs, however, did not act in accordance with the policy proposed by the Shah; they sent a detachment to fetch 'Ādel Gerāy out of the palace. The Tartar khan, since he was familiar with the ways of

the *qezelbaş*, thought they had come to kill him, and he and the group of Tartars who were with him stupidly seized their weapons and started to fight. They shot down several *qezelbaş* with arrows and went on fighting without giving anyone a chance to speak. The *qezelbaş*, with equal stupidity, rushed upon them, and several more were killed by Tartar arrows. The Tartars also began firing their arrows and muskets out of the windows of the palace. In the mêlée the Tartar khan was killed, and once he was dead, there was no point in sparing the others. Although this incident actually took place after the return of the emirs from Mázandarân, I mention it here because it was connected with events in Širvân.

The Expedition to Mázandarân Sent at the Wish of the Queen and the Capture of Mîrzâ Khan, Ruler of That Province

In the reign of Shah Tahmasp, Mahd-e 'Olyâ's father, Mîr 'Abdollah Khan, had become the hereditary and independent governor of Mázandarân. But one of his cousins, Mîr Sultan Morâd, challenged his authority and gathered round himself a number of Mázandarânis who had not obtained from Mîr 'Abdollah Khan the benefits they had sought. Mîr Sultan Morâd then made representations to the Safavid court assuring Shah Tahmasp of his loyalty and willingness to serve him. Since Mîr 'Abdollah Khan had at times got a bit above himself and had procrastinated in making payments of tribute and in sending in his tax returns,³⁰ Shah Tahmasp decided to extend his patronage to Sultan Morâd Khan. Mîr 'Abdollah Khan then regretted his laxness and hastened to assure the Shah of his loyalty. The Shah divided Mázandarân between the two rivals, both of whom entered into contractual arrangements to make payments to the Safavid treasury, and to live together on friendly terms and not make incursions on each other's territory. Mîr 'Abdollah, however, was unable to reconcile himself to the power wielded by Emir Sultan Morâd Khan, and against the Shah's wishes, set out to undermine his authority; he could not bear to see him exercising independent authority in a province he regarded as exclusively his.

Reports of what was going on kept reaching the Shah, who repeatedly sent orders to both parties confirming them in their respective governorships. Finally, after Mîr 'Abdollah had been guilty of various unfriendly acts, Mîr Sultan Morâd seized him and got all the people of Mázandarân to agree to his being strangled with a bow-

³⁰On the meaning of the difficult term *avdrajdt*, see TM, pp. 144 ff.

string. In this way, Mīr Sultan Morād got possession of the whole of Māzandarān. But fate did not give him much opportunity to enjoy his newfound power, and he died soon afterward. Mīr 'Abd al-Karīm, elder son of Mīr Abdollāh Khan, together with his brother, Mīr Azīz, and his sister, repaired to the Safavid court in the expectation of receiving royal favors. But 'Abd al-Karīm one day unwittingly consumed some opium, and died.

After the murder of Mīr Abdollāh Khan, Shah Tahmasp, with his natural kindness, looked after the Khan's family. His daughter was married to Tahmasp's son, Sultan Mohammad Mīrzā Kodābanda, and there were children of this union. His son, Mīr Azīz Khan, was enrolled among the *moqarrabs* at court, and his half of the province of Māzandarān was given to Sultan Hasan Mīrzā, as already related. The other half of the province was given to Sultan Mahmūd, known as Mīrzā Khan, the son of Mīr Sultan Morād. After the death of Shah Tahmasp and the evacuation of the province by Sultan Hasan Mīrzā, the whole province came under the control of Mīrzā Khan through the efforts of Šams al-Dīn Dīv. When Mahd-e 'Olyā became queen of Iran, Mīrzā Khan came to court to get his position confirmed, since Māzandarān was the ancestral possession of her family. Mīrzā Khan sought forgiveness for his father's deeds, and was given permission by the queen to return to Māzandarān. Although she disapproved of his being governor of Māzandarān, she was wise enough to know when to bide her time, and not to interfere in matters that were beyond her powers. But it was clear that, if ever Mīrzā Khan tried to act independently or intransigently, Mahd-e 'Olyā, who was extremely jealous of her family honor, would try to destroy him.

Mīrzā Khan, because he was a naive person, allowed himself to be maneuvered into a rebellious posture by troublemakers, particularly Šams al-Dīn Dīv, who had a record of misdemeanors against those connected with the Safavid dynasty. The Queen set out to exact revenge for the murder of her father. She appointed as governor of Māzandarān Mīr 'Alī Khan, who was one of her relations,⁵¹ and sent him to Māzandarān with the support of Valī Jān Khan Torkmān, who was connected by marriage with the Safavid house. Mīrzā Khan, who was an upright youth of ascetic habit, did not dare to go to court, but shut himself up in the fortress of Firuzjāh, where he was

⁵¹Mīr 'Alī Khan b. Solṭān Mahmūd b. 'Abd al-Karīm was the queen's uncle (Rabino, p. 143). Rabino incorrectly states that Mīr 'Alī Khan was not made governor of Māzandarān until "after the death of Mīrzā Khan."

joined by some of the former retainers of Mir Sultan Morād Khan. Although Mirzā Khan had thus relinquished an effective say in the government of the province, the fortress of Firūzjāh remained in his hands. Mir 'Ali Khan consequently made no progress in establishing his authority, and the reduction of the fortress was no easy task.

Mahd-e 'Olyā was determined to destroy the line of Sultan Morād Khan. First she sent Pīra Moḥammad Khan, one of the principal officers of state, with Qūr Koms Khan Šāmlū and other emirs, to capture the fort. When some time passed and she received no news, Mahd-e 'Olyā grew impatient and planned a second expedition under Šahrok Khan, the keeper of the seal. The latter, who was one of the most important officers of state, considered a task like this beneath his dignity; he demurred, saying that Pīra Moḥammad Khan was capable of handling the job. If Mahd-e 'Olyā sent anyone else, Pīra Moḥammad Khan would take umbrage. If the latter needed any reinforcements, they should send him whatever was required. Mahd-e 'Olyā was highly annoyed by Šahrok Khan's intransigence and persuaded the Shah to send for him to dress him down and order him to go, whether he wanted to or not. Šahrok Khan produced all sorts of excuses, but finally his ingenuity was exhausted, and Mirzā Salmān the vizier, the *qūrčībāšī*, and some of the emirs soothed him and persuaded him to go. Nevertheless, he set off under protest, and in a resentful mood.

When Šahrok Khan joined Pīra Moḥammad Khan and Qūr Koms Khan before the walls of the fortress of Firūzjāh, he realized that its strength would necessitate a long siege, and that the morale of the *qezelbāš* force would decline. He therefore entered into negotiations with Mirzā Khan. He warned him that, since the Shah had decided to appoint a different governor in Māzandarān, his continued resistance could only lead to the destruction of his house. He pointed out that, even if the siege took a year or two years, he would eventually have to capitulate, because no help could reach him. He further warned him that, if he persisted in his obstinate defense of the fort, there could be only one fate for him after its capture. "If you place yourself in my hands," continued Šahrok Khan, "since I am one of the most trusted and loyal servants of the king, it is possible that Mahd-e 'Olyā may be placated by your submission, and may show favor toward you. If this is impossible, she may allow you to live in voluntary exile at some suitable place."

Mīrzā Khan, being a sensible man, responded favorably to these overtures, but said: "The people of Māzandarān are never satisfied, even if they have suffered a small wrong, unless they kill their enemies; as long as Mahd-e 'Olyā regards my father as the murderer of her father, she will never be satisfied with anything but my death. My efforts are directed not toward preserving my wealth and possessions, but toward preserving my life, so that I may enjoy a few more days of borrowed time."

Sāhrok Khan and the other emirs pledged themselves to act as his agents to assist him in the presentation of his case, and swore solemn oaths on the person of God Himself that they would neither put him to death nor blind him; they further bound themselves to plead for his life with the Shah and Mahd-e 'Olyā, and to protect him from harm at all costs. Since the emirs concerned were among the principal officers of state and no decisions were taken in policy matters, great or small, without their being consulted and without their agreement, Mīrzā Khan trusted their sworn oath and came out of the fort. In order to give him confidence, the emirs did not interfere with his possessions. They left the fort in charge of some officials appointed by Mahd-e 'Olyā and set off for Qazvin with Mīrzā Khan, never dreaming that Mahd-e 'Olyā would reject their plea.

When Mahd-e 'Olyā heard that the fort had been taken and that Mīrzā Khan had surrendered to the emirs, she was angered by the sworn covenant they had entered into. She had wanted the fort taken by storm and Mīrzā Khan seized by force so that, if his life were to be spared, she would be the one to pardon him and he would owe his life to her. She determined to kill him, despite the emirs. When the emirs were encamped about a *farsāk* from Qazvin, intending to enter the capital the next day, Mahd-e 'Olyā sent a detachment of thirty *qūrčīs* with orders to take charge of Mīrzā Khan, and with secret orders to put him to death the same night without the knowledge of the emirs. The emirs were extremely uneasy, and at first thought of refusing to hand Mīrzā Khan over to the *qūrčīs*. They said, "We have completed the task we were sent to do; tomorrow we will bring Mīrzā Khan to court with an escort of *qezelbaš*." The *qūrčīs*, however, refused to accept this suggestion, and the emirs, partly because they did not think that the *qūrčīs* would kill Mīrzā Khan and partly because they did not care openly to disobey a royal order, handed him over to the *qūrčīs*, who slew him the same night, as instructed.

Şahrok Khan, Pîra Moḥammad Khan, Qûr Koms Khan, and the other emirs were distressed by this occurrence. It increased their resentment against Mahd-e 'Olyā, and they determined to have their revenge. For the moment, however, they could do nothing about it; so they said nothing, entered the capital, and prostrated themselves before Mahd-e 'Olyā. The latter did not even reward them as they had expected, and this too added fuel to the flames of their resentment, which were fanned by Moḥammad Khan Torkmān, who had been dismissed from his post as governor of Kashan. It led them to conspire to murder Mahd-e 'Olyā.

Thus the murder of Mîrzâ Khan, who was the son of a *seyyed* and an innocent and upright man, proved inauspicious for Mahd-e 'Olyā—but the rest of this story will be given after some details of events in Khorasan. Mîr 'Alî Khan did not derive any benefit from his appointment as governor of Mâzandarân, because he died soon after this, and Mâzandarân fell into a state of chaos, with petty rulers arising everywhere. Finally, Aqa Alvand Dîv gained control of Qal'a-ye Owlâd and half of the province, and Seyyed Możaffar Mortâzâ'i, one of the emirs of Mâzandarân, controlled the other half. Because of the renewal of factionalism among the *qezelbâš*, however, the principal officers of the Safavid state were unable to devote their attention to Mâzandarân.

Events in Khorasan

I described earlier how Shah Esma'il II, not content with murdering his own brothers and cousins, also planned to kill his elder brother, Sultan Moḥammad Kodâbanda, and the sons of the latter, and charged 'Aliqolî Khan Şamlû, the grandson of Dûrmîş Khan, who held the posts of governor and *amîr al-omara* at Herat, with the execution of 'Abbas Mîrzâ. How could 'Aliqolî Khan, who was the son of one of Sultan Moḥammad Kodâbanda's retainers and had been the recipient of Sultan Moḥammad's patronage for many years, commit such a crime against his patron's son? The Shah's order filled 'Aliqolî Khan and the women of the royal household, especially his mother, who had been the midwife at the birth of 'Abbas Mîrzâ and was his foster-mother, with sorrow and grief. However, 'Aliqolî Khan owed his appointment to Shah Esma'il II, and could see no course but to obey the order. He therefore agreed that he and other Şamlûs would carry out the order on their arrival at Herat; it did not occur to them that any delay might be possible.

According to the statements of reliable sources who were in Herat at the time, 'Alīqolī Khan, despite the fact that he owed his elevation to Esma'il II, was loath to commit such a terrible crime. He protracted his journey and did not arrive at Herat until Wednesday, 26 Rāmaḍān 985/7 December 1577. The eve of 27th Rāmaḍān, according to some Muslims, is the Night of Power,³² and the women of the royal household dissuaded 'Alīqolī Khan from putting to death an innocent descendant of a *seyyed*³³ on that holy night. They persuaded him to postpone the execution till the next day. But next day was the eve of Friday, and 'Alīqolī Khan thought it necessary to avoid carrying out his orders on that holy eve, too. After that came the 'Eyd-e Feṭr festival; the Khan did not want to spoil the festivities, so he postponed action until after they were over. In accordance with the traditional saying "The night is pregnant; let us see what it will bring forth," the members of the royal household had a premonition that some wondrous event was about to happen.

After the festival, on 2 Šāvvāl 985/13 December 1577, both civilians and military were convinced that 'Alīqolī Khan would not dare to postpone the execution further, and that the prince would be put to death that night. Toward the end of the day, Sultan Maḥmūd Beg Bīčerlū, the Khan's agent, who had stayed behind at court to conclude some business for 'Alīqolī and had been sent posthaste with the news of the death of Shah Esma'il II, reached Herat. As he passed through the Iraq gate, he shouted to the gatekeepers, "Is the prince alive and well?" and received an affirmative reply. Although the Khan and the Sāmlūs, who had done nothing since their arrival at Herat to put the city in a state of defense or to see to its government, were fearful that the Shah's death would be the occasion for an insurrection on the part of the Uzbegs, they rejoiced that the prince was saved and returned thanks to God. They considered him a factor making for the stability and security of the realm, and they pledged themselves to his service.

'Alīqolī Khan organized a great assembly, and took upon himself the duty of guardian of the prince. The inhabitants of Herat, both civilians and military, together with the chiefs of the *qezelbāš* tribes, and of the Balūč and Qepčaq, and others, came company by company

³²Leylat al-Qadr: according to Muslim tradition, the night on which the Koran was handed down.

³³The Safavid claim to *sīāda* has been shown to be spurious; see Savory, Development, pp. lff.

to pledge themselves to the prince. Meanwhile, the Afšār emirs, who had slain Šāhqolī Yakān and appropriated his property, were encamped outside the city in the direction of the Darvāza-ye Molk. They entered into negotiations with the 'Alīqolī Khan's agents regarding the disposal of this property and were allowed to retire to Farāh and Esfezār, districts they held in fief.

The news that the prince was safe caused great joy to his parents at Qazvin, and Sultan Mohammad Shah and Mahd-e 'Olyā decided to bring him to court. For one thing, they badly wanted to see him again; for another, on account of possible *qezelbāš* sedition, they decided not to leave any of the royal princes in the provinces. Accordingly, they sent to Herat one of the most trusted of their personal servants, Aqa Nażar, a former servant of Mir 'Abdollah Khan who had been inherited by Mahd-e 'Olyā and had won the trust of Sultan Mohammad Shah. They gave Aqa Nażar orders for 'Alīqolī Khan to prepare a cavalcade for 'Abbas Mirzā in anticipation of the arrival at Herat of one of the principal officers of state, who would escort him to Qazvin. The emirs in Khorasan, loath to part with the prince, urged 'Alīqolī Khan to disobey the Shah's orders. He could give as an excuse, they said, the fact that Khorasan was adjacent to Transoxania and was always subject to Uzbeg incursions. Moreover, from the time that Khorasan first became part of the Safavid empire, Herat had always been the seat of one of the princes of the blood royal, and it would not be possible to defend the province if this support were withdrawn. The ringleader of these emirs was Morshedqolī Khan;³⁴ and he made a covenant with 'Alīqolī Khan, sealed by solemn oaths.

When Aqa Nażar arrived in Khorasan, he found all the emirs discussing this issue. Morteżāqolī Khan, the governor of Mašhad, pretended to encourage 'Alīqolī Khan to hold out against sending 'Abbas Mirzā to Qazvin, but in secret, because he wished to break the power of 'Alīqolī Khan, he not only did not oppose the idea of the prince's going to court but positively promoted it. None of the other emirs, however, supported the idea. When Aqa Nażar approached them they received him with formal correctness, but put their point of view to him under the guise of concern for the interests of the state. They urged Aqa Nażar to try and dissuade Mahd-e 'Olyā from this action, and they told him quite bluntly that, if she insisted on removing 'Abbas Mirzā from Khorasan, they would have no choice but to resist the order.

³⁴Morshedqolī Khan Ostajlu, the son of Šahqolī Sultan Yakān mentioned above.

Aqa Nażar returned to Qazvin and reported to the Shah and Mahd-e 'Olyā, but the latter, in her longing to see her son, refused to listen to the pleas of the emirs. She sent a second courier to Khorasan, Ebrahim Beg, the son of Heydar Sultan Čabūq Tarkān Torkmān, a trusted *qezelbaş* noble. Ebrahim Beg took with him fifty Turkman retainers. When the news of his approach reached Khorasan, 'Aliqolı Khan and Morşeqolı Khan met and agreed to send Ebrahim Beg back without his having accomplished his objective. They sent reliable couriers to all the emirs in Khorasan asking their sworn support for this policy. Morteżaqolı Khan was unwilling to assist 'Aliqolı Khan to assume a position of even greater power; he was already the leader of the Khorasan emirs by virtue of his position as guardian of 'Abbas Mirzā, and he refused to lend his support. In addition, he forbade the emirs under his command to give their support. This led to an estrangement between him and 'Aliqolı Khan.

'Aliqolı Khan, Morşeqolı Khan, and the other emirs who were at Herat sent friendly letters to Ebrahim Beg, who had reached Mašhad, and presented their formal compliments. But they all, with one accord, stated categorically that if he intended to come to Herat to take away 'Abbas Mirzā, there was no objection to his coming but he would not succeed in his objective. At the same time they sent a dispatch to court, arguing that to remove 'Abbas Mirzā from Khorasan would be to encourage an Uzbeg attack; this was not in the best interests of the state, and it was for this reason that they had had the temerity to express their dissatisfaction with the scheme. Ebrahim Beg wanted to stay at Mašhad long enough for a reply to come from the court; meanwhile, Morteżaqolı Khan continually urged Ebrahim Beg to carry out his orders, and assisted him. Ebrahim Beg, who was an intelligent and prudent man, suspected that Morteżaqolı Khan's attitude was dictated by a personal feud against 'Aliqolı Khan and realized that Morteżaqolı Khan's behavior might lead to a general conflict. Ebrahim Beg therefore proceeded to Gürlān,³⁵ stayed there a while, and then returned to Qazvin, to the satisfaction of 'Aliqolı Khan and the emirs.

When Ebrahim Beg reported to the court, Mahd-e 'Olyā flew into a rage, summoned Sultan Hoseyn Khan, the father of 'Aliqolı Khan and *tovāčbaş* (chief army inspector) at court, who was one of the principal officers of state, and upbraided him in threatening language. Hoseyn Khan offered excuses on behalf of his son; "If all the

³⁵One day's march west of Herat.

emirs of Khorasan had decided on a certain course of action," he said, "what could my son do?" But Mahd-e 'Olyā withdrew her favor from 'Alīqolī Khan and his supporters, and decided to back Morteżāqolī Khan. Sultan Ḥoseyn Khan, in an effort to further the best interests of the state, continued to offer excuses, but Mahd-e 'Olyā refused to listen to him. Finally, he undertook to go to Khorasan himself and resolve the matter. He was given three months to bring his son to heel and return with the prince 'Abbas. If 'Alīqolī Khan and the emirs who were in league with him should persist in their disobedience to the royal *farmān*, said Mahd-e 'Olyā, Sultan Ḥoseyn Khan should stay in Khorasan as well and not return to court; that group would, from then on, be deemed to be rebels.

Sultan Ḥoseyn Khan, knowing that Sultan Mohammad Shah and Mahd-e 'Olyā were in earnest, set off for Khorasan. When the Khorasan emirs heard he was coming, they held a council of war with 'Alīqolī Khan and confirmed their previous decision not to hand over 'Abbas Mirzā. When Sultan Ḥoseyn Khan arrived at Herat, he was not greeted by 'Alīqolī Khan with the enthusiasm he considered was due from a son. They deliberated repeatedly, both in closed meetings of council and in public session. A number of the elders of the Šamlū tribe considered the best policy to be to obey the royal order, to send Sultan Ḥoseyn Khan back to court with his mission crowned with success, and not to place the Šamlū tribe in a posture of revolt. Another group, composed of both Turks and Tājiks, rejected this view; they argued that if a group of persons loyal to the Safavid state proposed to act in a manner they considered in the best interests of the state, why should this be construed as sedition? On the contrary, they argued, such a course of action should be considered faithful and devoted service. As the discussions dragged on, relations between father and son deteriorated. Sultan Ḥoseyn Khan realized that, if he returned empty-handed, he would not be received at court; it was therefore better, he decided, to stay where he was.

At this point, Moršedqolī Khan and the emirs loyal to him, fearing that 'Alīqolī Khan might give in to his father's prompting and the advice of the Šamlū elders, repaired to Sabzavār, which was governed by Qobād Khan Qājār, an officer loyal to Moršedqolī Khan. From there, Moršedqolī Khan sent to Herat Mirzā Ahmad, the son of Mirzā Aṭā'ollāh, who had been vizier of Azerbaijan and Širvān during the reign of Shah Tahmasp; Mirzā Ahmad, the vizier of Moršedqolī Khan and a man of great influence, urged his master to take

this course of action. The message Mirzā Ahmād took to the Šāmlū emirs at Herat was that they should give up the idea of sending 'Abbas Mirzā to Qazvin. The idea was pointless, they said, because even supposing all the Šāmlū emirs agreed to send 'Abbas Mirzā, they at Sabzavār stood astride the road to Iraq and would do their utmost to block his passage. If the Šāmlūs abandoned their precious charge, they would be proud to fly his standard in Khorasan.

'Alīqolī Khan, alarmed by this message, devoted his efforts to persuading his father to return empty-handed. Finally, Sultan Hoseyn Khan, seeing that his son and the emirs and troops of Khorasan were adamant, left for Iraq. On arrival at Sabzavār, he discussed the problem from every angle with the emirs there. He delayed his departure for Qazvin, since he could not think how to report his failure without being visited by the royal wrath and without the disgrace of himself and his son. While he was still at Sabzavār, he received the news of the murder of Mahd-e 'Olyā. Following this event, the principal officers of state at Qazvin considered it wiser to keep 'Abbas Mirzā where he was, and Sultan Hoseyn Khan received a royal command to return to court. The emirs at Sabzavār returned each to his own post.

'Alīqolī Khan and Moršedqolī Khan, with all the emirs of Khorasan (the majority of whom were Šāmlūs and Ostājlūs), held another council and renewed their oaths of fealty to 'Abbas Mirzā. They pledged themselves to ignore all orders emanating from the principal officers of state at Qazvin, most of whom were Takkalūs and Turkmans and were hostile to the Šāmlūs and Ostājlūs. They further pledged their obedience to 'Alīqolī Khan, whom they agreed to regard as their paramount chief (*kānlar kānī*) and leader. All took this oath of obedience except Morteżāqolī Khan and followers. Khorasan was thus divided into two factions, one based on Herat, the other on Mašhad. Relations between the two steadily deteriorated, and the eventual result was open conflict.

The Murder of Mahd-e 'Olyā by Evil Men

Under Shah Tahmasp, the realm had been prosperous and at peace.³⁶ Since that time, however, the *qezelbaş* tribes, whose relationship to the Safavid family is that of disciples to their spiritual director, have allowed themselves to be seduced from the path of loyalty by their own selfish ambitions and rivalries. Although some

³⁶The author must be referring to the latter part of Tahmasp's reign.

forty-five years³⁷ have elapsed between that time and the present, which is the year 1025/1616-17, the effects of that disloyalty still remain among their descendants, and the sins of their fathers are visited upon them. The most heinous of their crimes was the murder of Mahd-e 'Olyā Keyr al-Nesā Begom. They were not deterred from committing this crime by the fact that she was the wife of Sultan Mohammad Shah and the mother of Safavid princes. The expediency of the moment and the desire to maintain some ephemeral position of power made them unmindful of retribution in this world or the next.

Mahd-e 'Olyā, because of her husband's defective eyesight and the minority of the Safavid princes, had taken upon her own shoulders the government of the realm. Her desire was that every order emanating from the court should be obeyed instantly and discharged fully, and this was not agreeable to the self-willed emirs. Gradually, the disquiet felt by emirs like Šahroķ Khan, Pīra Mohammad Khan, and Qūr Koms Khan in regard to happenings in Māzandarān, especially the murder of Mirzā Khan by order of Mahd-e 'Olyā, when added to their other grounds for discontent, made them determined to break her power.

At this juncture, the people of Kashan came to court and complained of the conduct of the governor of that city, Mohammad Khan Torkmān; his extortion, they said, had exceeded all bounds. A royal commission of inquiry was set up, and the governor's guilt clearly established. As a result, the Shah ordered the governor to be deprived of his fiefs. Mohammad Khan, who was an emir of the highest rank and one of the principal officers of state, did not brook this disgrace and tried to get his peers to intercede for him. But Mahd-e 'Olyā, considering it incompatible with the dignity of a monarch to do so, refused to countermmand the order. The result was that Mohammad Khan joined the other discontented emirs in their conspiracy, and by subtle arguments they suborned Qoli Beg the *qurčibāš*, one of the leading officers of state known to all as a man of integrity, wisdom, and experience.

The conspirators knew that, as long as Mahd-e 'Olyā was alive, she would never leave the side of her husband and sons or give up her position of power and dominance. They therefore decided that she had to be removed from the scene. They brought into the conspiracy

³⁷This takes us back to the year 980/1572. Two years later, in 982/1574, Tahmasp fell ill and there was a recurrence of civil war among the *qezelbāš*.

emirs of standing from every tribe, winning them over by fair promises. Ambitious emirs and simple-minded *qezelbaš* tribesmen listened to their complaints about the patronage extended by Mahd-e 'Olyā to the Mazandarānis, her allocation to them of provincial governorships and grants of money, and her transfer of the harem treasury to Mazandaran—an allegation which was absolutely absurd and had no basis in fact.

The conspirators assembled in the portico of the Čehel Sotūn palace and sent a message to the Shah to the effect that the improper treatment of the emirs and chief officers of the Shah by Mahd-e 'Olyā and her patronage of Mazandarānis had caused great displeasure to the *qezelbaš*. Her interference in the affairs of state was strongly disapproved of by the elders of the *qezelbaš* tribes. Troublemakers were always stirring up mischief among the tribes, and the Shah's loyal servants were deliberating the best way to prevent disaffection among the *qezelbaš* from becoming general. When this message was communicated to the Shah via the officials of the harem, Mahd-e 'Olyā, who had a choleric temper, lashed the emirs with scathing words. They stamped out, fuming with rage. The same day, one of the conspirators sought an interview with Mir Shah Gāzi the accountant on the pretext of drawing his pay, and wounded him with his sword; Mir Shah Gāzi was related to Emir Qavām al-Dīn Šīrāzī, the queen's vizier. The next day, the conspirators gathered in the Bag-e Sa'ādatābād and affirmed their resolve to cause Mahd-e 'Olyā's downfall.

Mosib Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oğlū Takkalū, who was the senior emir of the Takkalū tribe and one of the chief officers of state, and who was the Shah's cousin and trusted by him, took no part in the conspiracy. The Shah and Mahd-e 'Olyā now consulted him, and requested that if the emirs showed any signs of open revolt, he issue a call to "all those who loved the Shah"³⁸ to rally to his defense at the palace. But since Mosib Khan was a mild, gentle man, he was unable to take charge of the situation; he remained in his own house and decided to keep out of things. The conspirators sent Čelebi Beg Takkalū, the *mehmāndār*,³⁹ to enlist his support. At first, Mosib Khan made various excuses for not joining them, but finally he capitulated and went to the Bag-e Sa'ādatābād.

³⁸*Sahib-sevān*; see Minorsky, in *EP*, s.v.

³⁹The officer responsible for the care of state visitors, official guests, and so on.

The conspirators then sent a further message to the Shah: "Your Majesty well knows that women are notoriously lacking in intelligence, weak in judgment, and extremely obstinate. Mahd-e 'Olyā has always opposed us, the loyal servants of the crown, and has never agreed with us on matters of state policy; she has acted contrary to the considered opinions of the *qezelbāš* elders, and has constantly attempted to humiliate and degrade us. We have not been safe from her actions, even though up to the present time we have not been guilty of improper conduct, nor have we done anything to cause her alarm. So how can we feel secure now, when our basic incompatibility has come out into the open, when she has lashed with her tongue the elders of the *qezelbāš* tribes, has called us mutinous, and has uttered dire threats against us? In short, we do not consider it proper that word should spread among neighboring rulers that no member of the royal family still remains in the care of the *qezelbāš*⁴⁰ because a woman has taken charge of the affairs of state and is all-powerful. Mahd-e 'Olyā's power and influence in the government of the realm is objectionable to all the *qezelbāš* tribes, and it is impossible for us to reach a *modus vivendi* with her. If she is not removed from power, in all probability revolts will occur that will be to the detriment of both religion and the state."

Sultan Mohammad Shah was a pious, ascetic, and gentle soul who wanted to do the right thing. Mindful of his illustrious ancestors, he admonished the emirs mildly, as is the manner of saints and men of God. If the emirs considered Mahd-e 'Olyā's intervention in state affairs to be not in the best interests of the state, then he would exclude her from them in the future. Just as his own mother, Shah Baba, had been sent to Qom, he would send Mahd-e 'Olyā to Qom to spend some time there with her son. If the emirs did not like that idea, he would send her to Māzandarān to her father's house. If neither of these alternatives appealed to them, the Shah said that he himself would willingly abdicate and retire to Shiraz with his sons, leaving the *qezelbāš* to choose whomever they wished as king. But he would not consent to the death of an innocent woman. The conspirators, however, continued to put pressure on the Shah to do just that.

Mahd-e 'Olyā, being of an aggressive temperament, strongly disapproved of the Shah's mild rejoinder to the emirs. She refused to

⁴⁰Presumably this is a reference to the practice, followed by earlier Safavid kings, of placing the royal princes in the care of *qezelbāš* emirs. Abbas Mirzā was, of course, still at Herat, but the queen had made repeated efforts to bring him back to court.

climb down and declared that she had no intention of changing her behavior. She would not swerve a hair's breadth, she said, from the line of conduct she had followed so far. If the *qezelbāš* cared nothing for the king's honor and were prepared to perpetrate such an evil act as murder their own king's wife, then God would judge them. She was the mother of four royal princes; after God, she would trust them to revenge her.

I have heard from a reliable source that Mir Qavām al-Dīn Hoseyn Širāzī, her vizier, went to Mahd-e 'Olyā at this point and urged her to take bags of gold from the harem treasury to the Čehel Sotūn portico, and to announce to the troops of the royal bodyguard that there was going to be a distribution of gold. When the royal bodyguard rushed into the palace to get their gold, he said, the conspirators would be thrown into disarray. Mahd-e 'Olyā retorted with spirit: "O Āṣaf⁴¹ of well-directed judgment! You are the one who knows what is going on outside. You ought to have thought of this plan before the emirs got the upper hand. Now that matters have reached this state, your idea reminds me of the proverb about 'barley at the foot of the pass.'⁴² It is also beneath the dignity of kings to buy kingly power with gold. I will submit to nothing but God's will."

The emirs chose several of their number from different tribes to commit this foul murder; they included Şadr al-Dīn Khan Şafavi;⁴³ Hoseyn 'Alī Beg Alkasan-oğlū Zu'l-Qadar; and Imam Qolī Mīrzā Mowṣellū, the kinsman of Solṭānom, the Shah's mother. They burst into the harem without ceremony and strangled Mahd-e 'Olyā. Not satisfied with that, they went to the house of her mother, an old woman whom Mahd-e 'Olyā had brought from Māzandarān with some other relatives, and slew her too, together with several Māzandarānī notables who happened to be there. Supposing that Mahd-e 'Olyā had taken large sums of money and quantities of stuffs from the harem treasury and given them to her mother, the murderers broke open all the chests in the house and plundered their contents. The populace

⁴¹Solomon's celebrated vizier. The queen is indulging in heavy irony.

⁴²I am indebted to Professor Elwell-Sutton, of the University of Edinburgh, for drawing my attention to the proverb *jow pā-ye gozār*, "barley at the foot of the pass." When a pack animal has been starved of barley and consequently finds it impossible to climb from the foot of a steep pass, the improvident muleteer offers it "barley at the foot of the pass." This, of course, has no effect, and the proverb is thus equivalent to the English expression "shutting the stable door after the horse has gone." The reading čū *pā-ye gerīva*, which appears both in the manuscript and in the printed edition of the text, is clearly wrong and should be amended to *jow pā-ye gerīva*.

⁴³As his name indicates, this Khan was related to the Safavid royal house and must therefore have belonged to the Šeykāvand tribe (see *TM*, pp. 14-15).

of Qazvin meted out the same sort of treatment to any Mazandarānis they came across in the bazaars and the various quarters of the city; any they spared, they stripped of their clothes.

Mirzā Salmān the vizier had no hand in the *qezelbaš* plot. He went to the house of Kalil Khan Afšār, apparently to save himself. Toward the end of the day, Sultan Mohammad Shah summoned the 'olamā to see to the burial of the slain, and the bodies were buried the same night in the precincts of the Imamzada Ḥoseyn.

After the murder of Mahd-e 'Olyā, the emirs sent a courier to Khorasan, to Sultan Ḥoseyn Khan and 'Alī Khan; they stipulated that 'Abbas Mirzā should stay at Herat and that Sultan Ḥoseyn Khan should return to court. Sultan Ḥamza Mirzā, who was considered the heir-apparent, realized that men who could show so little regard for the royal family as to murder his mother might have plans for him too. He therefore looked to his own safety, and went up on to the harem roof with a group of his retainers. He took an adequate supply of food and drink, blocked the stairway with rubbish, and prepared to withstand a siege. He stayed up there for several days, determined not to come down until he was sure that the emirs were not plotting against him. Esmā'īlqolī Beg Šamlū, the son of Valī Kalīfa, who was one of the prince's friends, performed services of such sterling worth that he was dubbed "comrade."

The conspirators sent a messenger to the Shah, assuring him that the oath of fealty they had sworn to him had not been vitiated by the murder of Mahd-e 'Olyā, and expressing the hope that they would not be called to account for their part in the affair. The Shah wisely did not reproach them for what they had done, but they were not received in audience for several days. Then, all the emirs assembled at the palace. In the presence of the 'olamā and *mojtaheds*, they reaffirmed their oath of fealty to the Shah, swearing fifty-one times that, as long as Sultan Mohammad Shah was alive, they would have no other king but him, and after him, they would consider Sultan Ḥamza Mirzā the heir-apparent. The instrument of this sworn oath was sealed with the seals of the 'olamā and *mojtaheds* and forwarded to the Shah. The Shah, with great reluctance, came forth, and the emirs kissed his feet and uttered many assurances indicative of their faithfulness and their determination to behave in a manner appropriate to Sufis. The Shah, regarding the murder of his wife as God's will, uttered soothing words to calm their fears.

But Sultan Ḥamza Mīrzā and a few of his dedicated friends suspended judgment in this matter and refused to trust the emirs. The emirs renewed their pledges with binding oaths, and begged the Shah to persuade Ḥamza Mīrzā to believe them. The Shah finally succeeded, and the following day brought Sultan Ḥamza Mīrzā with him to the audience hall. The emirs kissed the prince's feet. Mīrzā Salmān, with the approval of the emirs, was brought from the house of Kalīl Khan Afšār and resumed his post without opposition, and with greater power and independence of action than before. During this period, the emirs were assiduous in their attendance on the Shah and prince Ḥamza. Eventually, retribution overtook all of them after the accession of Shah 'Abbas, as will be related later.

The Shah's Expedition to Azerbaijan

The districts of Koy, Salmās, Orūmī, Ušnī,⁴⁴ and parts of Marāga had been overrun by hostile Kurds who with the assistance of the Ottomans harassed the border regions of the Safavid empire. The fortresses of Tiflis and Gori—the latter the capital of Georgia—had fallen to the Ottomans. 'Osmān Pasha held the fort at Darband, and the Lezgīs of Šakkī and Šabarān rallied around the son of Borhān and went to the aid of 'Osmān Pasha. The rulers of Dāgestān were ravaging the kingdom of Širvān and gave the *qezelbāš* emirs no peace. The Ottomans planned to annex Širvān. Their commander in chief was camped at Erzerum; he sent Bahrām Pasha with thirty thousand men and stores and equipment to Darband, and Hasan Pasha, the *beglerbeg* of Erzerum, with forty thousand men, to Erivān.

Although Emāmqolī Khan and the emirs of Qarābag joined forces with Samā'ūn Khan the Georgian and harassed the Ottomans as they were bringing in their supplies, killing considerable numbers of them and taking large quantities of booty, and although Mohammadi Khan and Hasan Pasha could not remain at Erivān for more than a single night, the overall effect of Safavid action was very slight. The forts remained in Ottoman hands, and Lala Pasha was still encamped at Erzerum, planning his next campaign. The Shah's advisers proposed that the royal army should proceed to Tabriz to stabilize the situation in Azerbaijan. Some of the emirs who had fiefs in that area were at court: Emir Ḥamza Khan Ostājlū, Valī Kalīfa Šamlū, and Šahqolī Sultan Qāranja Ostājlū, among others. The Shah, who had made

⁴⁴Southwest of Lake Orūmiya (see Lane-Poole, p. 165, where the variant forms Ošnūya and Ošnoh are given).

some changes in the fiefs belonging to the Khorasan emirs, allotted fiefs in Khorasan to the Azerbaijan emirs and sent them on their way.

The royal army left Qazvin and proceeded by easy stages to Tabriz, where Emir Khan and the officers under his command came out to greet the Shah, accompanied by a throng of townspeople. The Shah and Ḥamza Mīrzā took up residence at the ancient palace. Emir Khan was singled out for special favor, and was honored by being given the hand in marriage of Fāṭema Sultan Begom, a daughter of Shah Tahmasp.⁴⁵

At this point, the Shah heard of the approach of Mohammad Gerāy Khan. After the capture of his brother 'Ādel Gerāy Khan by the *qezelbāš*, Mohammad Gerāy, hearing reports that the Shah had treated his brother with honor and had decided to send him back to the Crimea, and that 'Ādel Gerāy was presently living as a guest of honor in the royal palace, had planned to send 'Ādel Gerāy's mother and a few reliable men, accompanied by suitable gifts, on an embassy to the Shah. They would bring back with them 'Ādel Gerāy and would arrange a treaty of peace between the Safavids and the Crimean Tartars. But everything had changed when Mohammad Gerāy heard that his brother had been murdered. In his desire to revenge his brother's death, or at the instigation of the Ottoman sultan and in the hope of booty, he had joined 'Osmān Pasha at Darband, together with 'Ādel Gerāy's brothers, Tartar princes of the blood of Jočī⁴⁶—Gāzī Gerāy, Ṣafī Gerāy, and Sa'ādat Gerāy.

When Mohammad Kalifa reported this, the Shah held a number of councils of war. As a result, it was decided that he and Ḥamza Mīrzā would winter at Tabriz, and Mīrzā Salmān should lead to Šīrvān a force that included most of the emirs. Kalil Khan Afšār and a few other emirs remained at Tabriz with the Shah, and Mohammad Kalifa was notified that the *qezelbāš* army was on its way. Before this force could reach him, the Tartar sultans entered Šīrvān. Mohammad Kalifa, who was a valiant man and would not contemplate the disgrace of flight, gave battle. His forces, heavily outnumbered, were defeated, and he himself and many of his men were killed. The Tartars ravaged Šīrvān and Qarābaḡ at will, and many Muslim women and children were taken prisoner. When he heard of the approach of the *qezelbāš* reinforcements, Mohammad Gerāy returned to the Crimea with his

⁴⁵She was his sixth daughter.

⁴⁶The eldest son of Genghis Khan.

Events in Khorasan after Ḥoseyn Khan Šamlū

spoils, leaving Ğazı Gerāy, Ṣafī Gerāy Khan, and several other brothers to assist the Ottomans in Dagestan and Darband.

The people of Širvān had been battered by these events. Some returned with ‘Osmān Pasha to Darband; other rebels gathered round the son of Borhān at Čākmez⁷ and prepared to resist any attack. When Mīrzā Salmān and the emirs reached Širvān, Emir Khan Torkmān marched against the Dagestāni and Širvāni rebels at Čākmez, but achieved nothing. Some of the Šamlū and Ostājlū emirs, supported by Šāhroķ Khan, criticized Emir Khan's handling of the campaign. Šāhroķ Khan wanted to be put in command of this force and given a chance to show that he could do better, and a feud developed between him and Emir Khan. Emir Khan blamed Mīrzā Salmān, who was the commander-in-chief of the army, for putting Šāhroķ Khan up to this, and so there was enmity between Emir Khan and the vizier. The supporters of the two factions went about with their weapons concealed under their uniforms, each apprehensive of the other. The quarrel was patched up by the *qurčibāši*, and Šāhroķ Khan gave up his ambition to be sent to Čākmez. But although things were outwardly peaceful, the quarrel still smoldered under the surface.

For a variety of reasons, therefore—the devastated condition of the region, the resultant acute shortage of foodstuffs and provisions, and the dissensions among the *qezelbāš*—the Safavid army was unable to proceed against ‘Osmān Pasha with the object of capturing Darband. None of the emirs was willing to take charge of Širvān, and so the *qezelbāš* army returned to Tabriz. There was a severe famine in many parts that year; many poor people died at Tabriz for lack of bread, and there was serious hardship throughout the provinces of Azerbaijan, Qarabāğ, Iraq, and Gilān.

Events in Khorasan after the Departure of Ḥoseyn Khan Šamlū

As already mentioned, Sultan Ḥoseyn Khan, the grandson of Dürmisi Khan Šamlū, was the acknowledged leader of the Šamlū tribe at court by virtue of his noble birth, his tribal connections, and his service to the state. No decision concerning the Šamlū tribe was taken without his approval. When the seditious attitude of his son, ‘Alīqoli Khan, was reported to the court, Mahd-e ‘Olyā upbraided Sultan

⁷Or Kajmır or Kaķmır; the reading is uncertain.

Hoseyn Khan, compelled him to go to Khorasan to bring back 'Abbas Mirzā, and looked with disfavor on the Šamlū tribe. Against the advice of Sultan Hoseyn Khan, she appointed Koš-čabar Khan Šamlū governor of Fušanj and Čūrlān. The latter, when he arrived in Čūrlān, began to cause trouble for 'Aliqolī Khan, relying on the support of Mahd-e 'Olyā. On the basis of the situation existing in the time of Shah Tahmasp, when the great khans and the *beglerbegs* had neither the ability nor the temerity to behave in this way, Koš-čabar Khan did not think that 'Aliqolī Khan could hurt him.

For a while, 'Aliqolī Khan turned a blind eye to the activities of Koš-čabar Khan. After Sultan Hoseyn Khan returned to court, however, since the majority of the emirs of Khorasan supported 'Abbas Mirzā and 'Aliqolī Khan, the latter presumed to try and bring the whole of Khorasan under his authority. He therefore marched from Herat against Koš-čabar Khan at Čūrlān. Koš-čabar Khan fled, but was given sanctuary by Morād Beg Afšār, who held Esfezār on behalf of Yakān Sultan, after a skirmish between the Afšārs and the Šamlūs in which a number of people were killed. Morād Beg treated Koš-čabar Khan with deference and sent him on his way to Iraq, much to the chagrin of 'Aliqolī Khan, who returned to Herat on hearing the news of the murder of Mahd-e 'Olyā, and spent the rest of the winter there.

At the beginning of the Year of the Dragon, 988/1580–81, 'Aliqolī Khan led a punitive expedition from Herat against Yakān Sultan and his supporters at Esfezār. Morād Beg fled from Esfezār to Farāh, and 'Aliqolī Khan allotted the region of Esfezār to the Šamlū tribe before returning to Herat. While he had been away, Mortežāqolī Khan Pornāk Torkmān, the governor of Mašhad and *beglerbeg* of half of Khorasan, whose ambitions were greater than those of 'Aliqolī Khan and who held the latter in extremely low esteem, had seized possession of Sabzavār. After Sultan Hoseyn Khan had returned to court and the great emirs who had been at Sabzavār had dispersed, Mortežāqolī Khan had decided to chastise his vassal Qobād Khan Qājār, the governor of Sabzavār, who had shown sympathy toward 'Aliqolī Khan. Qobād Khan was persuaded to apologize for his behavior, and was reprimanded by Mortežāqolī Khan. The latter had lost confidence in Qobād Khan and took him back with him to Mašhad; he made one of his own officers governor of Sabzavār.

'Aliqoli Khan was infuriated by Morteżāqoli Khan's action; on his return from Esfezār he marched against him, taking with him the prince 'Abbas. He sent couriers to summon to his side the emirs who had pledged themselves to support him—men like Morshedqoli Khan, Maḥmūd Khan Şüfi-oğlū, Valı Khan Čarkčı, and others. At the same time, those emirs who had been deprived of their fiefs by the Shah and whose replacements (men like Valı Kalifa Evči Şamlı; Emir Hamza Khan, the son of 'Abd Allāh Khan Ostajlı; Şahqoli Sultan Qāranja) had already been dispatched to Khorasan, had no choice but to throw in their lot with 'Aliqoli Khan.

Morshedqoli Khan and the other emirs congregated at 'Abbas Mirzā's camp sent the following message to Morteżāqoli Khan:

You and we are brothers, and loyal supporters of the royal house. We consider the Shah to be our spiritual director and our patron. Nothing is further from our minds than opposition to him. There are two reasons why we have mobilized in support of 'Abbas Mirzā and 'Aliqoli Khan: the first is that the Ottoman sultan has violated the peace treaty and invaded Azerbaijan and Şirvān, and the Shah is engaged in trying to repel this invasion. It is probable that the Uzbeg sultans may seize this opportunity to make incursions into Khorasan. Herat is the capital city of Khorasan and is the seat of 'Abbas Mirzā, the Shah's son. Our principal concern is that there shall be amity and solidarity among the great emirs and that all discord be swept away, so that should the need arise (which God forbid!), we may present a united front, since it is obvious that we can expect no help from the Shah. Let us all rally round 'Abbas Mirzā with one mind and with one voice, and so frustrate our enemies. Let us follow the orders of 'Aliqoli Khan, who is the guardian of the prince 'Abbas, and let us consider him our leader and supreme chief (*kānlar-kānī*); for whenever our Uzbeg foes hear of dissension and discord in our ranks, they are encouraged to cause us trouble which could seriously endanger this realm.

Secondly, it is apparent to all that, at court, control

of state affairs and the ultimate authority in administrative matters lies in the hands of the vizier, Mīrzā Salmān, and a group of emirs. They are constantly making changes in and reallocating our fiefs, and are trying to discredit us, although neither we nor you are inferior to them, whether we are judged on our record of generations of service to the state or on the basis of blood and lineage. On the contrary, the record shows that our loyalty and devotion to the state is greater than theirs, and we are superior to them in numbers. If the administration of Iraq, Azerbaijan, Fārs, and Kerman remains in their hands, an arrangement could be made whereby the administration of Khorasan is made our responsibility, so that we have a free hand in this province.

Such an arrangement has been approved by the great emirs of Khorasan, who have pledged their fealty to their supreme chief, 'Alīqolī Khan. The interest of the state demands that you should now follow suit, and gain honor by being admitted to the service of prince 'Abbas and of the supreme chief, 'Alīqolī Khan. In this way, rancor and strife will disappear. Qobād Khan, who has fallen into disfavor with you by virtue of his supporting 'Alīqolī Khan, should be reinstated at Sabzavār.

Morteżāqolī Khan, an arrogant man, detested these overtures. He was from the Pernāk branch of the Turkman tribe, and the Turkmans and Takkalūs were old enemies of the Şāmlūs and Ostājlūs. He had no confidence in the latter, and sent back a harsh and offensive reply which effectively destroyed any chance of reconciliation. He charged that 'Alīqolī Khan's action constituted rebellion against Sultan Mohammad Shah, and he represented himself as "one who loves the Shah." Meanwhile, he sent courier after courier to Azerbaijan to warn the Shah.

The breach between the two parties being final, 'Alīqolī Khan and his supporters decided to attack Morteżāqolī Khan at Mašhad. They intercepted Valt Kalfā Şāmlū, the first of the replacement emirs to reach Khorasan, and put him to flight in a skirmish near Mašhad; he himself was killed by some retainers of Maḥmūd Khan

Şüfi-oğlū. At Maşhad, Morteżāqolı Khan and his supporters (Büdāq Khan Čegani, the governor of Kabušan; Darviş Moḥammad Khan Rümlü, the governor of Nishapur; Soleyman Kalifa Torkmān, the governor of Tün; Şahqolı Sultan Afşār, the governor of Jām; and others), prepared for battle. A bloody battle was fought within sight of the city in which the Şamlüs and Ostajlüs were eventually victorious. Morteżāqolı Khan, after all efforts to rally his men had failed, fell back on the city and feverishly strengthened the fortifications. But many of his men were overtaken outside the walls and killed or wounded. In the battle, Mir 'Abd al-Karīm, the warden of the shrine at Maşhad, who was stationed at the foot of the standard, was slain by unknown assailants. Qobād Khan Qajār, who accompanied the Turkman forces, seized the opportunity to join the Şamlüs. Şahqolı Sultan Afşār, governor of Jām, was taken prisoner. The other replacement emirs, Emir Hamza Khan and Şahqolı Sultan Qaranja Ostajlü, when they heard of the death of Valī Kalifa and of the insurrection in Khorasan, beat a retreat to Iraq.

'Aliqolı Khan and Morşedqolı Khan laid siege to Maşhad, but four months of siege produced no results. 'Aliqolı Khan then decided to seize control of the fortress at Nishapur (the governor of that city, Darviş Moḥammad Khan, was shut up in Maşhad), and to denude the surrounding area of Morteżāqolı Khan's supporters and deal with Morteżāqolı Khan later. Darviş Moḥammad Khan, hearing of this, got permission from Morteżāqolı Khan to return to Nishapur. He reached the city before the Şamlüs, intending to resist a siege, but when 'Aliqolı Khan arrived, he decided that discretion was the better part of valor and came out of the fort with a promise of quarter. He was received by Abbas Mīrzā, but it was considered unwise to allow him to remain at Nishapur, and that region was therefore allotted to Morşedqolı Khan.

Morşedqolı Khan left some men to garrison Nishapur and took Darviş Moḥammad Khan with him to Torbat-e Heydarīya, which was held by Farroğ Khan, the brother of Morteżāqolı Khan. Farroğ Khan, like Darviş Moḥammad Khan, handed over the fort on promise of quarter and retired to Maşhad. 'Aliqolı Khan made Darviş Moḥammad Khan governor of Torbat in place of Nishapur, and arranged for him and his men to be transferred to Torbat. 'Aliqolı Khan then returned to Herat and demobilized his forces. As soon as he had gone, however, Darviş Moḥammad Khan regretted his action and began to long for Nishapur. He marched rapidly there with a

band of Rümlüs and entered the city unsuspected. Most of his men, who were still at Nishapur, rallied round him and expelled Morşeqolı Khan's men from the city. Aliqolı Khan heard the news on his return march to Herat, but because of the distance involved and the fact that many of his troops had by then been disbanded, he decided to postpone action against Darviš Mohammad Khan until the following year. He returned to Herat and enjoyed some relaxation after his campaigning.

Morteżaqolı Khan and the inhabitants of Mašhad, released from the siege, set about repairing the damage caused by the operations in the Mašhad area. Morteżaqolı Khan submitted a full report to the Shah. The news caused consternation at Tabriz, where Mirzā Salman had arrived with the emirs who had been with him in Šīrvān. Meanwhile Sultan Hoseyn Khan, who had returned from Khorasan and was at the capital, Qazvin, was guilty of various acts which were not worthy of his position. Officials of the *dīvān* incited him to appropriate money from the rich, and confiscations and fines became the order of the day. The victims were not confined to residents of the Qazvin area; merchants and wealthy citizens from all parts of the country who happened to be in Qazvin were relieved of their cash and goods, and the proceeds were used for various disgraceful purposes. As a result, Sultan Hoseyn fell into disrepute. He was also slow in putting in an appearance at court. When the delay had exceeded all reasonable limits, his enemies seized the opportunity to attribute it to rebellious tendencies on his part. His fate will be related below.

Events at Tabriz in the Year of the Dragon, 988/1580-81

I mentioned previously that a quarrel had occurred in Šīrvān between Emir Khan Torkmān and Şahroğ Khan over the expedition to Çakmez. The Ostajlüs and Şamlüs, whose leaders were Pira Mohammad Khan Ostajlu and Hoseynqolı Sultan Şamlu, the *eşik-aqasıbaşı*, had supported Şahroğ Khan, and eventually the dispute was settled through the good offices of the *qırçıbaşı*. When the news from Khorasan of the siege of Morteżaqolı Khan at Mašhad by Morşeqolı Khan and Aliqolı Khan reached Tabriz, the Turkman emirs promptly charged the Ostajlüs and Şamlüs with rebellion, and the quarrel broke out anew. The infamous behavior of Sultan Hoseyn Khan provided the Turkmans with a decisive argument.

The Ostājlūs and Šamlūs were in a position of entrenched power at court, and for this reason the Turkmans were constantly trying to undermine their position. Sultan Ḥoseyn Khan's wife (the mother of Aliqolı Khan), had been midwife at the birth of Sultan Ḥamza Mirzā and subsequently his nurse. She had returned from Khorasan with her husband and was installed in the harem of the prince, who regarded her as his mother. Her brother, Ḥoseyn Beg Šamlū, was the prince's vizier. In addition, a considerable number of Šamlū nobles were in the service of the prince—men like Esmā'īlqolı Beg, the son of Valı Kalıfa, who rejoiced in the title of *yoldāš* (comrade); Mahdi-qolı Beg, the son of Ḥoseynqolı Sultan the trusted *eşik-āqātbāš*; Abu'l-Fatḥ Beg, the son of Fūlād Beg the *amīr-aṣorbāš* (master of the king's horse); and Tahmāspqolı Beg, the son of Qūr Koms Khan, who was enrolled among the *moqarrabs*. The vizier, Mirzā Salmān, spurred on by the rivalry that exists between all holders of high office, was envious of Ḥoseyn Beg Šamlū and tried to discredit him. He therefore threw in his lot with the Turkman faction.

The Turkman leaders, Emir Khan and Moḥammad Khan, and Moṣib Khan Takkalū and their supporters, now saw their opportunity to make a submission to the Shah. They argued that, since Aliqolı Khan and Morshedqolı Khan had shown signs of rebellions against Sultan Moḥammad Shah and Sultan Ḥamza Mirzā, Aliqolı Khan's mother could not be considered a trustworthy member of the harem. As long as Šamlūs and Ostājlūs held high office in the state, they, the Turkmans, would not be able to remove this slur on their name; the schism between the two factions would continue, and they could not give their wholehearted and undivided loyalty to the Shah and Sultan Ḥamza Mirzā. Therefore, they argued, it was not in the best interests of the state to continue to place Šamlūs and Ostājlūs in positions of trust and power.

Pīra Moḥammad Khan Ostājlū and Ḥoseynqolı Sultan Šamlū put themselves forward as spokesmen for their faction. They attributed events in Khorasan to the dissension and discord between the *qezel-bāš* tribes, and they rejected the arguments put forward by the other side. "God forgive!" they said, "that any opposition should emanate from us against the Shah or Ḥamza Mirzā." At Mašhad, Morteżāqolı Khan had asserted his independence and had striven to destroy the authority of Aliqolı Khan. The emirs had been worried that the Uzbegs would take advantage of this disunity among the *qezel-bāš*; they were also concerned about the Ottoman occupation of parts of

Azerbaijan and Şirvān. For this reason, all the emirs of Khorāsan had rallied around Abbas Mirzā; if the Uzbegs made any move, the emirs would be able to show a united front. They had no other object in mind, and any statement to the contrary was pure falsehood and the invention of Morteżaqolı Khan.

These arguments went on for several days, and both sides went around with weapons concealed on their persons, ready to fight. But they listened to peacemakers, for neither side really thought the issue warranted bloodshed. At this point, however, the news arrived of the slaying of Valı Kalıfa Şamlū. It roused Esmā'ılqolı Beg to demand vengeance for his father's death. Because the Ostājlū and Şamlū tribes had traditionally been on friendly terms, the Turkmans and Takkalūs saw this as a splendid opportunity to drive a wedge between the two. They told Esmā'ılqolı Khan that his father had been slain on the orders of Sultan Hoseyn Khan and his son 'Aliqolı Khan, and they tried their utmost to cause trouble between the Ostājlūs and the Şamlūs. They succeeded in making some of their remarks stick in the minds of the Shah and Hamza Mirzā, and in poisoning their minds against some members of that group. Hoseyn Beg's wife was dragged from the harem and strangled, innocent though she was of any crime, and they did not give a thought to the vileness of this deed.

They appointed Esmā'ılqolı Khan governor of Qazvin in place of Sultan Hoseyn Khan, with the rank of *kān* and *tovāčibāšī* (chief army inspector). They also gave Esmā'ılqolı Khan permission to murder Sultan Hoseyn Khan in revenge for the death of his own father, Valı Kalıfa. In addition, Qûr Koms Khan, who for years had been in the service of Valı Kalıfa and had risen to the rank of emir, was promised the post of *eşik-aqasibaşı*, and was given *carte-blanche* to dispose of the incumbent, Hoseynqolı Sultan, who was a supporter of 'Aliqolı Khan. Qûr Koms Khan, partly from a desire to avenge Valı Kalıfa, and partly from a desire to hold this high office, allowed himself to be seduced by the enemies of Sultan Hoseyn Khan and Hoseynqolı Khan, and by so doing blotted his own escutcheon.

First, the brothers Esmā'ılqolı Khan fell upon the brother of Mahmûd Khan Şüfi-oglu Ostajlu, who was visiting shrines in the vicinity of Mount Sorkab, and slew that innocent man in revenge for the slaying of their father. This started a feud between the Ostajlus and the Şamlūs. Next, Kalıfa Anşar Qaradaglu took a band of men at

midnight to the house of Ḥoseynqoli Khan Šamlū and murdered him. Ḥoseyn Beg the vizier escaped on this occasion, but was seized and murdered a few days later at the convent of Mir-e Maqtūl-band. While the Šamlūs, at the instigation of the Turkmans, were busy murdering one another in this fashion, to outward appearances the Turkmans had no hand in these events, and so Pīra Moḥammad Khan was unable to take any revenge on them.

The post of vizier to Sultan Ḥamza Mīrzā was assumed by Mīrzā Salmān, in addition to the post he already held, that of *vazir-e dvān-e a'lā*. "Comrade" Esmā'īlqoli Khan became governor of Qazvin, and the retainers of Sultan Ḥoseyn Khan at Qazvin were ordered to transfer themselves to him, and to arrest Sultan Ḥoseyn Khan and bring him to court. Qūr Koms Khan received his reward, the office of *ešik-aqāsibāši*, and the post of *ešik-aqāsibāši* to Sultan Ḥamza Mīrzā was given to Pīri Beg Inānlu Šamlū. Shah Gāzī, the comptroller of finance, was arrested on suspicion of being hostile toward Mīrzā Salmān and an ally of the opposition party, and his post was allotted to Kāja Moḥammad Bāqer Haravī, who had held previous office under Sultan Moḥammad Shah.

As soon as the announcement of Esmā'īlqoli Khan's appointment was made, Sultan Ḥoseyn Khan slipped out of Qazvin to the summer quarters of Čekī Jekī. Some of his retainers went with him; others remained in the city. Despite all the kindness and consideration they had received from him, they began to desert him—such is the despicable behavior typical of worldly men and time-servers—and to outdo each other in their eagerness to enter the service of Esmā'īlqoli Khan. Sultan Ḥoseyn Khan, seeing the plight he was in and fearing arrest, took a few men and hastened to Ardabil, where he took sanctuary in the Safavid shrine. Shortly afterward, however, a body of men from the Şeykāvand tribe, notably Vāstār Beg, the brother of Shaikh Shah Beg, lured him out of the sanctuary by trickery and handed him over to his enemies, who put him to death.

After this, a truce was patched up between Mīrzā Salmān, the vizier; the *qurčibāši*; and Şahroğ Khan, the keeper of the seal; and Emir Khan and Pīra Moḥammad Khan. Emir Khan's marriage to Fāṭema Sultan Kānom, the daughter of Shah Tahmasp, was celebrated at Tabriz by three days of festivities. Fāṭema Sultan Kānom, who had been betrothed to Emir Khan the previous year, was conducted to the bridegroom's home with due ceremony, and the groom offered suit-

able gifts to Sultan Mohammad Shah and to Ḥamza Mirzā. In return, he received splendid robes of honor, hats⁴⁸ studded with jewels, dagger belts and sword belts, weapons with hilts and scabbards encrusted with jewels, horses with jeweled saddles and bridles, and robes of brocade, cloaks, "four-meter" robes, and other garments. Emir Khan, on his part, gave robes of honor to the servants, boon companions, and entertainers in the employ of the Shah and Ḥamza Mirzā:

Emir Khan, in order to conciliate Pīra Mohammad Khan and the Ostājlū tribe, and also because Pīra Mohammad Khan was his kinsman (Pīra Mohammad Khan's daughter was a member of the household of his son, Sultan Morād Khan), charged him with the preparation of a *sāqduš*⁴⁹ feast. Mosīb Khan Takkalū was given the responsibility of arranging a *soldūš*⁵⁰ feast. Each of the two khans provided a royal banquet in their own homes, and sent gifts of food from their tables to the Shah and Ḥamza Mirzā. Mosīb Khan Takkalū, because he was related to Sultan Mohammad Shah, had considered himself a more suitable person than Emir Khan to be honored by a royal marriage alliance, and had looked to win the hand of Fāṭema Sultan Kānom. For a variety of reasons it was considered inexpedient to grant his suit, and the princess was bestowed on Emir Khan instead. Despite this, when he was asked to arrange the wedding feast, he agreed and carried out his duties.

After these events, the discord between the tribes died down for a while. Salmān Khan, the son of Shah 'Alī Mirzā, was also honored by a royal marriage; he was given the hand of Šahrbānū Begom, another daughter of Shah Tahmasp.⁵¹ Once again Pīra Mohammad Khan undertook the responsibility of arranging the wedding feast—this time out of tribal loyalty⁵² and in memory of the services of 'Abd Allāh Khan to the crown.⁵³ Emir Khan showed him every courtesy. The province of Šīrvān was allotted to Salmān Khan and the Ostājlū

⁴⁸The *tūj* or distinctive headgear of the *qezelbaš*.

⁴⁹*Sāqduš* (*sāqdūš* literally means right shoulder) is the function of the *sāqduš*, that is, the person who, on the wedding night, stands shoulder to shoulder with the bride and groom (Mohammad Mo'In, *Farhang-e Fārsi*, vol. 2, p. 1801).

⁵⁰Since *soldūš* means literally left shoulder, the *soldūš* presumably stood on the left of the bride and groom, while the *sāqduš*, holding the position of greater honor, stood on their right.

⁵¹Šahrbānū, or Šohra Bandū, was the seventh daughter of Shah Tahmasp. Fāṭema was the sixth.

⁵²Salmān Khan was an Ostājlū.

⁵³'Abd Allāh Khan Ostājlū, *amīr al-omārā* under Shah Tahmasp, was a nephew of Shah Esma'il I, and was also the son-in-law of Esma'il I and the brother-in-law of Tahmasp.

The Shah's March to Aškanbar, Kalanbar, and Qarābāg

emirs, who departed by way of Arasbār. When they reached the river Kor, because of the heat, they camped at the summer quarters known as Hama-tara, planning to move on across the river when the temperature moderated. The leader of the Ostājlū emirs was Salmān Khan, who was *beglerbeg* and governor of Šamakī; other emirs accompanying him were Ḥoseynqolī Sultan, the son of the famous Nāzār Sultan Lala; ‘Alīqolī Sultan, the son of Eşik ‘Evaż Čauşlu; Moṣṭafa Sultan Šaraflū;⁵⁴ Mahdīqolī Sultan Čauşlu, the son of Eygūt Beg; and several emirs from other tribes—the Jagırlūs, the Qaraman-lūs, and so on. All these emirs had been allotted fiefs in Širvān.

Also in this year (988/1580–81), Kalīl Khan Afšār, who had been away from his tribal district for four years, was granted permission to leave court and return to Kuh Gilüya to deal with a revolt there by a certain Qalandar (details of this will be given in due course). Finally, a decision was made to equip an expedition for Azerbaijan, and Kalīl Khan Zu'l-Qadar, the *beglerbeg* of Fārs, was detailed for this, along with the emirs under his command, and Valī Khan Afšār, the governor of Kerman.

The Shah's March to the Summer Quarters of Aškanbar and Kalanbar, His Wintering in Qarābāg, His Correspondence with the Ottoman Grand Vizier Senān Pasha, and Related Events

When signs of spring began to appear and the weather at Tabriz began to warm up, famine also appeared in the city. The Shah repaired to the summer quarters, and the royal camp was located in the Aškanbar and Kalanbar districts.⁵⁵ This year, the Ottoman sultan appointed Senān Pasha commander-in-chief of the Ottoman forces and dispatched him to the assistance of ‘Osmān Pasha, with orders to complete the conquest of Širvān and neighboring regions. Senān Pasha reached Erzerum with a vast army, and sent an envoy to Sultan Mohammad Shah with a letter addressed to Mīrzā Salmān. The letter was full of vain boasts, and the gist of it was that it was contrary to Ottoman law for Ottoman troops to withdraw from any area they had occupied, and in which the *ḥoṭba* had been recited in the name of the Ottoman sultan. The provinces of Širvān and Šakki, and parts of Azerbaijan and Georgia had been occupied by Ottoman forces. If *qezelbāš* forces did not interfere in those areas, they would

⁵⁴The Šaraflūs were a clan of the Ostājlū tribe (see *TM*, p. 16).

⁵⁵See G. Le Strange (trans.), *The Geographical Part of the Nozhat al-Qolab*, composed by Ḥamad Allah Mostowfi of Qazvin in 740 (1340), 1919, p. 85.

be administered by Ottoman officials; there would be no need for further conflict, and past actions would be forgiven. A friendly letter should be sent to the Ottoman sultan by the hand of a trusted and able ambassador. If this were done, Senān Pasha would use his good offices to persuade the sultan to conclude a peace treaty. If this offer were rejected, then Ottoman forces would continue their conquest of Iranian territory.

The stubborn *qezelbāš* emirs, particularly Šahrok Khan the keeper of the seal, although they did not consider themselves strong enough to withstand such a huge Ottoman army, and although there was disunity among the emirs themselves, refused to act in the manner demanded by Senān Pasha. They replied:

If you mean a peace treaty on the terms of the treaty concluded in the time of Shah Tahmasp, well and good. But we will not voluntarily surrender one yard of Persian soil. This is our fixed resolve, as long as one of us hundred thousand *qezelbāš* remains alive. We are not afraid of you, or of ten like you. You should not compare yourself to Lala Pasha. When the latter invaded Iran, the Shah was absent in Iraq, and the emirs of Azerbaijan were in disarray. Now the whole of the *qezelbāš* forces in Azerbaijan are in attendance on the Shah and ready for action. Your statement that the province of Šīrvān has been annexed by Ottoman forces is incorrect. The administration of Šīrvān, as usual, is in the hands of *qezelbāš* emirs. Nothing is in Ottoman hands except the fortress at Darband, which is nothing more than four walls. Had the *qezelbāš* been united at the time of the earlier Ottoman invasion, our enemies would not have been able to make inroads into Safavid territory.

On receiving this letter, Senān Pasha decided to proceed with caution. He wrote another letter, this time couched in milder terms. He pointed out that 'Osmān Pasha had reported to the Ottoman sultan that he had subjugated the province of Šīrvān. If this was correct, the most sensible policy for the *qezelbāš* would be not to set foot in that province. If he could receive assurances to that effect, he pledged himself to use his good offices to negotiate a peace. To this

letter the Persians sent a pleasant reply, as seemed expedient in the circumstances. Senān Pasha then agreed that both sides should winter where they were, and that each should send a reliable representative to Širvān to inspect the province, district by district, and to report whether each region was in the hands of the Ottomans or the *qezelbāš*. He himself nominated a certain 'Omar Aqa as his representative, and dispatched him.

The royal army meanwhile was advancing on Qarabag from Nakčevān. But alarming reports kept arriving from Khorasan, and Morteżāqolı Khan kept sending in dispatch after dispatch informing the Shah of the rebellion of 'Aliqolı Khan Şamlü and Morşedqolı Khan Ostājlü and their supporters. So the Shah decided to send to Khorasan Moḥammad Khan Torkmān, a skillful and experienced officer, together with a group of other emirs such as Esmā'ılqolı Khan Şamlü and Qûr Koms Khan Şamlü, both of whom were the enemies of 'Aliqolı Khan. Their orders were to talk to the emirs in Khorasan with a view to suppressing the fires of civil war between the Şamlü-Ostājlü group and Morteżāqolı Khan, and to recalling them from the path of sedition.

At this juncture, Ğazı Gerāy Khan, Şaft Gerāy Khan, and the Tartar host suddenly appeared in Širvān. Salmān Khan, who had been appointed *beglerbeg* of Širvān, was still encamped and had not entered the province. The Tartar chiefs, finding no trace of the *qezelbāš* in Širvān, made inquiries, and the Širvānis, notoriously unreliable, informed them that the *beglerbeg* and the *qezelbāš* chiefs who had been appointed to Širvān were still in camp at such-and-such a place. Led by Širvāni guides, the Tartars crossed the river Kor and fell unexpectedly on the *qezelbāš* camp at a time when the movements of the *qezelbāš* had been restricted by a week of heavy rain. The *qezelbāš* did not even have time to put on their armor and form for battle. Abandoning their equipment and stores, the *qezelbāš* fled, on foot and on horseback. The few valiant souls who stood and fought were slain to a man, and the camp was plundered. Of the Ostājlü emirs, 'Aliqolı Sultan Čaūslü, the son of Eşik 'Evaž, was killed; the rest escaped and re-formed in the region of Qezel Āgaç. The same day, the Tartars retreated with their plunder. On the arrival of the Tartars, 'Osman Pasha sent an Ottoman garrison to Baku and put the fort there in a state of defense.

The news of the *qezelbāš* defeat was extremely distasteful to the

Shah. When he reached Solṭānbūd in the Qezel Āgač district he sent the vizier, Mīrzā Salmān, together with Emir Khan, the *qurčibāši*, Šahroķ Khan Pīra Moḥammad Khan Ostājlū, and others, plus the *qurčis* of the royal bodyguard, against the Tartars. The Safavid skirmishers made contact with the Tartar-Ottoman force at Molla Ḥasan, but as the main Safavid army came on the scene, the enemy broke contact. The Ottomans, as usual, retired behind the walls of Darband, and the Tartars withdrew to their own territory by way of Dāgestān.

When he heard of the approach of the royal army, Salmān Khan, with his men in disarray and short of equipment, hastened to make amends for his defeat at the hands of the Tartars by laying siege to Bākū, where he was joined by Emir Khan, who had marched by way of Šabarān. After besieging the fort for eighteen days, the *qezelbāš* were forced to abandon the siege on account of the shortage of supplies and the destitution of the population in the area. For a few days the *qezelbāš* obtained barley flour by paying 600 *dīndars*, equivalent to six *mesqāls*⁵⁶ of silver, for a Tabriz *sang*,⁵⁷ but even that came to an end, and it was impossible to stay any longer. The *qezelbāš* force retired to Qarābag, and that winter⁵⁸ there was not a single *qezelbāš* emir in Šīrvān. As a result, the Ottomans consolidated their hold on parts of Šīrvān, levied taxes, and reduced the local population to submission.

Pīra Moḥammad Khan fell ill and died during the Šīrvān operations, and the influence of the Ostājlū tribe was thereby greatly reduced. Although his son, Pīra Morād Khan, was given a governorship and the rank of *kān*, he did not carry the same weight as his father. The influence of the Ostājlū group at court declined steadily as the star of Moṣedqoli Khan Yakān Ostājlū rose in Khorasan. The Turkman-Takkalū faction now set about discrediting the weakened Ostājlū group at court, and even went as far as trying to eliminate some of their number. For instance, Šahqoli Sultan Qāranja-oglū Ostājlū, who had returned to court from Khorasan, was set upon at Varāmīn in the district of Rayy by a band of Takkalūs, retainers of Moṣib Khan Saraf al-Dīn-oglū, under the command of Moḥammad Beg Nodāqi, the grandson of Qarāja Sultan. Some three hundred fully armed Takkalūs mounted and set off with the intention of killing

⁵⁶A *mesqāl* equals 24 grains or 1/16 of a *sīr*.

⁵⁷A *sang* is a popular weight, of approximately one kilogram.

⁵⁸I.e., the winter of 988-99/1581.

Şahqolı Sultan and plundering his property. By the time Şahqolı Sultan heard of their coming, he found his path of escape blocked. He had to stand and fight, which he did so effectively that Moḥammad Beg Nodaqı was put to flight and many Takkalüs were killed. Şahqolı Sultan decided to leave the province of Rayy, which was thick with Takkalüs, and joined the royal camp in Qarābag. The Shah expressed his disapproval of the Takkalü action. Some troublemakers tried to incite Mosib Khan to take revenge on Şahqolı Sultan, but Mosib Khan was a man of peace and refused to take any action.

The elders of the Ostajlū tribe sought the help of Sultan Moḥammad Shah, and on his instructions took Şahqolı Sultan to the house of Mosib Khan. Although the Takkalüs who had lost relatives in the engagement uttered threats and were spoiling for a fight, since the Takkalüs had started the fight and the Ostajlüs had been forced to defend themselves, Şahqolı Sultan was clearly in the right. For this reason, and in deference to the Shah's wishes, Mosib Khan, despite his great power and authority, overlooked the deaths of two hundred Takkalüs and took no action against Şahqolı Sultan. Considering that the Turkmans and Takkalüs were allies and that their influence was paramount at court, whereas the Ostajlüs, for the reasons I have given, were temporarily in eclipse, Mosib Khan could have taken any action he liked against Şahqolı Sultan Qaranja, his sons and relations, without fear of reprisal; his posture of disinterested justice is therefore commendable.

Certain Events Which Took Place toward the End of the Year in the Winter Camp at Solṭanbūd in Qarābag, and the Dispatch of Ebrahim Khan Torkmān as Ambassador to the Ottoman Sultan

After the death of Pīra Moḥammad Khan, who was the driving force behind Ostajlū affairs, Salmān Khan and his fellow emirs were unable to hold their ground in Šīrvān, and they retreated from that province. At the same time, 'Omar Aqa, whom Senān Pasha had sent to Šīrvān to report which districts were held by whom, arrived at the royal camp.

The emirs and principal officers of state deemed it advisable to mobilize a large force of Qajars, Otuz-ıklı,⁵⁹ and other tribesmen living in Qarābag and to make the defense of Šīrvān their responsibility, under the command of Emāmqolı Khan. Having secured the agreement of the Shah and Hamza Mirzā to this policy, they obliged

⁵⁹The "thirty-two" clans of Qarābag; see *TM*, p. 167.

a reluctant Emāmqolī Khan to accept this command. On the latter's recommendation, Peykar Beg Ziād-oglū Qājār was promoted to the rank of *kān* and awarded a governorship, and appointed *beglerbeg* of Šīrvān. A number of other Qājār emirs were allotted fiefs in Šīrvān, and accompanied the new governor to Šamākī.

After this force had left, an Iranian delegate was nominated to accompany 'Omar Aqa, and another force was sent to Tiflis to assist Samā'ūn Khan, the independent governor of Tiflis. This force was accompanied by Morād Beg, the commander-in-chief of artillery, with cannon founders and all materials needed for the casting of cannon. The hope was that, by the time 'Omar Aqa returned from Šīrvān, the fortress at Tiflis might be in Safavid hands. However, this hope proved to be vain. Peykar Khan and his fellow emirs took up their stations in Šīrvān and succeeded in convincing 'Omar Aqa that 'Osmān Pasha held nothing but the four walls of the forts at Darband and Bākū. Šāhqolī Sultan Tabat-oglū Zu'l-Qadar, with instructions to discuss peace terms, accompanied 'Omar Aqa when the latter returned to report to the Ottoman sultan.

The Safavid envoy took with him a submission by the people of Šīrvān to the effect that, since certain lands in Šīrvān were held in mortmain in respect of the shrines at Mecca and Medina, and since the Ottoman sultan was the guardian of those shrines, the people of Šīrvān were prepared to send a number of consignments of silk to the Ḥejāz, the proceeds of the sale of this silk to be used to defray the expenses of the holy shrines. The only condition was that any revenues from these lands which had fallen into Ottoman hands prior to this should not be tampered with but handed over to the *qezelbāš*. So Šāhqolī Sultan Tabat-oglū set off for Erzerum, laden with gifts.

Since there was a feud between Senān Pasha and 'Osmān Pasha, and since Senān Pasha was disposed to negotiate a peace, he sent Tabat-oglū back with an encouraging communication in which he suggested that the *qezelbāš* appoint one of their high-ranking emirs to go with him to meet the Ottoman sultan and determine the peace terms. Ebrahim Khan, the son of Ḥeydar Sultan Čabūq Tarkān Torkmān, the governor of Qom, was the man selected, and he set off equipped with suitable gifts. However, when Senān Pasha reached Istanbul, his enemies, especially 'Osmān Pasha (who was stationed at Darband), accused him of dereliction of duty, and strongly urged the Ottoman sultan not to negotiate a peace. As a result, Ebrahim

Khan's affairs at Istanbul made no progress. The following year, Farhād Pasha was made commander-in-chief of the Ottoman forces and succeeded in wresting from *qezelbāš* control the provinces of Čokür-e Sa'd, Qarābag, and most parts of Azerbaijan. Ebrahim Khan remained at Istanbul for seven years until finally, after the accession of Shah Abbas, he obtained permission to return to Iran. I hope I may be spared to narrate all these events in their proper place.

Miscellaneous Events and Auspicious Happenings during This Year through the Will of Almighty God

One event that took place in this year was the assassination of Jamšīd Khan, grandson of Možaffar Sultan and governor of western Gilān (he was also the son-in-law of Shah Tahmasp), by Mīrzā Kāmrān Kūhdomī, who was incited by some treacherous retainers to perpetrate this act.

The feud between the ruling houses of western and eastern Gilān was traditional, and the present heads, Jamšīd Khan and Khan Aḥmad, were no exception to the general rule. They were constantly sending armies against each other's territories and striving to destroy each other. Mīrzā Kāmrān, the ruler of Kūhdom, which was situated between the two realms of western and eastern Gilān, decided that his best course was to cultivate a closer relationship with Khan Aḥmad, whose lineage was impeccable, but both rulers tried to win over Mīrzā Kāmrān.

In this particular year (988/1580-81), Jamšīd Khan redoubled his efforts to secure an alliance with Mīrzā Kāmrān. He begged him to visit him, made the friendliest of overtures to him, treated him like a brother, and constantly sent him gifts. Intermediaries went to and fro and succeeded in allaying mutual fears of treachery by binding oaths. So the meeting took place. Jamšīd Khan took Mīrzā Kāmrān back with him to Rašt and gave him a royal reception there.

Jamšīd Khan's primary object was to secure an alliance between the forces of western Gilān and Kūhdom—an alliance that would give him military superiority over Khan Aḥmad. As long as Mīrzā Kāmrān and Jamšīd Khan were in alliance, Jamšīd Khan was able to follow an aggressive policy. He seized control of Küčesfehān,⁶⁰ territory which was in dispute between himself and Khan Aḥmad.

⁶⁰See *Hodūd al-'Ālam*, p. 390.

Khan Ahmād, at Lahijān, was kept on tenterhooks and in constant fear of some further demarche on the part of Jamšīd Khan. Mīrzā Kāmrān, as he got more deeply involved in the politics of western Gilān, was tempted by a faction hostile to Jamšīd Khan to think in terms of becoming ruler of western Gilān himself, and began to plot against Jamšīd Khan.

At this point, Jamšīd sent his commander in chief, Qarā Bahādor (who was actually the leader of the conspiracy) on an expedition with Mīrzā Kāmrān against Khan Ahmād. The plot was revealed to Jamšīd Khan by one of his emirs, Čerāg Sultan, who hoped to get Qarā Bahādor's place. Such was Jamšīd Khan's faith in the sworn oaths of Mīrzā Kāmrān, however, that he did not raise the matter with the latter, who continued to speak agreeably to Jamšīd Khan and to allay his suspicions.

Now that the conspiracy was known, Mīrzā Kāmrān, extremely apprehensive about his own position, decided to act without delay. While Mīrzā Kāmrān and the forces of western Gilān were at Kūčesfēhān, Qarā Bahādor and many other nobles from western Gilān, who were friends of Qarā Bahādor and implicated in the plot, to save their necks conspired with Mīrzā Kāmrān to get rid of Jamšīd Khan. They murdered Čerāg Sultan at Kūčesfēhān and then marched back to Rašt. The troops, as usual preferring a period of leave to action, asked no questions. The conspirators arrived unexpectedly at Jamšīd Khan's house; even then, Jamšīd Khan, in his innocence, did not suspect that anything was wrong, but thought that circumstances had obliged them to return. Mīrzā Kāmrān entered his private apartments, seized him, and sent him to Kūhdom under guard, with orders that he should be held in a secure place. Jamšīd Khan confidently expected that some of those who owed a debt of gratitude to his house would come and release him, but no one came.

Mīrzā Kāmrān himself took custody of Jamšīd Khan's sons, Mohammad Ebrahim Mīrzā and Mohammad Amin Mīrzā, who were grandsons of Shah Tahmasp and still infants. Through the efforts of Qarā Bahādor, all the people of western Gilān acclaimed Mīrzā Kāmrān as their ruler, and the nobles and military commanders pledged their fealty to him. A few months later, Mīrzā Kāmrān, to forestall any possible move against him in support of Jamšīd Khan, had the latter put to death in Kūhdom. He did not long enjoy the fruits of this crime, for the murderers of that innocent ruler were ere long deprived of life and fortune.

After establishing himself as ruler of western Gilan, Mirzā Kāmrān continued the struggle against Khan Aḥmad and gained the upper hand. He sent a message to the Safavid court to the effect that, since Jamšīd Khan had rebelled and contrary to the Shah's orders had made incursions against the territory of others, the Shah's loyal subject Mirzā Kāmrān had taken matters into his own hands and had dealt with the rebel. If the royal clemency extended to the conferring of the governorship of western Gilan on the said loyal subject, he would not only send the Shah an impressive sum of money as a gift, but would undertake to remit tribute and taxes annually. Mirzā Kāmrān sent along with the messengers a large sum in cash which he had taken from Jamšīd Khan's possessions, hoping thereby to win the support of Mirzā Salmān, and the emirs and principal officers of state, for his scheme to marry Jamšīd Khan's widow, a daughter of Shah Tahmasp, and to be confirmed as governor of western Gilan.

Khan Aḥmad, a clever man of sound judgment who was far more frightened of Mirzā Kāmrān than he had been of Jamšīd Khan, for his part sent repeated petitions to court strongly urging that Mirzā Kāmrān's proposals be rejected. He urged that the administration of western Gilan be placed in the hands of seven or eight *qezelbaş* emirs; it did not belong, he said, to Mirzā Kāmrān. When the *qezelbaş* emirs arrived, he would assist them in wresting the province from the hands of Mirzā Kāmrān and would then hand over control of it to them. The prospect of Mirzā Kāmrān's acquiring power as the protégé of the Safavids was repugnant to Khan Aḥmad.

Since Sultan Mohammad Shah regarded Khan Aḥmad with affection, he did not wish to take any action that was abhorrent to him. The Shah also thought he could not overlook Mirzā Kāmrān's temerity in murdering Jamšīd Khan, and so Mirzā Kāmrān's petitions fell on deaf ears. Since Salmān Khan and the Ostājlū emirs were at court without fiefs, and since in addition Salmān Khan was the brother-in-law of the murdered Jamšīd Khan,⁶¹ the Shah appointed him governor of Rašt, and western Gilan was divided up among the Ostājlū emirs. Şahqolı Sultan Qāranja Ostājlū was appointed guardian and senior counselor to Salmān Khan and was allotted Küčeş-fehān, which had been a bone of contention between the rulers of western and eastern Gilan. The Ostājlū emirs allotted fiefs in western Gilan included Hoseynqolı Sultan, the son of Nazar Sultan Lala; Moṣṭafā Sultan Šaraflū; Mahdī Sultan Čaušlu, the son of Eygüt Beg;

⁶¹They had both married daughters of Shah Tahmasp.

Aḥmad Sultan Asāyeş-oğlū; Tenger-birdī Kalīfa Kangarlū, the son of Ja'far Sultan; and Abu'l-Qāsem Sultan Čauşlū, the kinsman of Pīra Mōhammad Khan. From the other tribes, there were Aşlān Sultan Ali-beğlū Zu'l-Qadar; Qarāmān Sultan Rūmlū; and Şāhverdī Sultan Jalal-oğlū Čapnī. The gold, formerly the property of Jamšīd Khan, which Mīrzā Kāmrān had sent to court as a gift was allotted to the emirs as a subvention for expenses,⁶² and they were sent to Gīlān. In addition, the Shah issued orders to the local governors in Gīlān, Bāyandor Khan Ṭāleš and Emir Hāmza, the son of Emir Sīāvōš, the governor of Gaskar, instructing them to assist the emirs.

When Salmān Khan and the emirs reached Gīlān, Şahqolī Sultan Qāranja was ordered to Lāhījān to hold counsel with Khan Aḥmad, and to seek his advice as to how they might together settle the affairs of western Gīlān to the best advantage. Meanwhile, a certain Şīrzād, a notable of the Fūmen district, had put forward the soṇ of an itinerant dervish as the son of Jamšīd Khan, had named him Sultan Maḥmūd Khan after the father of Jamšīd Khan, and had adopted a rebellious attitude toward Mīrzā Kāmrān. Şīrzād, at the head of a band of men from Fūmen, descended on Rašt without warning. Mīrzā Kāmrān decided not to defend the city because he thought Şīrzād must have been encouraged to take this bold step by support from within; in actual fact, he had no opportunity to defend it anyway. Taking Jamšīd Khan's sons with him, he abandoned his baggage and fled back to Kūhdom by little-known routes. At Kūhdom, he rejoined Qara Bahādor and his other supporters.

Şīrzād entered Rašt in triumph, and led "Sultan Maḥmūd Khan" into the presence of Jamšīd Khan's widow, Shah Tahmasp's daughter. Although the latter was well aware that Jamšīd Khan had only two sons, she considered it expedient to pretend to believe Şīrzād and to encourage him to assume control of western Gīlān. Şīrzād, departing from the practice of his predecessors, sent couriers to Khan Aḥmad indicating his willingness to acknowledge his suzerainty. Khan Aḥmad considered this turn of events the greatest piece of good fortune and regretted having called in the *qezelbāš*. He saw this as his opportunity to get his revenge on Mīrzā Kāmrān, and the force he sent to Kūhdom ravaged the area and pursued Mīrzā Kāmrān as far as Rostamābād and the neighborhood of Ṭārom.

⁶²*Madad-e ḫarj*; a technical term for a specific type of *soyūrgal*, immunity from tax or special privilege of a financial nature (see *TM*, p. 183).

At this point, Salmān Khan had reached Manjil. Mīrzā Kāmrān saw submission to the *qezelbāš* as his only way of escaping from the clutches of Khan Aḥmad, and he craved an audience with Salmān Khan. Mōhammadi Beg Sarū Sūlag, the *vakīl* of Ḥoseynqolī Sultan, was sent to Kūhdom with a detachment of two or three hundred *qezelbāš*, and they brought Mīrzā Kāmrān and Qarā Bahādor back with them to Manjil. Mīrzā Kāmrān was fearful that Khan Aḥmad's troops might descend on his house and plunder it that very night. Such was the urgency of his pleading that he persuaded Salmān Khan to march to Kūhdom that same day. Hearing of the latter's approach, Khan Aḥmad pulled back his troops, but at the same time he warned Salmān Khan that Mīrzā Kāmrān was a deceitful and treacherous mischief-maker, and that he should not be taken in by his words. The best course, he said, would be to charge him with the murder of Jamšīd Khan and to imprison him. "I suggest," said Khan Aḥmad, "that first you occupy Mīrzā Kāmrān's territory, and camp there until the autumn. Then at a season when it will be difficult for the forces in western Gilān to put up any opposition, we will march together and occupy that province."

Mīrzā Kāmrān, however, was extremely astute and a smooth talker, and he carried the day with Salmān Khan. "Khan Aḥmad," he said, "originally asked for the assistance of the *qezelbāš* because he was afraid of my power. Now that he thinks he has destroyed me, he does not want you any more. If Širzād and 'Sultan Mahmūd Khan,' the alleged son of Jamšīd Khan, become masters of western Gilān, they will without doubt submit to Khan Aḥmad; and the latter will, in reality, become ruler of the whole of Gilān. You have absolutely no need of his help. Without any recourse to him, I will conquer western Gilān for you."

Salmān Khan took Jamšīd Khan's sons from the custody of Mīrzā Kāmrān and sent them to Qazvin. He decided to wait until Šāhqolī Sultan returned from Lahijān and the emirs under his command had marshaled their forces. A few days later, Šāhqolī Sultan arrived and reported that Khan Aḥmad had said that, at the present time, when the trees were in full leaf, every tree in the forest was a defensive position, and it was not the right time to advance on Rašt; he therefore advised that they should wait until winter. This report merely reinforced what Mīrzā Kāmrān said. The great emirs, now assembled, unanimously decided to march on Rašt. They marched by way of Raḥmatābād, sending Mahdiqolī Sultan Čauşlu ahead with the

skirmishers. Tenger-birdı Kangarlu led the advance guard, and Şirzad and 'Sultan Mahmud Khan' marched out from Rašt by the usual route through Bijär Pas to confront him. With them were 'Ali Beg and Mohammad Beg the son of Kär Kia Ahmād Fūmenī, who during the reign of Shah Tahmasp was the guardian and *vakil* of Jamšid Khan. But Mīrzā Kamrān marched on Rašt with the *qezelbaş* by a little-used route.

When he got news of their movements, Şirzad left the youth whom he had elevated to the rank of khan in the care of his main army, and himself marched rapidly back toward Rašt with a small force, to find out what was going on there. He reached the Meydān-e Siāh Gūrāb, which was not far from Jamšid Khan's house, just about the same time that a few *qezelbaş* skirmishers entered the city. Şirzad at once charged them, but one of the *gazis*, without realizing whom he was attacking, hurled Şirzad from his saddle with a lance thrust. He was promptly seized by the *qezelbaş* and, when they discovered his identity, held prisoner. Ten or fifteen of Şirzad's men were also taken prisoner, and the rest were killed. Salmān Khan and the main force of *qezelbaş* emirs reached the city and camped in the Meydān-e Siāh Gūrāb.

When the news of these events reached Şirzad's army, it marched back to Rašt to give battle to the *qezelbaş*. As soon as the sound of their trumpets, fashioned from *concha veneris*, reached the ears of the *gazis*, Salmān Khan and the main body of emirs remained where they were and sent a detachment out to meet Şirzad's men. The latter stood firm for a while, but then broke and fled. The *qezelbaş* cavalry could not pursue them among the woods and forests, particularly as night was falling. But the Kūhdomī infantry pursued them and took many prisoners, all of whom were put to death on the orders of Mīrzā Kamrān. Mohammad Beg and 'Ali Beg retreated to Fūmen. Salmān Khan sent a report to court, and on orders from the Shah, sent Jamšid Khan's widow to court. Salmān Khan took up residence in Jamšid Khan's house, and the other emirs found suitable residences for themselves. Qara Bahādor was appointed *vakil* to Salmān Khan and set about winning the support of the people for the new regime.

The people of Gilan, however, refused to reconcile themselves to *qezelbaş* rule, and they carried on a guerrilla war from the forests. Every night, a detachment of Kūhdomī troops under the command of an emir would go out on patrol. One night, Mohammad Beg and 'Ali

Beg got into the city, intending to enter Jamšīd Khan's house by means of ladders and assassinate Salmān Khan. Some of the Gilānis were killed by Qara Bahādor and Salmān Khan's retainers; the rest, knowing that the patrols would be on the watch for them, left their ladders and ran. The next day the emirs, considering it inexpedient to keep Širzād a prisoner any longer, put him to death. Bāyandor Khan Ṭāleš, Amīra Siāvoš, and Emir Ḥamza Khan came from Ṭavāleš and Gaskar to Rašt, met Salmān Khan, and outwardly expressed their joy. But in their hearts they refused to countenance interference by the *qezelbāš* in the affairs of Gilān. They adopted a policy of non-cooperation with the *qezelbāš*.

As most of the inhabitants were scattered among the forests, they had little contact with those who governed them, and few tangible benefits came the way of the *qezelbāš* emirs. Their men, who had come to Gilān hoping for action and plunder, began to disperse. No help came from the capital, and the emirs, tired of constant patrol activity, decided that service in Gilān was not all that they desired. They abandoned the attempt to govern Gilān and decided to leave the province. Although Salmān Khan was opposed to this scherne and refused to give his consent to it, Šahqoli Sultan Qāranja, who was a clever and experienced man, committed himself without reservation to this decision, since he thought it best for himself and for the whole Ostājlū tribe. He consulted Mīrzā Kāmrān, Bāyandor Khan, and Amīra Siāvoš, who uttered words of encouragement, so the emirs decided to go ahead with their plan. On the appointed day, the *qezelbāš* rode out of Rašt, with the Gaskar and Kūhdom infantry forming a protective screen on all sides as they made their way through the forests. As the *qezelbāš* rode out in one direction, the Gilāni troops, who had heard of their intention, entered the city from the other. They pursued the *qezelbāš* for a few *farsaks* and there was some skirmishing; toward the end of the day, the emirs reached Kūhdom.

The same day, Mīrzā Kāmrān, Bāyandor Khan, Amīra Siāvoš, and Qarā Bahādor all left the emirs without even taking their leave, and went their separate ways. Because of what had happened in the past and what might happen in the future, they were all afraid of one another, and each returned to his own seat by a route familiar to him. The *qezelbāš* emirs reached Qazvin in some disarray. Since the author of this history was with Salmān Khan on this expedition, he was an eye witness to the events just described; for this reason I temporarily waived my rule against being prolix and narrated these events in detail.

Events in Azerbaijan and Širvān and the Capture of Ğazı Geräy Khan Tätär by the gázis, by the Will of God

The winter of the Year of the Dragon came to an end, and in the winter quarters of the *qezelbāš* signs of spring ushered in the Year of the Serpent (990/1582). As already reported, Ebrahim Khan Torkmān had been sent to Istanbul to negotiate for peace. In Georgia, Alexander Khan, the ruler of Kakhetia, who had always been a supporter of the Safavid house, made friendly overtures to the Ottomans and declared his submission to them. This caused conflict between him and Samā'ün Khan, the ruler of Kartlia, who considered himself a supporter of the Safavids.

Alexander Khan even began to accuse Samā'ün Khan of nursing a secret friendship with the Ottomans, and although Samā'ün Khan was innocent of this crime (when Lala Pasha first invaded Širvān, Samā'ün Khan had fought mightily against him, and as recently as this year, when the Ottomans had sent reinforcements to their garrisons at Tiflis, Gori, and other fortresses, he had joined forces with Emāmqolı Khan, the *beglerbeg* of Qarabağ, intercepted the Ottomans, fought several engagements against them, and obtained large quantities of booty), Sultan Mohammad Shah and the principal officers of state decided to ask for Samā'ün Khan's daughter as a bride for Sultan Hamza Mırzā. This, they thought, would relieve their minds of all anxiety on the score of his loyalty, and the problem of Alexander Khan could be resolved as he thought fit.

Mosib Khan Saraf al-Din-oğlū Takkalū was sent to Georgia on this mission. Outwardly, Samā'ün Khan demonstrated his joy at the honor conferred on him, but in their hearts the Georgians, because they belonged to a different religion and for various other reasons, disliked the proposed marriage alliance. They therefore procrastinated as long as possible over the preparations for the wedding.

At this juncture, news arrived that Ğazı Geräy Khan and Şafî Geräy Khan were making repeated incursions into Širvān. Before the Tartars came on the scene, Emāmqolı Khan had sent considerable reinforcements to Peykar Khan in Širvān, and 'Oşmân Pasha had sent a detachment from Darband, under Dâl the *dorançı* (stirrup-holder), to Širvān to support the Tartars. The two armies met between Şamakı and Şabarān: on the one side, Peykar Khan and the Qajar, Jagırlü, and Qarämänlü emirs and others; on the other, the Tartars

and the Ottomans. Čāzī Gerāy Khan, who had been rendered over-confident by his previous successes against the *qezelbāš* and had a low opinion of them, at once gave battle. In the course of the fighting, however, he was cut off by a group of Qājār horse and taken prisoner.

His capture turned the tide of battle, and Şafī Gerāy Khan only saved himself with great difficulty. Peykar Khan was loaded with honors by the Shah for this distinguished service, but the same year he was overtaken by illness and died. Kalīfa Anṣār Qarādāğlū was appointed governor of Širvān in his place. Fate willed, however, that the Ottomans should for a time exercise jurisdiction over Širvān. Kalīfa Anṣār was unable to achieve anything, and eventually beat a retreat from Širvān and died soon afterward. The death of Kalīfa Anṣār and the return of the Shah to Iraq to prepare his expedition to Khorasan, which he launched the following year, meant that no *qezelbāš* emir could maintain a foothold in Širvān. ‘Osmān Pasha moved from Darband to Šamākī, strengthened the fort there, and proceeded to govern the province without opposition, as will be related in due course.

Čāzī Gerāy Khan was consigned to the prison at Alamūt, a famous fortress situated between Qazvin and Gilān, the former stronghold of the Isma’īlīs, and entrusted to the commandant of the prison for safekeeping.

Since the delay by Samā’ūn Khan in sending his daughter to Qazvin had exceeded all reasonable bounds, Mīrzā Salmān, with some of the emirs and about twenty thousand men, proceeded to Georgia with orders to settle the problems connected with Alexander Khan and Samā’ūn Khan in the way he thought in the best interests of the state. At the approach of the Safavid army, the rulers of Georgia hastened to make amends for their behavior: Alexander Khan sent a self-imposed fine as a token of his submission to the Ottomans, together with the arrears of taxes that had not been paid to the *qezelbāš*. Mīrzā Salmān and the emirs thought it a good idea to bind Alexander Khan to the Safavid dynasty also by a marriage between his daughter and Ḥamza Mīrzā, and to get him to swear his fealty to the Safavid crown and his enmity toward the Ottomans. Negotiations were begun, and when Alexander was satisfied that Mīrzā Salmān and the emirs were not contemplating treachery, he came to meet them. Samā’ūn Khan also joined them, with Mosīb Khan.

The two Georgian princes were brought together and made to

swear to keep the peace; they swore solemn oaths on the Holy Gospel and on the Cross, as is the custom of those of the Christian faith. They swore that they would remain constant in their loyalty to the Safavid house, and that they would fight by the side of the *qezelbaş* against the Ottomans. Mīrzā Salmān and the emirs were not satisfied with bringing back the two Georgian princesses; they demanded that each prince should also send one of his sons to the Safavid court, to enter the service of Ḥamza Mīrzā. The Georgian princes had no choice but to obey: Alexander Khan sent his twelve-year-old son Kūstandīl Mīrzā, and Samā'ūn Khan sent his son Lūārsāb Mīrzā, who was the same age.

Mīrzā Salmān and the emirs then presented the Georgian princes, on behalf of the Shah and Ḥamza Mīrzā, with robes of honor. Alexander Khan paid the arrears of tax and tribute he had not paid for years, and remitted a sum of three thousand current royal Iraqi *tomān* to the royal treasury. He also agreed to send one thousand *tomān* to Ḥamza Mīrzā and to collect one thousand *tomān* to defray the expenses of the visit to Mīrzā Salmān and the emirs and to go to the principal officers of state. Alexander instructed his vizier, a wealthy and influential Jew named Jacob, to go with the emirs to the Ganja district and see to the collection of these monies. Alexander begged that his brother 'Isā Khan be allowed to stay in Georgia, and Samā'ūn Khan made a similar request on behalf of his brother, Dā'-ūd Khan, who was then with Alexander.

Both princes pledged their good behavior toward their brothers and swore they would commit no treachery against them. Each promised to allot to his brother a specific part of his territory from which he might derive his livelihood without hindrance or difficulty. Neither prince kept his promises, however; shortly afterward each took steps to get rid of his brother, and let it be known that he had died. Since circumstances at the time did not permit any action to be taken against them, the princes went unpunished.

Mīrzā Salmān and the emirs, having settled the affairs of Georgia in the manner just described, returned to the royal camp, which was at a place called Zagam, with the Georgian princes and princesses. The Shah and Ḥamza Mīrzā were extremely pleased by their report. The royal camp then moved to the summer quarters of Meydānjūq, where the court spent a pleasant summer without the worry of an Ottoman attack, since Senān Pasha was away in Istanbul with Ebra-

him Khan, trying to negotiate a peace settlement. Reports kept coming in from Khorasan concerning the revolt of the Šamlüs and Ostājlüs, and the Shah, fearful that the Ostājlü emirs who had just returned from Gilan might go to Khorasan and stir up more trouble there, decided to move back to Iraq in the autumn. He spent the winter at Qazvin.

The Revolt of Qalandar in Kuh Giluya and His Ultimate Ruin

An event which took place this year⁶³ was the revolt of Qalandar in Kuh Giluya, and a brief account of this strange incident follows. A *qalandar*, who resembled Esma'il Mirzā⁶⁴ in every particular and who, like Esma'il, had only two teeth (or, in order to avert suspicion, had himself pulled out the others—God alone knows!) went among the Lors of Kuh Giluya and opened the doors of deception and deceit. He declared:

I am Esma'il Mirzā, whom a group of ingrates conspired together to kill. On grounds of expediency, I had no course left open to me except to flee and conceal myself.

On a certain night in Ramazān, when I was sleeping in the house of Ḥalvajī-oglu, I noticed that a group of people who had enmity for me in their hearts had surrounded my bedroom and intended to break in. I broke the window shutters of that house and hurled myself outside. Divested of the garb of sovereignty and kingship, I clothed myself in the costume of dervishes and *qalandars*, and concealed myself in a remote corner. That group produced the body of a strangled *goldam* who looked like me, and announced that Shah Esma'il II was dead.

For about two years I was absent from Iran, dressed as a *qalandar*. I traveled around a great deal, particularly in Asia Minor. I observed with close at-

⁶³"This year" appears to be 988/1580-81, rather than the year 989/1581-82 which has been under discussion, because *TAAA*, i, 261, states that in 988/1580-81 Ḳalī Khan Aftār, governor of Kuh Giluya, obtained leave from the Shah to go to his post to deal with this revolt. But the chronology of this period is a little uncertain.

⁶⁴I.e., Shah Esma'il II.

tention the good and bad points of the Ottoman empire. Until this moment I have not revealed to anyone the secret which I have carried in my head. I have waited patiently, with the result that most of my enemies have, one by one, paid the penalty for their crime.

When the time came for me to manifest myself and my mind was completely set at rest regarding the machinations of my enemies and the guile of my foes, I revealed myself. If God wills, I will take revenge on the rest of my enemies. Then, with my true supporters and like-minded friends who exist on the periphery of Asia Minor, I shall set out to conquer the Ottoman empire, and I shall do this and that.

During his youth, Qalandar had used Indian hemp (*cannabis indica*), and had allowed corrupt thoughts to enter his brain. He used to utter foolish boasts, and make fine promises to all and sundry. Each man was nominated to a post in the government or financial administration of one of the provinces of Iran, Tûrân, or Rûm. Those ignorant rustics were deceived by the absurd utterances of a fool who had turned aside from the path of reason.

Although the death of Esma'il Mirzâ occurred without any doubt, people remote from the scene who were not fully informed of all the details of the affair, thought that these delirious ravings were probable, and gradually Qalandar's fame spread among the Lor tribes. From concealment, he came out into the open. People flocked in from all sides, bringing offerings and presents. Qalandar, seeing a favorable opportunity for the furtherance of his plans among that unintelligent group of people, laid the foundations of kingship and spread out the carpet of royalty. Everyone who visited him to pay his respects was expected to prostrate himself and kiss his feet in the traditional manner. People in every tribe brought their beautiful daughters as an offering to him, so that they might have the honor of sharing his bed.

In short, that madman, who had the appearance of sanity, adorned the role of sovereignty and kingship with deception, and decked it out with folly. He appointed to high office the leading men of each class, and gave orders for the mobilization of the army. When the size of his army, which was composed of the Jâkî, Javânaki, Bandâni, and

other Lor clans and tribes, reached twenty thousand, he marched with this large force, which he had ready for action, to Dehdašt, which is the seat of the governor of Kūh Gilūya. The Afšār tribes informed Kalīl Khan, the governor of that province, who was in the royal camp, of the fact of Qalandar's revolt.

To resist Qalandar, the sons of Kalīl Khan, the leader of whom was Rostam Beg, assembled, and major battles were repeatedly fought by the two sides. Qalandar's men were sometimes victorious, sometimes defeated. A large number of Afšārs and Lors were killed in these battles. By divine decree, Rostam Beg, the son of Kalīl Khan, was killed. His death resulted in the triumph and ascendance of Qalandar, and the Afšār tribe was no longer able to resist him. Many of them had been killed in this campaign, and Qalandar's men took prisoner many Afšār women and youths. The Qalandar sent orders and letters of appointment to all parts of Fārs and Kūzestān, and summoned his partisans. Since the royal retinue was far off, engaged in important operations on the Azerbaijan frontier, Qalandar's writ ran everywhere. The people of most of the neighboring districts, seeing no course open to them but submission, bowed to the expediency of the moment and sent gifts.

Since Qalandar was an unintelligent fool, as indicated by the hemistich: "The lamp of falsehood gives no light," the falsity of his words gradually became apparent as the days went by, and the wiser men among the Lors began to have doubts regarding him. Also, the approach of Kalīl Khan himself was reported. Qalandar, becoming suspicious and mistrustful of some of the Lors, abandoned the idea of fighting and went to Ḥavīza and Dezfūl to seek help from Seyyed Shojā' al-Dīn, as the Moša'ša'I *shaikhs* were at that time governors of Ḥavīza and its dependencies in the province of 'Arabestān. Dismissing the Lors to their homes, Qalandar ordered them to be ready when he summoned them.

When Kalīl Khan, who was at court, heard the news of Qalandar's revolt, he obtained permission to proceed in that direction. When he reached those parts, he was intercepted by a group of ill-starred Samāyandāni Lors, partisans of Qalandar. They ambushed Kalīl Khan in a mountain valley which had only one road through it. As he was passing through the valley, they hurled large rocks down from the top of the hills, and fired arrows and muskets. By divine decree, an arrow struck and killed Kalīl Khan. At his death, the Afšār *gazis*

were thrown into confusion, and the Lors turned to killing and plundering. This event increased the rebelliousness and audacity of the Lors.

When the news of the death of Kalil Khan reached Qalandar, he returned from Dezful to Kuh Giluya. Once again, a great multitude rallied round him at Dehdašt. He wished, during the short space of time available to him before the news of his action was reported to the Shah, to take his fill of carnal pleasures and to live on borrowed time. When the news of the death of Kalil Khan and the destruction of the victorious Afšār family was spread far and near and reached the ears of the Shah, the Shah appointed Kalil Khan's nephew, Eskandar Khan, governor of Kuh Giluya, and dispatched him to those parts. He further ordered Ommat Khan, *beglerbeg* of Fars, and the Zu'l-Qadar emirs who were subordinate governors in Fars to suppress Qalandar and to aid Eskandar Khan.

The following year, when the royal standards went to Khorasan, Ommat Khan sent a detachment of the Fars army, under the command of Dowraq Kalifa, to Kuh Giluya. Eskandar Khan and the Afšār tribe joined them, and they marched together on Dehdašt. The large crowd which had initially gathered around Qalandar dispersed and scattered. When the Fars army moved rapidly to repulse him, since his design was by that time completely revealed and the faith of the Lor chiefs in him had been severely shaken, no one came to his support. Qalandar was forced to shut himself up behind the walls of that fortress; and for a few days he and the small group of men who were with him waited like animals for the slaughter. The Zu'l-Qadar *gazis* made an assault and penetrated the fortifications, and slew a number who opposed them. Qalandar was seized in his house and dragged outside. The Zu'l-Qadar tribe wished to send him alive to the court, but the Afšār *gazis* fell on him and slew him and sent his head to court. It was delivered to Sultan Mohammad Shah while he was encamped at Torbat-e Heydarīya in Khorasan, engaged in laying siege to the fortress of Torbat. Thus the fires of the sedition of that hemp addict were extinguished in Kuh Giluya.

After the episode of the *qalandar*, other hemp-addicted *qalandars* took it into their heads to pretend to be Esma'il Mirza. Tumult and disturbance occurred in several places. Every few days an Esma'il Mirza would appear in some province or other, and people would rally round him and then disperse again.

The second pseudo-Esma'il made his appearance in Lorestan and Camchal. The ill-starred Kurds and Lors of the Hamadan district rallied around him, and his army soon numbered ten thousand men. He appointed emirs and officers, and began to cause trouble there. He sent a messenger to Sulag Hoseyn Takkalu directing him to obey and submit, and an order appointing him to the *vekālat*, so that he might be *vakil* and *rokn al-saljana* in place of Cūha Sultan Takkalu.

Sulag Hoseyn, as intelligence dictated, considered it better and more advisable to deal with him by first of all pretending to obey. He accepted his terms, and verified his claim to be Esma'il Mirza. He declared his sincere devotion to and complete support of him, sent him a supply train, and begged him to visit him. He further sent him tents and equipment fit for a king, and went in person to meet the *qalandar*. The wretched *qalandar* believed him and set off for Camchal with the greatest pomp and circumstance.

Sulag Hoseyn and the Takkalu nobles entered his presence and went through the ceremony of prostration and foot-kissing. By using their intelligence and sagacity, they dispersed the *qalandar*'s followers, and when they saw their chance, seized him and imprisoned him. When the Shah, on his return from Khorasan, was encamped at Qazvin, Sulag Hoseyn sent the *qalandar* to court. Hamza Mirza, in the Kiabān-e Meydān-e Asp, put a "gunpowder shirt" on him and detonated it. Despite that cruel method of punishment, the *qalandars* were not completely finished, and another *qalandar* had similar ambitions in Tavaleš. A group of ignorant people with no future gathered around him and went to Ardabil, where they incurred the penalty for their actions.

The fourth pseudo-Esma'il appeared in Gur and on the borders of Farah in the province of Khorasan. A large number of people of that region who were bankrupt of intelligence and were mischiefmakers rallied around him and started causing trouble. Hoseyn Sultan Afšar, the governor of Farah, moved to suppress this revolt, and an engagement was fought between the two sides. The Guris won, and Hoseyn Khan was killed in the battle. The Afšars fled in confusion back to Farah. When the news was received at court, Hoseyn's brother, Ali Khan Sultan, who at court was a *yūzbaši* of a group of Afšar qurčis, was appointed to his brother's post and went to Farah. To avenge his brother's death he went after the *qalandar* to Gur. The *qalandar*'s followers prepared to fight, and after several struggles Ali Khan

Sultan too was killed; once again the Afšār tribe had failed to achieve anything.

Yakān Sultan Afšār became governor of Farāh. After his arrival there, he was still pondering how to deal with the *qalandar* when the spuriousness of the latter became manifest to his followers, and in the end they themselves killed him.

In short, for the first four or five years of the reign of Mohammad Kodābanda, whispers and rumors concerning Esma'il Mīrzā were on the tongues of men.

Events in Khorasan in the Year of the Serpent (989/1581-82), during Which Abbas Mīrzā Was Raised to the Throne of That Province

As previously related, the reports sent to court by Mortežāqolī Khan Pornāk, the governor of Mašhad, regarding the revolt of 'Ali-qolī Khan Šamlū, the *beglerbeg* of Herat, and Moršedqolī Khan Yakān Ostājlū, and their supporters, and their attack on Mašhad and Nishapur, had led the principal officers of state to decide (at the suggestion of Emir Khan and the other Turkman emirs, whose feelings of tribal loyalty led them to support Mortežāqolī Khan) to place the settlement of affairs in Khorasan in the hands of Mohammad Khan Torkmān. The latter had been dispatched to Khorasan with Esmā'il-qolī Khan Šamlū, who sought vengeance for his father's death, Qūr Koms Khan, and a number of other emirs. Mohammad Khan Torkmān's orders were to quench the fires of revolt in a wise and sensible manner; to put a stop to the opposition of the Khorasan emirs to the Shah and Ḥamza Mīrzā; peacefully to resolve the feud between the Khorasan emirs and Mortežāqolī Khan if it was susceptible of peaceful resolution and if not, to take such action as he might deem fit to end the schism between the *qezelbāš*.

When they heard of his approach, 'Aliqolī Khan and Moršedqolī Khan and their supporters marched from Herat toward Mašhad, taking with them 'Abbas Mīrzā. Mortežāqolī Khan hoped to raise a large army by means of largesse. He had made it a practice to make disbursements on a royal scale, to spend more than the revenue accruing from the Mašhad district, and to hand out grants of money on an unprecedented scale. He now announced that his troops would receive a handout of gold, intending to raise the money from the rich

citizens of Mašhad. When, by means of fines and confiscations he had milked this source dry, he had the audacity to lay hands on the shrine treasury; he seized possession of the shrine ornaments, including all the gold and silver chandeliers and candlesticks, calling them payments on account, and used the money to provide his men with pay and allowances. Because he desecrated the shrine in this way, his affairs did not prosper, and events turned out contrary to his expectations.

Having arrived at Mašhad, Moḥammad Khan Torkmān opened negotiations with 'Alīqolī Khan, but the latter suspected that Moḥammad Khan Torkmān had come to Khorasan for reasons of tribal solidarity with Morteżāqolī Khan, that Esmā'īlqolī Khan was merely out for vengeance, and that they both intended mischief and had no real intention of negotiating a truce. Consequently, the overtures produced no result. 'Alīqolī Khan's case was that the fires of conflict between himself and Morteżāqolī Khan were burning with such an intensity that they could not be extinguished by the water of counsel and admonition. Reconciliation between them was out of the question. If Morteżāqolī Khan were removed from the governorship of Mašhad and replaced by one of the great emirs who would pledge his fealty to 'Abbas Mirzā (who was in Herat on his father's orders) and give his word not to contravene the instructions or oppose the policies of the prince's guardian, who was the *beglerbeg* of Khorasan, then a peaceful settlement was more likely. 'Alīqolī Khan concluded by repeating that he was, and always had been, loyal to the Shah. This statement led Moḥammad Khan Torkmān to break off negotiations with 'Alīqolī Khan and to mobilize his forces at Mašhad. Arrogantly relying on the numerical superiority of the Turkman tribe, and on the fact that they held more high-ranking positions at court, he and Morteżāqolī Khan thought they did not have to listen to this sort of talk.

'Alīqolī Khan and Moršedqolī Khan decided not to advance on Mašhad immediately, but to deal first with Darvīš Moḥammad Khan at Nishapur, whose behavior the previous year had gone unpunished. If the Mašhad emirs came out to help him, then the encounter in the open plain would be decided according to the inscrutable will of fate; if not, they would proceed to Mašhad with their minds at rest on the matter of Nishapur.

Darvīš Moḥammad Khan had done all he could to put Nishapur in

a state of defense, and 'Aliqolı Khan commenced siege operations. Mohammad Khan and Morteżāqolı Khan decided to keep their main force at Mašhad and to send a detachment under the command of Esmā'ılqolı Khan Čeganı to the aid of Darviş Mohammad Khan. A battle was fought outside Nishapur between this relief force and the Abbasid emirs,⁶⁵ at which Esmā'ılqolı Khan and Būdag Khan and their men were routed. This victory raised the prestige of the Abbasid emirs even more, and correspondingly lowered the morale of the Mašhad emirs, who decided on a defensive policy.

The Abbasid emirs, and particularly the Ostājlüs, who had already been branded as rebels by the Shah and the principal officers of state, began to talk about raising 'Abbas Mirzā to the status of king and installing him on the throne of Khorasan. They thought this would make the issue a clear-cut one of support for 'Abbas Mirzā, and would enable them to distinguish clearly between friend and foe. They discussed the matter with 'Aliqolı Khan, and a decision was made to put this plan into effect.

The Elevation of 'Abbas Mirzā to the Throne of Khorasan

In the year of the Serpent, equivalent to 989/1581, at an auspicious moment, 'Abbas Mirzā was raised to the throne of Khorasan, with the style of Shah 'Abbas. Although 'Abbas Mirzā was too young to have any real say in the matter⁶⁶ and did not wish to do anything which was displeasing to his father, nevertheless the agents of fate brought this about. Orders were embellished with the royal signature; coins were minted in Khorasan with his name and titles, and these were also included in the *koſba*. High and low flocked to offer their congratulations and support: among them was Mir Mohammad Yūſof Nišapūri, the son of Mir Shah Ḥoseyn, who held the office of *monṣṭ al-mamālek* (state scribe)⁶⁷ at court. He was raised to the rank of emir with the style Mir Mohammad Yūſof Khan.

This news, which caused consternation at Mašhad, was promptly reported to court, where it caused similar astonishment. Nothing like it had happened previously in the history of the Safavid dynasty. The *sadr-e a'zam*,⁶⁸ Qažī Khan al-Ḥasanī,⁶⁹ told me that, during the winter

⁶⁵I.e., the supporters of 'Abbas Mirzā.

⁶⁶He was ten years old.

⁶⁷See *TM*, pp. 61, 132.

⁶⁸This title was used increasingly by viziers from the time of Shah 'Abbas onward, but here it refers to the *sadr*, not the vizier.

⁶⁹Appointed *sadr* by Shah 'Abbas I in 1015/1606–07, having formerly held the office of *qāzī-ye 'askar*. He died in 1030/1620–21.

that Sultan Mohammad Shah spent in Qarabag, Kāja Zīā al-Dīn Kašī, the *mošref*⁷⁰ of the Georgian prince Alexander Khan, visited the royal court and asked him whether there was any truth in the rumors that the prince 'Abbas had been proclaimed king in Khorasan. The *sadr-e a'zam* said he had replied it was true rumors to that effect were in circulation, but they had not yet been confirmed. The collected works of Kamāl Esmā'īl⁷¹ happened to be lying on the table. The Kāja picked the volume up to take a prediction from it. At the top of the right-hand page, his eye fell on verses which suggested that 'Abbas Mirzā's fortunes were as yet only beginning to dawn.

The Abbasid emirs now redoubled their efforts to capture Nishapur, but Darvīš Mohammad Khan defended the fortress with intelligence, courage, and sound tactics, and the siege dragged on without the emirs' making any progress. Winter was coming on, and at the same time there came news of the approach of the army from Iraq. The emirs were forced to abandon the siege of Nishapur and return to Herat, where they dispersed each to his own fief.

Sultan Mohammad Shah's Expedition to Khorasan with the Object of Quenching the Fires of Revolt in That Province

In the spring of the Year of the Horse (990/1582), the Shah sent *qūrčīs* to all parts to mobilize forces for the expedition to Khorasan. At Qazvin, Ḥamza Mirzā was betrothed to the daughter of the vizier, Mirzā Salmān; the vizier gave a party fit for royalty, and preparations were begun for the marriage the following year. After this, the vizier's arrogance knew no bounds, and his power and authority in office were unchallenged. The emirs and the principal officers of state were opposed to the marriage, but gave their consent to it out of regard to the prince and kept their true feelings to themselves.

Meanwhile, Mohammad Khan, Esmā'īlqoli Khan, and the other emirs who had been sent to Khorasan had returned to Qazvin and had reported the true state of affairs in Khorasan and the failure of their mission. Mirzā Salmān and other devoted supporters of Sultan Mohammad Shah, as well as officers in the personal service of Ḥamza Mirzā, had risen up in wrath and demanded a punitive expedition against the rebels. The *qūrčibāšī*, Šahroķ Khan, and other emirs dis-

⁷⁰A financial official. In the Safavid bureaucracy, he was subordinate to *sāheb-jam'* (see *TM*, p. 64).

⁷¹Kamāl Esmā'īl: Kamāl al-Dīn Esmā'īl of Isfahan, put to death by the Mongols ca. 1297.

liked this idea, and said in the council of emirs that too much reliance should not be placed on the word of the Ottomans. It was probable, they said, that when the Ottomans heard the Shah had left for Khorasan, Senān Pasha would seize the opportunity to invade Azerbaijan. The interests of the state dictated that the royal army should march to Azerbaijan to deal with the external enemy. If 'Abbas Mīrzā had increased his authority in Khorasan, so much the better; the Uzbegs would take more account of him, the Khorasan emirs would be more obedient to him, and thus no harm would befall the state.

The emirs who were hesitant about the advisability of the Khorasan expedition were promptly branded as oppositionists by Mīrzā Salmān and the group that considered itself to be unswerving in its loyalty to Ḥamza Mīrzā. They lost no opportunity of telling the Shah and Ḥamza Mīrzā, both privately and in public, that the object of the emirs who opposed the Khorasan expedition was to continue the rift between the *qezelbaš*. The separate state that had been set up in Khorasan should not be destroyed, because in this way they could increase their own influence at court. The emirs decided to keep silent, withdraw their opposition to the expedition, and agree to take part in it. From Tabriz, Emir Khan Torkmān kept writing letters urging the dispatch of the expedition—though whether his motive was to conciliate Ḥamza Mīrzā or to assist Morteżāqolī Khan is hard to say.

The Shah took steps to conciliate the Ostājlū tribe: Salmān Khan, the son of Shah 'Ali Mīrzā and grandson of 'Abd Allah Khan Ostājlū, was appointed to the office of *dīvānbāšī*,⁷² and it was ordained that he should, like his illustrious grandfather,⁷³ affix his seal to official documents. Shah Tahmasp's daughter, Šahrbānū Begom,⁷⁴ to whom he had been married some two years previously, now formally entered his household. A number of Ostājlū emirs who had remained at court without having been allotted any tribal district, particularly Šāhqolī Sultan Qāranja and Aḥmad Sultan Āsayeş-oglū, were given official allowances so that they could equip their men and join the Khorasan expedition.

⁷²This phrase, *dīvānbāšī*, is not used elsewhere in the *TAAA*, and presumably denotes the function of the officer in control of the supreme *dīvān*.

⁷³'Abd Allah Khan Ostājlū held the office of *amīr al-omārā* under Shah Tahmasp (see Savory, Offices II, p. 78).

⁷⁴Salmān Khan had been given the hand in marriage of Šahrbānū Begom before his appointment as governor of Šīrvān (988/1580-81); it appears from this passage, however, that his bride had remained at court and had not accompanied him to Šīrvān or to Gilān the following year.

The Shah's orders were that, if Moršedqoli Khan and the other Ostajlū emirs who were in Khorasan continued their opposition to the Shah, they should be replaced (after appropriate steps had been taken to deal with them) by loyal Ostajlū emirs. Salman Khan and the senior Ostajlū emirs pledged themselves to send reliable emirs to Khorasan, and to counsel Moršedqoli Khan and the other Ostajlū emirs, who were all related by clan ties, in order to direct them away from the path of rebellion. They chose for this task Šahverdi Beg Yakān, the paternal uncle of Moršedqoli Khan, who was one of the chief emirs of the tribe and had been a counselor and adviser to Shah Tahmasp. He was sent to Khorasan in advance of the royal army.

Aliqoli Khan Zu'l-Qadar, *beglerbeg* of Fārs, was dismissed from his post and replaced by Ommat Beg yüzbāši Zu'l-Qadar, who was promoted to the rank of khan and made *amīr al-omarā* of Fārs. The reason for Aliqoli Khan's dismissal was that he had failed to send his quota of men to take part in the operations in Azerbaijan during the last two or three years, giving as his excuse the revolt of Qalandar in Kūh Gīluya. Several other Zu'l-Qadar emirs were dismissed with him. The new governor-general was now ordered by the Shah to send a detachment of troops from the army of Fārs to deal with the Qalandar revolt and to assist Eskandar Khan Afšār in Kūh Gīluya, and himself to report for duty in Khorasan with the remainder of his men. Vali Khan Takkalū, governor of Hamadan, and Vali Khan Afšār, governor of Kerman, were also ordered to report for duty in Khorasan.

The three months of spring were thus spent in mobilizing the royal army, and the Shah did not leave Qazvin until about the time the crops were ready for harvest. The Shah also sent *qūrčis* to the Khorasan emirs, appealing to their love of the Shah and calling on them to rally around Mortezaqoli Khan Pornāk and join forces with the royal army, which was the largest *qezelbāš* army ever mobilized.⁷⁵

As the royal army proceeded toward Khorasan, it was rejoined by Šahverdi Beg, who submitted various apologies on behalf of Moršedqoli Khan and his comrades. In the course of his submission, he made certain vexatious remarks that led to his being censured and arrested. Mahdīqoli Khan, the son of Valad Hasan Beg Čaušlū, who was a *qūrči* of bow and arrow and one of the reliable leaders of the Ostajlū tribe, also had the temerity to utter various remarks on the subject of tribal solidarity and in defense of the bonds of clan and

⁷⁵According to Bellan, it numbered 80,000 men.

kin. Since he was an ambitious man and not trusted by the Shah, he was also arrested. Both men, at the instigation of their enemies, were put to death by Salmān Khan and the chiefs of the Ostajlū tribe, to demonstrate their friendship for Ḥamza Mīrzā.

When 'Alīqolī Khan, Moršedqolī Khan, and their supporters heard of the approach of the royal army, they marched to Mašhad with the prince 'Abbas. With the object of throwing Morteżāqolī's plans into disarray and of dispersing his allies, the Abbasid emirs ravaged the territory in the Rādekān plain of the Jānī Qorbānī⁷⁶ tribe, which supported him, and caused such havoc that that tribe changed its mind. The Abbasid emirs intended to do everything in their power to frustrate the hopes of Morteżāqolī Khan, but they did not have time to carry out all their plans before the proximity of the royal army forced them to march to Sabzavār by way of Jahān in the district of Argān. Despite the overwhelming superiority in numbers of the royal army, the royal party was considerably disconcerted by the audacity of the Korāsanīs in advancing to Sabzavār, and the general opinion was that a major battle would be fought between the two armies within the next few days.

The majority of the *qezelbaş* chiefs regarded the prospect with abhorrence, because this civil war had split tribes down the middle, and many *qezelbaş* had kinsmen in the other camp. Voices were therefore heard counseling peace—in particular, the voice of Qolī Beg the *qürčibāst*, and that of Šahroḵ Khan. Mīrzā Salmān, however, continued to represent these two emirs to Ḥamza Mīrzā as persons hostile to him and the Shah, and accused them of duplicity. They, out of expediency, were unable to reveal what was in their hearts.

When the royal army reached Mazīnān, it received news that the Abbasid emirs had returned to Herat. The reason for this was that when the Abbasid emirs reached Sabzavār and obtained accurate intelligence regarding the size of the royal army, they realized that they could not stand against it in the open field. They decided to return, each going to his own territory to fortify his own castle. Indeed, this was the only proper course open to them in the circumstances. Moršedqolī Khan repaired to Torbat, and 'Alīqolī Khan and the emirs who had fiefs in the Herat and Čūrīān districts retired to Herat, followed by the royal army. Morteżāqolī Khan and most of the emirs of Khorasan now joined the royal camp.

⁷⁶Obviously the tribe listed in TM, p. 17, as *Jown-gorban*, an *oymaq* of eastern origin.

The Shah decided first to lay siege to Moršedqoli Khan at Torbat, and not to make any attempt on Herat until this matter was settled. On reaching Torbat, the Shah allotted each emir a section of the siegeworks as his responsibility; within a few days, heavy siege guns were installed and high palisades erected. Mirzā Salmān and the Takkalū and Turkman emirs performed their tasks with the greatest vigor. The besieged put up a stout defense and threw up counterworks to enable them to make sorties. In one daring sortie, Ordūgdi Kalīfa Takkalū, a leading emir of that tribe, was killed, as was Tahmāspqoli Beg, the son of Qur Koms Khan Šamlū, who was the *eşik-daqasıbäş* of Hamza Mirzā.

The siege dragged on for six months, the besieged receiving material assistance from some of the besiegers, especially the *qürçibäş*, Qoli Beg, and Šahrok Khan, who refused to storm the fort because of the heavy casualties this would involve. They also assiduously carried on a secret propaganda war among the *qezelbäş*, saying that they hoped *qezelbäş* swords would not be turned against *qezelbäş*, and that the dispute, which had been stirred up by troublemakers, could be resolved peacefully. In public, however, these emirs kept quiet for fear of their enemies and jealous rivals.

Winter passed, and Nowrūz of the year 991/1583, the Year of the Sheep, found the royal army still before the walls of Torbat. The elders of all the *qezelbäş* tribes, but especially of the Šamlüs and Ostajlüs, wearying of the long siege, now began to talk openly of the possibility of a peaceful settlement in the presence of Mirzā Salmān and his party, and they made some slight progress toward getting them to entertain the idea. Two negotiators were appointed to enter the fort and begin talks with Moršedqoli Khan: from the emirs, Seyyed Beg Kamūna; and from the seyyeds and 'olamā, Mīr Abu'l-Ma'ālī Enjū, the army chaplain (*qāzī*-ye mo'askar).⁷⁷

Moršedqoli Khan detained the negotiators in the fort, complained bitterly and at length about the execution of his uncle, Šahverdī Beg Yakān, and said he had no confidence in the promises of pardon offered by the Shah and Hamza Mirzā, or in the motives of the principal officers of state. Eventually, the keeper of the seal, Šahrok Khan Zu'l-Qadar, and Ommat Khan, governor of Fārs, volunteered the good offices of the entire Zu'l-Qadar tribe in obtaining a royal pardon for Moršedqoli Khan. Šahrok obtained permission to enter the fort

⁷⁷See *TM*, pp. 43, 112.

and meet Moršedqolī Khan. Since the siege had reduced the defenders to dire straits, they were ready to negotiate seriously. After some further exchange of envoys, Moršedqolī Khan had a meeting near the fort with Mīrzā Salmān and some of the emirs in the royal army.

Moršedqolī Khan renewed his oaths of fealty to the Shah and to Hamza Mīrzā, and it was agreed that the royal army should retire from the walls of Torbat and give Moršedqolī Khan a few days' grace to make ready gifts to be sent to court. At the same time, he sent several of his kinsmen and the elders of the Ostājlū tribe to intercede with the Shah for a royal pardon. Their mission was successful, and royal letters were issued pardoning Moršedqolī Khan and recalling the services his father, Sāhqolī Sultan Yakān, had rendered to Sultan Mohammad Shah and his sons in his capacity as their guardian. These letters were sent to him along with splendid robes of honor. The royal army then marched to a point between Mašhad and Herat and was camped, awaiting the arrival of Moršedqolī Khan, when it suddenly became imperative for the army to march on Herat.

The Shah's March to Herat and His Victory at the Battle of Gūrīān over the Kōrasānī Forces

While the Shah and his party were still in camp, undecided as to whether to go to Mašhad or Herat, Kāja 'Abd al-Mo'men Haravī, a kinsman of Kāja Ektīār Monšī, arrived from Herat with the news that 'Alīqolī Khan was camped outside Herat at Gūrīān, and had no more than seven or eight thousand men with him. Mīrzā Salmān and the emirs at court expressed their astonishment, and asked how 'Alīqolī Khan hoped to stand against a royal army ten times the size of his own, and how he hoped by these tactics to give assistance to Moršedqolī Khan. The Kāja replied that the move was a ruse to tempt the royal army to give battle and abandon the siege of Torbat. As soon as the royal army neared Herat, 'Alīqolī Khan would shut himself up in the citadel there; he reckoned that, if Torbat could resist a siege for more than six months, it would take more than a year to reduce the citadel at Herat, which was one of the strongest fortresses in Iran. He did not think that the royal army could remain in Khorasan for that length of time, in view of the Ottoman threat and other preoccupations.

Mīrzā Salmān and the Hamza Mīrzā party (especially Esmā'il-qolī Khan, who was still seeking vengeance for the death of his

father, Valī Kalīfa, and Valī Khan Takkalū and the other Takkalū emirs, who still nursed their traditional hatred of the Šāmlūs and Ostājlūs), thought this a golden opportunity to smash 'Alīqolī Khan. The latter, they calculated, would not yet have heard that the siege of Torbat had been raised; if they marched at top speed to Herat, they might catch him unaware and seize possession of the person of 'Abbas Mirzā. Once 'Alīqolī Khan realized that the royal army had left Torbat, he would at once retire behind the walls of the citadel at Herat and prepare to withstand a siege. They won the support of Hamza Mirzā for this plan, and urged him to march that very day. Hamza Mirzā proposed this course of action to his father at a meeting of the council of emirs, and the decision was taken to proceed by forced marches to Herat. Many of the emirs and principal officers of state, for fear that calumniators might put a false interpretation on their words, took no part in the debate but merely signified their assent by nodding.

The moment this decision was taken, Valī Khan Takkalū, with a group of Takkalū and Turkman emirs, was detailed to lead the advance skirmishers, and the cavalry began to shoe their horses and make other necessary preparations for a forced march. The whole camp was in a tumult of activity. The other emirs, whether they liked it or not, were obliged to proceed by forced marches to Herat. They did not draw rein night or day until they reached Tīr-e Pol, covering the distance in three days and nights. On the morning of the fourth day, while it was still dark, 'Alīqolī Khan's sentries reported to him that the royal army had arrived. He did not believe the reports because, in the first place, he thought the royal army was still before Torbat, and second, he did not believe it could have covered the distance between Torbat and Tīr-e Pol in the time.

When the false dawn gave way to daylight, however, 'Alīqolī Khan heard the sound of troops passing Tīr-e Pol. At once he sent out skirmishers and drew up his men for battle. Some of the royal troops had already crossed the bridge; others were making their way across the ford. A hot encounter ensued, and the Šāmlūs put up a stout defense for a while. But when the Shah's standard and the prince's parasol came in sight, followed by the serried ranks of the royal army, 'Alīqolī Khan knew the contest was hopeless. The Šāmlū ranks were broken by the press of the advancing army of Iraq. But as *gāzī* came upon *gāzī* during the pursuit, the royal troops in general, because they shared with their "enemy" a common tradition as

qezelbaş and a common faith, displayed no enthusiasm for slaying or taking prisoner. The exception were the Takkalüs, who turned their vengeful swords on the Şamlüs and Ostajlüs and plundered their camp; for a while they abandoned the pursuit in their eagerness for booty. When the Shah and Hamza Mirzā reached the battlefield they camped on the spot, because both men and horses were exhausted by the forced-march in such heat. The same night, they sent Morteżā-qoli Khan and other emirs to occupy the city prior to the royal entry.

In the course of his flight, 'Aliqoli Khan had become separated from Abbas Mirzā, who had tried to make his way back to Herat earlier by another route. Most of the emirs who formed the prince's bodyguard were slain. The roll call of notable emirs who fell in this battle included Abu'l-Faṭḥ Khan Şamlü, the son of Aḡzīvār Khan; and Qobād Khan Qājār; Hājjī Sultan Čağatāy, known as the commandant (*kütvāl*). From among the men of the pen, Mirzā Mohammad Kermānī, the vizier of Sultan Hoseyn Khan, who was at that time acting as the vizier of Abbas Mirzā, was killed. Ebrahim Khan, Morshedqoli Khan's brother; Koş-kebar Khan; Kaja 'Alī Khan the *kalantar*; and others were taken prisoner. Mirzā Salmān, despite opposition from the emirs, insisted on the death penalty for a number of emirs' sons who had been taken prisoner. None was spared, despite the entreaties of their kinsmen in the royal army. This action by the vizier revived the feud between him and the emirs.

Just before midnight, Abbas Mirzā, with a few devoted followers, having separated from those whose loyalty he suspected, reached the citadel at Herat, where he was welcomed with joy by the small garrison of Şamlüs. The prince was filled with anxiety as to the fate of 'Aliqoli Khan, and was overjoyed when, later the same night, the Khan made his way safely to the citadel. Kaja Afzal, the vizier of 'Aliqoli Khan, was put in charge of employing the fugitives from the battle in strengthening the fortifications, walls, and gates. Preparations for a siege were begun.

Still later the same night, Morteżāqoli Khan, Esma'īlqoli Khan Şamlü, and other emirs who had been sent by the Shah entered the city and camped in the *madrasa* built by the Timurid ruler Sultan Hoseyn Mirzā. There they spent the night, both men and horses being exhausted, intending to enter the citadel in the morning. Next morning, however, they found the gates of the citadel barred, the fortifications manned, and the fortress in a state of defense. When

this was reported to the Shah, he reprimanded Morteżāqoli Khan for not having gone without sleep and pressed on to occupy the citadel before 'Abbas Mirzā got there. But the Shah was asking the impossible. Most of the horses had been worn out by the forced marches from Torbat, by the heat, and by the battle. How could they possibly be expected to cover the distance between Gūriān and Herat in one night?

The *madrasa* of Sultan Hoseyn Mirzā was turned into a royal palace for the Shah and Ḥamza Mirzā, and the royal workshops were set up there. Mirzā Salmān selected a house near the palace. The emirs of each tribe took their men and camped near one of the city gates. Mirzā Salmān directed all his energies toward capturing the citadel, and was constantly abusing and insulting the emirs, and accusing them of enmity toward Ḥamza Mirzā. In the end, the emirs grew tired of this and decided to murder him.

The Murder of Mirzā Salmān, the Truce Concluded with Aliqoli Khan, and the Return of the Royal Army to the Capital

When Mirzā Salmān gave his daughter in marriage to Ḥamza Mirzā, he thought he had finally removed any disfavor with which the prince might have regarded him as a result of the execution of Hoseyn Beg, the prince's vizier and foster-brother, and various other events which had angered the prince and which he had laid at the door of Mirzā Salmān. Mirzā Salmān's elder son, Mirzā 'Abd Allah, became the prince's vizier, and his younger son, Mirzā Nezām, became a *moqarrab al-hażrat*⁷⁸ and an intimate companion of the prince. Mirzā Salmān himself regarded himself as one of the most devoted supporters of the prince, and he made greater demonstrations of his loyalty and fidelity than any other. He was constantly accusing the great emirs and the principal officers of state of dereliction of duty and of hostility toward the crown—particularly Qoli Beg the *qurčibāši*, Šahrok Khan, the keeper of the seal, and Mohammad Khan Torkmān. He was forever saying to Ḥamza Mirzā that, as long as these three men were alive, the prince's fortunes would not prosper. Sometimes he dropped hints to this effect in royal assemblies, and gave himself airs. Mischief-makers at court, particularly the ambitious Tajik elements, would secretly report all this to the emirs.

After the victory of the royal army at Gūriān, Mirzā Salmān no

⁷⁸A category of officials with a wide variety of functions; see *TM*, pp. 63ff.

longer behaved in a rational way, but openly accused the emirs of sedition. The emirs perceived, from the way the prince behaved toward them, that Mirzā Salmān's words would soon have some decisive effect, and so they determined to get rid of the vizier, who was the source of all this trouble. They awaited their opportunity.

At this juncture, Mirzā Salmān announced his intention to visit Gazor-gāh,⁷⁹ and he sent there all the provisions and stores necessary for festivities on a large scale. He invited his close friends, together with musicians and wits in attendance at court, to participate in these festivities on the prescribed day. The great emirs arranged with their sons, brothers, and nephews, who constituted a mindless, lunatic element at court, that they should follow Mirzā Salmān to Gazor-gāh and do away with him. On the appointed day, Mirzā Salmān rode off to Gazor-gāh with his own retinue and bodyguard, and the conspirators, whose ringleaders were Yūsuf Khan, the son of the *qürçibāš*; Valī Jān Khan, the son of Mohammad Khan; and Kalīl Sultan, the nephew of Sāhrok Khan, rode off by another route. One of their men, however, warned Mirzā Salmān, and he at once rushed back to the city in alarm, his men making their way back in separate groups. When the emirs reached Gazor-gāh, they found that Mirzā Salmān had turned back. They sent some men to try and intercept him before he reached the city; if they failed, they would try again another time.

Mirzā Salmān reached the city safely and rushed into the palace, still dust stained from the road, to inform the Shah and Ḥamza Mirzā of the attempt on his life. The Shah summoned the emirs, and when all were assembled, asked them why they had adopted this attitude toward Mirzā Salmān, who was the vizier and a trusted officer of the crown. At first, the emirs denied that they had any quarrel with the vizier; if some ignorant and unruly elements among the *qezelbaş* had acted disrespectfully toward him, they would take steps to punish them. At this point, however, the conspirators, who had gathered in the Madrasa-ye Mirzā and were making a terrific din there, sent one of their number to the palace to declare that Mirzā Salmān was the destroyer of the state and the enemy of the *qezelbaş*. It was his evil conduct which had been, and still was, the root cause of the discord among the *qezelbaş* and of the revolt of the Khorasan emirs. Until the vizier was removed from the scene, this rift between the two *qezelbaş* factions would not be healed.

⁷⁹See L. V. Golombok, *The Timurid Shrine at Gazur Gah*, Toronto, 1969.

After this outburst, the emirs were forced to state their position frankly. Mirzā Salmān, they said, was a Persian. He was only expected to look after the accounts and *dīvān* business. It did not fall within his province to have an army at his disposal and to interfere in state affairs on his own behalf, and thus become the cause of discord and rebellion. Now that the *qezelbāš* had brought matters out into the open and their relations with the vizier had reached this point, it was better that he should withdraw from office and retire from affairs of state.⁸⁰

The vizier, an intelligent man, knew that the emirs would not be satisfied with anything less than his death. Nevertheless, since the suggestion had been made in the presence of the Shah and Ḥamza Mirzā, he said he was willing to have all his possessions expropriated if he were allowed to retire quietly somewhere; this was the last effort of a drowning man to save his life. The emirs then uttered prayers for the Shah's prosperity, rose, and left. They appointed one of their number to mount guard on Mirzā Salmān, pending the Shah's decision as to his fate.

Since Mirzā Salmān had always striven to increase the power and authority of Ḥamza Mirzā, had represented himself as his devoted supporter, and had always aimed to see that Ḥamza Mirzā had no partner in power, the prince was extremely upset by these events. He sent trusted envoys to the great emirs to sound them out on this subject. They all swore before God that their loyalty and fidelity to himself and the Shah were unshaken, and that the oaths of fealty they had sworn were inviolate. However, they said, it was true that Mirzā Salmān was always stirring up trouble, and turning the Shah and Ḥamza Mirzā against them, the loyal servants of the royal house. The elders of the *qezelbāš* tribes were not happy with Mirzā Salmān's holding the office of vizier or with the power he wielded in that office. They would do whatever they were ordered to do in this matter.

When the Shah and Ḥamza Mirzā had reassured themselves as to the loyalty of the *qezelbāš* emirs, since they themselves in their hearts were no longer satisfied with Mirzā Salmān, they agreed to let the emirs do whatever they liked with him. The emirs gathered at the house of the *qūrčibāši*, Qolī Beg, and sent men to fetch the vizier to the *qūrčibāši*'s house, where he was held in custody while all his possessions were expropriated. When this had been done, they

⁸⁰Also translated in Savory, "The Significance of the Political Murder of Mirzā Salmān."

decided to put him to death, even though he had been dismissed from office, since their own safety demanded it. They handed him over to the *qūrčīs*; Tahmāspqolī Beg Mowṣellū Torkmān, a *yüzbašı*, struck the first blow, and the others finished him off.

Glory be to God! The more man is concerned with his own good, the more evil the outcome! The more ambitious a man is, the more calamitous his end! Mīrzā Salmān thought he had built his fortunes on firm foundations. He had made Ḥamza Mīrzā his son-in-law, but this marriage alliance only resulted in his being divorced from affairs of state and losing his life. His corpse was interred with contumely, but was eventually brought to Mašhad and buried in the shrine precincts, through the efforts of the *sadrs* and '*olamā*.

Mīrzā Salmān came from the Jāberīya family, a noble family of Isfahan which traced its descent from Jāber b. 'Abd Allah Anṣārī. I have already given some details of his career in my biographical sketches of viziers and men of the pen of the time of Shah Tahmasp. His abilities distinguished him among his contemporaries, and he acquired greater power and influence than is customary in the office of vizier. Fondly believing that the multitude of his servants and retainers would protect him from the blows of fate, he stepped out of the circle of the men of the pen and chose to follow the dictates of his own ambition. He was made master of drum and banner and placed in command of troops. He began to behave in a dictatorial way toward emirs of high rank and sought to place himself above them, until finally he reaped the reward of his improper actions and his ambition. He was a poet and writer of some distinction, and had a penetrating mind and great intellectual power. In the course of the day-to-day performance of his duties as vizier, he was surrounded by a great throng of people pressing petitions on him, and he frequently used to reply to these with impromptu verses, many of which were later polished and written down.

After the murder of Mīrzā Salmān, Ḥamza Mīrzā, at the request of the emirs, divorced Mīrzā Salmān's daughter. Of Mīrzā Salmān's property, part was appropriated by the *dvān* and part was allotted to the *qūrčīs*. For a few months the siege of Herat was prosecuted in a desultory fashion, but the alarming news that Farhād Pasha had been appointed commander of the Ottoman forces and intended to renew operations on the Azerbaijan front induced the emirs to work for a truce with Aliqolī Khan. The keeper of the seal, Šahroğ Khan, had

a meeting with 'Aliqolı Khan and found the latter also to be desirous of a truce, which was eventually concluded in the following manner: 'Aliqolı Khan sent to the Shah his eldest son, Valı Khan Mirzä, then twelve years of age, with a humble petition to the effect that Mirzä Salmān was the origin of all the trouble. Now that he had been removed from the scene, they could all once more be loyal servants of the crown. 'Aliqolı Khan went on to crave pardon for his offenses; he pledged himself to follow the constant practice of Sufis of the Safavid Order, namely, to honor the father and the elder brother. He therefore agreed to reinstate the recitation of the *kotba* in the names of Sultan Mohammad Shah and Ḥamza Mirzä, and to consider Ḥamza Mirzä the heir-apparent. Abbas Mirzä was to be confirmed as governor of Khorasan.

The Takkalūs, especially Valı Khan, were opposed to the acceptance of these terms, but since their acceptance was advisable for a variety of reasons, Mostib Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oglū Takkalū, the chief of the tribe and a man of integrity who favored a peaceful solution, was eventually persuaded to accept them. He in turn persuaded Valı Khan to adopt a less intransigent attitude. The source of the feud between 'Aliqolı Khan and Esmā'ılqolı Khan was the slaying of the latter's father, Valı Kalifa. But Esmā'ılqolı Khan had already slain in revenge 'Aliqolı Khan's father, Sultan Hoseyn Khan. And in the massacre at Gürjān, a large number of the Evči clan of the Šamlūs, who had tribal affiliations and kinship with both factions, had lost their lives, and their intransigence and antagonism had led to nothing but discord and strife. Esmā'ılqolı Khan was therefore persuaded to accept the truce terms, and 'Aliqolı Khan signified his agreement—on one condition: The feud between himself and Morteżāqolı Khan was beyond all hope of reconciliation, he said; let him be taken back to Iraq and another of the great emirs appointed to the governorship of Mašhad, someone who would be a more reasonable person for him to work with.

Šahroğ Khan, with the assistance of the other emirs, obtained the approval of the Shah and Ḥamza Mirzä for a truce on this basis, and persuaded them that their return to Azerbaijan was urgent. Šahroğ Khan, with their permission, then took Esmā'ılqolı Khan into the citadel and signed the truce with 'Aliqolı Khan. The next day, 'Aliqolı Khan sent a letter to Ḥamza Mirzä; couched in humble terms, it recalled his past services, took refuge in plausible excuses in regard to his part in recent events, complained of the lack of support from

the principal officers of state, of the overweening power wielded by Mīrzā Salmān, and of the misdemeanors of Morteżāqoli Khan. It also signified his assent to the truce terms with solemn oaths. However, the terms of the truce remained a dead letter, because God had decreed that 'Abbas Mīrzā should come to the throne.⁸¹

The Shah, at the request of the emirs and the principal officers of state, accepted Aliqoli Khan's submission and conferred on him the noble title of "my son." He and Ḥamza Mīrzā sent gifts to 'Abbas Mīrzā. Aliqoli Khan's son, Valī Khan Mīrzā, was enrolled as an attendant in Ḥamza Mīrzā's entourage. Four months after the vernal equinox, the Shah struck camp at Herat and began his march back to Iraq. At Mašhad he visited the shrine of the Imam Reżā and replaced Morteżāqoli Khan as governor with Salmān Khan, the grandson of Abd Allāh Khan Ostājlū. Morteżāqoli Khan was consoled with the governorship of Astarābād; Damghan, Bestām, Biārjomand, Arab 'Āmeri, and Hazārjarib were also placed under his jurisdiction.⁸² Shah Qolī Sultan Qāranja was made governor of Jām and appointed guardian of Salmān Khan.

People capable of looking into the future realized that the terms of the truce meant that before long 'Abbas Mīrzā's star would again be in the ascendant. The emirs in Khorasan who had demonstrated support for the Shah while the royal army was in Khorasan began to worry about their position after the royal army had retired, since they realized they would then be on their own. Hoseyn Beg Afšār, the son of Sevendük Beg the *qūrčībāšī*, who was the governor of Sabzavār, had gone out to receive the royal army on its arrival in Khorasan and had declared himself to be "one who loved the Shah." Qolī Beg the *qūrčībāšī* had been instrumental in getting him confirmed in his post at Sabzavār.

On the royal army's return march, Hoseyn Beg Afšār felt he had to redeem himself in the eyes of the Abbasid emirs by displaying opposition to the Shah. Closing the gates of the city and the citadel, he

⁸¹There are references to two Koranic verses: 43:33, which reads in full: "Is it they who would distribute the mercy of thy Lord? It is We who distribute among them their livelihood in the present life, and We exalt some of them above others in degree, so that some of them may make others subservient to themselves. And the mercy of thy Lord is better than that which they amass"; and 38:27, which begins, "O David, We have made thee a vicegerent in the earth."

⁸²Morteżāqoli Khan was thus left still in a powerful position in Khorasan, and this had unfortunate results, as we shall see.

greeted the royal troops with musket fire. Ḥamza Mirzā consulted the emirs, who said: "We have made every possible concession in order to reach a peaceful solution of the Khorasan problem. We cannot overlook behavior such as that of Ḥoseyn Beg, who has had the effrontery to close the fortress against you, and has dared to open fire with muskets and cannon on the royal army. To condone this behavior is not in the interest of the state or compatible with the dignity of the Shah." Qoli Beg the *qūrčībāšī*, who was the senior emir of the Afšār tribe and the most powerful of the principal officers of state, was in a difficult position because he had negotiated the confirmation of Ḥoseyn Beg as governor of Sabzavār. He hung his head in shame, and agreed that Ḥoseyn Beg had to be punished.

The whole royal army thereupon attacked Sabzavār (Valī Khan and the Takkalū emirs were particularly active in this operation), and the same day royal troops began their assault on the city and the citadel. The besieged defended the citadel until nightfall but then showed signs of flagging, and royal troops stormed some of the outer fortifications. They launched an assault during the night, poured into the city, and took possession of the citadel as well. Ḥoseyn Beg was seized near the citadel gate; a member of the Sabzavārī sappers struck him a blow with the back of his spade that stunned him. He was hanged on the city walls as an example to others.

I will draw a veil over what the people of Sabzavār—who after all were Shi'ites—suffered that dreadful night at the hands of the royal troops, all because of the folly and disloyalty of Ḥoseyn Beg. Plunder and bloodshed continued unchecked. Ḥamza Beg, whose anger against Ḥoseyn Beg had now been assuaged, gave orders that the citizens of Sabzavār should not be molested. But since it was night and impossible to distinguish the houses of civilians from those of the military, the ordinary citizens suffered greatly. The following day, steps were taken to meet their needs. Ahmad Sultan Takkalū was appointed governor of Sabzavār, and the royal army continued its return march to Iraq. On its arrival at Qazvin, the various provincial governors obtained leave to return to their posts (Ommat Khan to Shiraz; Valī Khan Afšār to Kerman, Valī Khan Takkalū to Hamadan), and the other emirs were given leave to disband and return to their tribal districts.

Events in Azerbaijan during the Shah's Absence and the Occupation of Erivan by the Ottomans

'Osmān Pasha's accusations of dereliction of duty on the part of Senān Pasha had had their effect; he had declared additionally that, if another Ottoman army were sent during the Shah's absence in Khorasan, not only would it be possible to annex some other Persian province, but the province of Širvān would be effectively protected from incursions by the *qezelbāš*. The Ottoman sultan had reprimanded Senān Pasha and had appointed Farhād Pasha, the second vizier, to take command of a new Ottoman army for the invasion of Iran.

The Persian envoy, Ebrahim Khan, was detained at Istanbul and offered peace on the terms that any region which had been entered by Ottoman troops, and in which the *koṭba* had been recited in the name of the Ottoman sultan, should be recognized as Ottoman territory, without argument. He was told that, as long as the Shah refused to accept these terms, the war would go on. Ebrahim Khan reported this to the Shah in Khorasan. He gave it as his honest opinion that the sensible course seemed to be to abandon whatever parts of Širvān had been occupied by the Ottomans and to make peace at once, while the most important provinces were still in Persian hands; otherwise, Iran stood to lose a province every year, and the peace terms would remain unchanged. The *qezelbāš* emirs, despite their domestic quarrels, refused to accept these terms, and told Ebrahim Khan that if peace could be obtained on the basis of the *status quo ante*, well and good; if not, the matter was in God's hands.

When Farhād Pasha reached Erzerum, the frontier troops and the Kurdish tribes marched to Čokür-e Sa'd by way of Qāṛş. Mōhammadī Khan Tokmāq, the *beglerbeg* of Čokür-e Sa'd, with Emir Khan and Emāmqolī Khan, mobilized his men to meet the Ottoman threat. But the *qezelbāš* khans, emirs, and *beglerbegs* who were in Azerbaijan and Qarabāğ considered it an impossibility, without assistance from Iraq, to meet the Ottomans in pitched battle. Mohammad Khan harassed the advancing Ottomans, but his efforts had little effect on them. On arrival at Erivan, Farhād Pasha put the fort in good repair, and left a garrison of Janissaries there with a year's supplies, including artillery, to enable them to defend the place. He then retired.

Mōhammadī Khan was forced to abandon that province and retire to Nakčevān, where he placed the *gazis'* families in the fortress of

Events in Azerbaijan during the Shah's Absence

Alanjaq for safety. In this campaign, Moḥammad Khan received no help at all from Emir Khan and the Turkman emirs. Emir Khan, considering the defense of Tabriz to be of greater importance, and taking into consideration the proximity of the Kurds, did not stir from there. As a result, the prosperous province of Čokūr-e Sa'd, which is the most important part of Little Armenia, fell into enemy hands. Šīrvān, as before, remained completely under Ottoman control. Incidentally, Faṭema Sultan Begom, the daughter of Shah Tahmasp and the wife of Emir Khan Torkmān, fell ill and died this year. Her body was buried in the Safavid shrine at Ardabil.

Events in Khorasan after the Shah's Return

The removal of Morteżāqolī Khan from office as governor of Mašhad and the appointment of Salmān Khan were joyful news to Moršedqolī Khan. He at once wrote to Salman Khan, asking permission to visit the holy shrine of the Imam Režā at Mašhad, a duty he said had been denied to him while Morteżāqolī Khan and the Takkalūs were in power at Mašhad. Now—God be praised!—the affairs of Khorasan had been settled in a manner satisfactory to the Ostājlūs. "I entered the service of ʿAlīqolī Khan, who is a Šāmlū," wrote Moršedqolī Khan, "in order to preserve the status and honor of the Ostājlū tribe, which had been trampled in the dust by Shah Esma'il II. You, however, are descended from the former chief of the whole Ostājlū tribe, and I would deem it an honor to place my services at your disposal. When we meet, we can arrange our affairs in accord with your wishes and to the satisfaction of the Ostājlū tribe."

Salmān Khan, since his position at Mašhad was not firmly established (he had no proper armed forces at his disposal, and the few men he had were scattered and were not first-line troops), and since he distrusted the words of Moršedqolī Khan and was opposed to his coming to Mašhad, could not decide what to do. He lacked the resolution to oppose him and the force to prevent him from coming. Šah-qolī Sultan Qāranja, who was an old soldier and had a wise head, had gone in the direction of Jām and was not on hand to advise him.

Without further delay, and without obtaining permission, Moršedqolī Khan marched on Mašhad with a small force. When he neared the city, the seyyeds and notables, dreading the hardships of a siege, begged Salmān Khan to receive him in a friendly manner. Salmān, when he heard that Moršedqolī Khan had brought only a few men

with him, prepared to welcome him with a show of friendship. With the *seyyeds* and officials of the shrine, he went out to welcome Morshedqoli Khan, who greeted him in a courteous and deferential manner. Having performed the rites of pilgrimage, Morshedqoli Khan became the guest of the shrine administration, and for several days he did not leave the shrine precincts. Every day Salmān Khan visited him there, and feasted him with appropriate ceremony. Morshedqoli Khan, sensing his uneasiness, went out of his way to allay his suspicions.

Meanwhile, Morshedqoli Khan's men continued to slip into the city in small groups, and he was also joined by men from the rural districts who had not so far offered their services to Salmān Khan. The ambition to be master of Mašhad, which had always been in the back of his mind, now came to the fore. He marched out from the shrine toward the Čahār Bāg, which is the seat of the governors of Mašhad—ostensibly to meet Salmān Khan, but with the secret intention of seizing power.

Once again he was received hospitably by Salmān Khan, and the conversation ranged over a wide variety of subjects. Salmān Khan expressed his firm loyalty to the Shah and Ḥamza Mirzā. At first, Morshedqoli Khan pretended to agree, but gradually he revealed what was in his mind. The people of Khorasan, he said, were behind 'Abbas Mirzā. They had sworn fealty to 'Aliqoli Khan, who was the guardian of that prince and the *beglerbeg* of Khorasan, and the Shah had confirmed his son 'Abbas as governor of Khorasan. If Salmān Khan wished to remain in Khorasan, he had no alternative but to tender his submission to 'Abbas Mirzā. "At the moment," he said, "you do not have forces at your disposal with which to maintain law and order in this district and the areas around Mašhad. The best plan would be for you to hand over the government of Mašhad to me and retire to the Kāf and Bākarz district, which belongs to me." Salmān Khan had no choice but to agree, and Morshedqoli Khan sent some of his men to escort him there.

Most of the men who had gathered around Salmān Khan at Mašhad because he was the governor now deserted him and remained in the city while he, with a few men, set off for Bākarz. However, he did not like the look of the situation in Khorasan, and he did not like the behavior of Morshedqoli Khan. Further, he did not see how he could remain in Khorasan without being disloyal to the Shah and Ḥamza

Mirzā. On the way to Bākarz, therefore, he gave his escort the slip on the pretext of going hunting, and suddenly rode off like the wind in the direction of Iraq, abandoning his baggage. This suited Moršed-qoli Khan perfectly. He consolidated his position at Mašhad and sent couriers to Herat with the news. He devoted his attention to ingratiating himself with Būdāq Khan Čegani and the various Čagatāy khans who lived in the Mašhad area and ruled tribes such as the Owlād Baba Elyās, the Bayāt, and so on. He sought the hand in marriage of Būdāq Khan's daughter and went out of his way to conciliate the ordinary people of the area, with the result that his influence spread rapidly. He rewarded those Ostājlüs who had served him well in these recent events by promoting them to the rank of emir and divided among them those districts he had recently brought under his jurisdiction.

His growing power aroused the jealousy of the Šāmlüs, but Moršed-qoli Khan was careful to maintain friendly and cordial relations with 'Alīqoli Khan. Meanwhile, Salmān Khan had made his way to Qazvin via Tūn and Tabas, and delivered a report to the Shah and Ḥamza Mirzā. Salmān Khan's wife, Šahrbānū Begom, the daughter of Shah Tahmasp, died a few days before he reached Qazvin, and the Shah devoted his efforts to consoling him for this double blow of fate.

The Shah's Second Campaign in Azerbaijan, the Arrest of Emir Khan Torkmān, Hamza Mirzā's Adoption of 'Alīqoli Khan Faṭh-oğlū Ostājlü as a Favorite, and the First Signs of Rebellion on the Part of the Takkalus and Turkmans

At the beginning of spring in the Year of the Monkey, corresponding to the year 992/1584, Ḥamza Mirzā, whose youth demanded some outlet in the form of physical pleasures, spent much of his time carousing and wenching in his private apartments with his close friends.

Emir Khan Torkmān, the *beglerbeg* of Azerbaijan, sent his vizier, Qāsem Beg, to Qazvin from Tabriz to report to the Shah the Ottoman occupation of Erivān and to ask the Shah to send an army to lay siege to Erivān. The council of emirs met and decided on an expedition to Azerbaijan, and the royal army left Qazvin early in the summer. Mohammad Khan Torkmān obtained permission to go to Kashan to raise troops, and join the royal army later. Mosib Khan

Takkalū, with his nephew Moktar Sultan, proceeded to their tribal district at Rayy for the same purpose. When the royal army reached the pasture grounds at Miāna, Hamza Mirzā left the army to make a pilgrimage to the tombs of Shaikh Šaftī and the other Safavid shaikhs at Ardabil.

Before Hamza Mirzā returned from Ardabil, Emir Khan marched out from Tabriz to welcome the Shah; with him were the emirs under his command, most of whom were his brothers and other kinsmen, and some twelve thousand men of the Turkman and other tribes. After Hamza Mirzā's return, Emir Khan paid a ceremonial call on him, and then obtained an audience with the Shah through his agency. He was received with marked favor by the Shah. The size and good order of his army, the quasi-royal magnificence of its accoutrements, and the proud bearing of his officers aroused the envy of the other emirs and officers at court—for envy is an emotion from which ambitious men, however high-minded and wise they may be, are not wholly immune. The royal army then proceeded to Tabriz. The inhabitants of Tabriz, great and small, streamed out to greet the Shah, who took up residence in the palace in this, the capital city of his ancestors. Emir Khan acted as host and basked in the sunshine of royal favor, until suddenly he suffered an unexpected reversal of fortune.

On the occasion of the Shah's first expedition to Azerbaijan, when he wintered at Tabriz, Hamza Mirzā was still comparatively young;⁸³ if Emir Khan or one of the other emirs committed some act that displeased him, he merely noted it and kept silent. Now, however, he was eighteen years old, and had reached the age of maturity. The natural arrogance of youth and the haughtiness deriving from his status as heir-apparent were compounded by his increasing addiction to wine drinking, and he was inclined to fly into a rage at the slightest thing. When the royal army first entered Tabriz, the insolent behavior of certain troublemakers among the *qezelbāš* had angered the prince and made him determined to do away with those concerned. Since Emir Khan had not been involved in these incidents, his record was apparently clean. Hamza Mirzā planned to associate him with himself in all matters, and to carry out his secret plans through his agency. He therefore intensified his efforts to win the allegiance of Emir Khan and those connected with him, and he continued to show him the greatest possible favor.

⁸³The Shah's first expedition to Azerbaijan occurred in 987/1579-80; Hamza Mirzā was probably about thirteen years old at the time.

Emir Khan, however, who was a man concerned with the general good,⁸⁴ considered it inappropriate to get rid of a number of *qezelbaş* chiefs, each of whom was a senior chief of a major tribe, at a time when the Ottoman sultan was threatening to annex Azerbaijan. He therefore refused to discuss the matter with Ḥamza Mirzā. Not only that, but he took it upon himself to give the prince fatherly advice on the subject of wine drinking, to which the youthful, pleasure-seeking prince was becoming increasingly addicted. Emir Khan considered the practice to be disapproved of by the canon law of Islam, and efforts were constantly being made to prohibit the use of wine altogether. Emir Khan began to criticize the emirs and principal officers of state, whose attitude toward wine drinking was hypocritical. His brothers, sons, and other kinsmen, an insolent lot, were frequently guilty of improper behavior, but the prince would generously overlook their misdemeanors out of his concern to preserve the well-being of the state and the prestige and dignity of Emir Khan.

Emir Khan himself, however, had been guilty of various improper practices. The courtiers present at royal assemblies, all of them ignorant young men who cared nothing for the well-being of the state—men like Aliqoli Beg Fath-oğlū and his kinsman Mohammadi Sārū Sūlag, both Ostajlūs, both enrolled among the *moqarrabs* at court, and both inveterate enemies of the Turkmans—began to whisper insinuating remarks against Emir Khan in the ear of the prince as he caroused or lay intoxicated. One of Emir Khan's improper actions which they were able to use against him was his construction, without the Shah's permission, of a fortified tower near his house.

The second charge they brought against him concerned the sounding of golden trumpets, which was the prerogative of the royal family. Despite his marriage alliance to the Safavid royal family, he had not achieved any great renown. So he had obtained some trumpets as part of his military band and had them sounded in frontier areas, in the hope that the enemy would hear of them and that his prestige would be correspondingly increased. This practice had not been stopped by the officials of the royal bandmaster's establishment. Ḥamza Mirzā did not attach any great importance to this accusation.

The third charge was that Emir Khan's brother, Esma'il Khan, who

⁸⁴This has to be taken *cum grano salis*, in view of Emir Khan's behavior in 987/1579-80.

held the post of *śīrajibāšī* (master of the wine cellar),⁸⁵ had levied in Qarabāğ more than the fees to which he was entitled. The money had been recovered from him by some Qājār junior officers;⁸⁶ in retaliation, Esma'il Khan had appropriated the possessions of some retainers of Emāmqolı Khan, the *beglerbeg* of Qarabāğ, who had gone to Tabriz to present gifts to the Shah. The victims had then protested to Ḥamza Mīrzā, who sent envoys to Esma'il Khan and Emir Khan to remind them that Emāmqolı Khan was a distinguished *beglerbeg*, and it was not fitting that his men be seized and their possessions appropriated in this way. The emirs had agreed that the Qājārs should pay back to Esma'il Khan, with interest, the sum they had seized from the revenues of his department.

Emir Khan and Esma'il Khan rejected this agreement, and so Ḥamza Mīrzā was forced to appeal to the principal officers of state. The unseemly behavior of the Turkman chiefs eventually exceeded all reasonable bounds. Emir Khan's enemies saw this behavior as constituting an act of rebellion, or at least as intent to commit one. They eventually succeeded in poisoning the prince's mind against Emir Khan. The latter, when he realized the situation, took to staying away from court, thinking in his arrogance that the prince's animosity could do him no harm.

The prince did not want openly to break with Emir Khan, but thought he could achieve his object in a roundabout way. He arranged a big feast in the Meydān-e Ṣāḥebābād, where Emir Khan's harem and citadel were located; there was to be polo and an archery competition. All the *qezelbāš* emirs and notables came to the festival, with the exception of Emir Khan—despite the fact that he lived close by. This resulted in further estrangement between him and the prince.

The month of Moharram came. It was the time-honored practice of the Safavid dynasty that on the day of 'Āšūra⁸⁷ the Shah, with all the emirs and military commanders, would attend the performance of a passion play celebrating the martyrdom of Ḥoseyn on the field of Karbalā,⁸⁸ and the emirs would take part in the mourning ceremonies in the presence of the Shah. This year, these ceremonies took place

⁸⁵See *TM*, pp. 137–38.

⁸⁶*Āqdyān*; see *TM*, p. 118, n.1.

⁸⁷The tenth day of the month of Moharram, on which Ali's son Ḥoseyn was slain by Omayyad troops in the year 61/680.

⁸⁸There is a verbal pun in the Persian text, which renders Karbalā as *karb o bala*, anguish and calamity.

in the mosque of Üzün Hasan, which was situated on the northern side of the Meydān-e Şahēbād. Emir Khan absented himself from these ceremonies too, but the great emirs, who considered his behavior absolutely disgraceful, sent someone to fetch him. The messenger found a private passion play performance in progress at Emir Khan's house, attended by a large group of Turkmans. Ȧamza Mirzā was still further infuriated, and in the council of emirs began openly to complain of Emir Khan's conduct.

Qolı Beg, the *qırçıbaşı*, secretly allied himself with Emir Khan, and most of the emirs supported one or the other. The *qırçıbaşı* wanted to heal the breach between Ȧamza Mirzā and Emir Khan. On behalf of the latter, he begged the prince to end the estrangement by honoring Emir Khan with a visit to his house. The prince agreed to this, and Emir Khan gave a great feast in his honor, exerting himself to the utmost to show courtesies to 'Aliqolı Khan Fath-oglū. However, Emir Khan's brothers, sons, and other kinsmen, most of whom had the rank of emir and commanded their own military forces, continued to act in an insolent fashion; they uttered threats (both openly and by allusion) against the prince's close companions, especially the Ostajlū and Ȧamlū nobles, who were not innocent of misdemeanors either. The result was that the attempt at a rapprochement was a failure—indeed, it made a final breach more likely.

When the wine had been flowing freely, Şahroğ Khan, who had been honored by being selected as the prince's drinking companion, intuitively divined that the cup of the prince's wrath against Emir Khan and his house was running over, and he conspired with others to destroy Emir Khan. He revealed the prince's secret thoughts to the *qırçıbaşı*, and the latter failed to divert the prince from his intention or to persuade him to postpone his plans. Emir Khan and the Turkmans got wind of the plot against them. Assembling in Emir Khan's house, they issued a call for tribal solidarity. Almost the whole tribe, including members of the royal bodyguard, centurions and officers on personal duty to the Shah, gathered there fully armed—about ten thousand men in all.

The Turkman case was that Ȧamza Mirzā had been turned against them by a number of ignorant people who were in his personal service, and especially 'Aliqolı Fath-oglū, Mohammadi Sarū Sulag, and Esmā'ılqolı Khan Ȧamlū. These men, they contended, were not worthy to be in the prince's service. They should be dismissed so that

the anxieties of the Turkmans might be alleviated. The temerity of the Turkmans simply made the prince more determined than ever to destroy them.

First, in order to break the power of Emir Khan, he dismissed him from office and deprived him of his fief at Tabriz. This order was read to the burghers of Tabriz. The people of Tabriz, who had suffered greatly from the exactions of Emir Khan and the Turkmans, welcomed the change; henceforth, Emir Khan did not exist as far as they were concerned. When the steady flow of people from all parts of the province, to his door suddenly stopped, Emir Khan awoke to the realities of a situation he had never even envisaged. He closed the gates of his citadel and looked to his own defense. Muskets and cannon were stationed on the battlements, and a few cannon balls were fired from one of the turrets in the direction of the Meydān-e Şâhebābad and the royal palace. Firing went on for three days. Ȧamza Mirzā then issued a call to "those who love the Shah." Let those Turkmans who were loyal servants of the Safavid dynasty assemble at the palace; those who decided to stand by Emir Khan could expect nothing more from that dynasty. This call broke the resolution of the Turkmans; company by company they rode to the royal palace and recorded their names among "those who loved the Shah." Finally, Emir Khan sent his own sons and brothers so their names might not be excluded from this list, but he hesitated about going himself. His personal servants plucked up courage and urged him to submit voluntarily, but, not daring to go, he rejected their advice.

The emirs who had assembled at the palace then sent envoys calling on Emir Khan to refrain from defending the citadel and to cease firing muskets and cannon. If he failed to desist, they said, they would be obliged to storm the citadel, and if matters reached that pass, his fate was a foregone conclusion. Emir Khan sent a brusque reply, and Ȧamza Mirzā ordered all the *qezelbâs* and the people of Tabriz to arm themselves and prepare to storm the citadel that night. Because of Emir Khan's intransigent attitude, his fellow emirs could not approach Ȧamza Mirzā; they turned to the Shah and asked him to dissuade Ȧamza Mirzā from assaulting the citadel and shedding blood on the eve of Friday. "If Emir Khan persists in his defiance tomorrow," they said, "we will carry out your commands."

The Shah summoned his son and persuaded him to take no action until the following day. The *qezelbâs* again assembled at the royal

palace, and negotiations were reopened with Emir Khan. Emir Khan, with no choice but to surrender, sent the physician Abu'l-Fath Tabrizi, known as Hakim-e Kūček, who was in his personal employ, to announce his intention to come out of the citadel. The *qurčibāst* and Şahrok Khan met him at the Masjed-e Şahi, on Şahrebād Square, and escorted him to the palace. When he entered the palace, he removed his sword and slung it round his neck. He was taken before Ȧamza Mîrzâ, flanked on one side by the *qurčibāst* and on the other by Şahrok Khan. When he reached the prince, the latter, in his clemency, at once removed the sword from his neck; Emir Khan, overcome with shame, burst into tears. The prince informed him that his life would be spared, despite all his misdemeanors.

Şahrok Khan was ordered to act as host to Emir Khan at a banquet to be held in his honor that night in the palace. Adham Khan, a Turkman emir, was posted at Emir Khan's house to guard his family. Emir Khan spent the night at the palace and the next day was allotted a suite in the Hašt Behešt building. His property and possessions were confiscated, and a few days later he was sent to the fortress-prison of Qahqaha. He had an *inamorata* named Peerless who he asked be allowed to accompany him to Qahqaha; this request Ȧamza Mîrzâ allowed.

'Aliqoli Beg Fath-oğlû, who had played a leading part in these events, was rewarded by Ȧamza Mîrzâ by being promoted to the rank of khan and made governor of Tabriz. As a result, he was regarded with envy by all the emirs. Although his position as the prince's favorite was abhorrent to the great emirs, they were unable to reveal what was in their hearts. Accordingly, they all sought his favor and cultivated friendly relations with him. Since Esma'ilqoli Khan already held the title of comrade (*yoldaş*), Hamza Mîrzâ dubbed 'Aliqoli Khan brother (*qardaş*); Moḥammadî Sarû Sûlag, who was the prince's adviser and was privy to his secret plans, was given the title of confidant (*serdaş*).

The Ostajlu tribe, which had been under a cloud, came back into favor. Large numbers of Ostajlus gathered at Tabriz and pledged their support to 'Aliqoli Khan, whom they considered responsible for the revival of their fortunes. The sons, brothers, and followers of Emir Khan, on the other hand, saw no future for themselves at Tabriz now that their enemies, the Ostajlus, had returned to favor, and they crept away to Iraq.

When this news reached Mohammad Khan Torkmān at Kashan, he was filled with consternation and anxiety about his own position. Emir Khan's daughter had married Valī Khan Takkalū, and Emir Khan's brothers and kinsmen rallied around the latter at Hamadan. Mohammad Khan marched from Kashan to join him, and with specious arguments persuaded him to form a Takkalū-Turkman coalition to march on Tabriz and exact vengeance from the enemies of Emir Khan, remove Əliqoli Khan Fath-oglu and Mohammadı Sarı Sülag from the service of Əmzə Mırzä, and ravage the Ostajlū tribe.

The Turkman-Takkalū revolt signed the death warrant of Emir Khan, who was executed at Qahqaha. Mohammad Khan Torkmān then incited Valī Khan to seek satisfaction for Emir Khan's blood. Since Əmzə Mırzä had assumed the position of de facto ruler of the state, he decided to take action against the rebels. The Ostajlū and Şamlū emirs suggested that the best plan would be to seize control of Mohammad Khan's base at Kashan, which would inevitably throw his affairs into confusion. It was agreed that Şahverdi Kalifa Şamlū, who was at Naçanz, should go to Kashan and take possession of that region. Yüsuf Beg, the son of Mohammad Khan Torkman, who held the office of *davātdār* of the *dīvān-e a'lā*⁸⁹ and who was in charge at Kashan during his father's absence, shut himself up in the citadel and defended himself against Şahverdi Kalifa. Sultan Ma'süm Khan came from Sava and another group came from Qom to assist Yüsuf Beg. Şahverdi Kalifa was within the city walls and the relief force was outside when a chance musketball killed Yüsuf Beg. Mohammad Khan became apprehensive and sent his son, Valī Khan, to restore the situation at Kashan.

One day, a group of townspeople of Kashan came out of the city on foot to repel the Turkmans and started plundering their tents. The Turkmans mounted and attacked them, and the Şamlūs went to their assistance. About three hundred citizens of Kashan were killed—fifty of them *seyyeds*. After this, the Şamlūs could not withstand the Turkmans; Şahverdi Kalifa, unable to capture the citadel, returned to Naçanz. Further information on the Turkman-Takkalū revolt will be given later.

Further Events in Khorasan

At the beginning of the Year of the Monkey, Morshedqoli Khan sent his brother Ebrahim Khan to Herat. Ebrahim Khan, formerly gov-

⁸⁹I.e., inkhorn holder of the supreme *dīvān*; clearly the office was a sinecure, since its holder was in Kashan! TM does not list this particular office.

ernor of Esfara'īn, had been taken prisoner at the battle of Gūrān and carried off to Iraq, but had managed to escape and make his way to Khorasan via Gilān. The purpose of his visit to Herat was to urge 'Alīqolī Khan to proceed to Mašhad, bringing with him 'Abbas Mīrzā, so that Moršedqolī Khan and 'Alīqolī Khan could conduct a joint campaign in the Besṭām-Damghan-Astarābād area and bring the whole of Khorasan under their control up to the borders of Iraq.

Some of the senior chiefs of the Šāmlū tribe, who detested the power and influence of Moršedqolī Khan, opposed this proposal. Ebrahim Khan declared that, since 'Abbas Mīrzā's authority was not yet firmly established in Khorasan, it would set everybody's mind at rest if the leading chiefs demonstrated their unity and accord by taking this action, one requiring considerable courage, under the vicegerency of 'Alīqolī Khan, who would have full discretion to settle the affairs of the newly conquered regions in accordance with his judgment. After the successful completion of this operation, the Ostājlūs would, of course, affirm their allegiance to 'Alīqolī Khan. As discussions dragged on between the Ostājlūs and the Šāmlūs, troublemakers were active.

Eventually, Moršedqolī Khan decided to visit Herat and use his personal powers of persuasion on 'Alīqolī Khan. He kissed the feet of 'Abbas Mīrzā and was warmly received by 'Alīqolī Khan. The Šāmlūs kept whispering to him that this was a wonderful opportunity to get rid of Moršedqolī Khan, but 'Alīqolī Khan refused to listen to them, not wishing to incur lasting infamy by murdering a man who was his guest. Inevitably, however, some of this talk got back to Moršedqolī Khan and made him apprehensive of the Šāmlū chiefs. One day, a man with a drawn sword entered the public baths to which Moršedqolī Khan had gone and slew one of the bath attendants who resembled him. Moršedqolī's men, suspecting that the attendant had been killed by mistake, rushed into the bathhouse and raised his suspicions. The incident made Moršedqolī Khan even more nervous than before, and he at once left the baths and went to his house. As soon as 'Alīqolī Khan heard the news, he went straight to Moršedqolī Khan and tried to reassure him by expressions of friendship. He attributed the death of the bath attendant as the chance deed of some personal enemy of the latter.

But this incident had completely shattered Moršedqolī Khan's faith in the Šāmlūs, and he decided to leave Herat for Mašhad without

delay. He left his brother, Ebrahim Khan, at Herat. 'Aliqoli Khan was aggrieved by his precipitate departure and showed his displeasure to Ebrahim Khan. This gave troublemakers their chance to widen the breach between Morshedqoli Khan and 'Aliqoli Khan, and shortly afterward Ebrahim Khan, also nervous of Šamlū intentions, fled from Herat to Mašhad. Although Morshedqoli Khan and 'Aliqoli Khan continued to correspond, neither now trusted the other. The Šamlū leaders urged 'Aliqoli Khan to lead a punitive expedition against Morshedqoli Khan, and in the end 'Aliqoli Khan marched out from Herat with the intention of replacing any governors appointed by Morshedqoli Khan of whose loyalty he was doubtful.

It was the firm belief of Morshedqoli Khan that 'Aliqoli Khan's vizier, Kāja Afžal, was the cause of all the trouble, because Kāja Afžal had told 'Aliqoli Khan that Sultan 'Ali Kalifa, the nephew of Fulād Kalifa and governor of Qāyen,⁹⁰ was secretly in league with Morshedqoli Khan. 'Aliqoli Khan marched to Qāyen, seized Sultan 'Ali Kalifa, and confiscated all his possessions. From there, 'Aliqoli Khan marched to Toršiz.⁹¹ He issued a general call to arms to all the emirs of Khorasan, whether appointed by Morshedqoli Khan or not, instructing all who made common cause with 'Abbas Mirzā and his guardian, the governor-general of Khorasan, to join the prince's standard.

For his part, Morshedqoli Khan mobilized his own forces and marched out from Mašhad. But, according to what I have been told by men whose word I trust, he had absolutely no thought of armed conflict; he wanted the dispute to be settled by negotiation in such a way that the mutual suspicions of the two leaders would be removed, and they could meet and pledge their undivided loyalty to 'Abbas Mirzā. None of the chiefs on either side, however, came forward as mediator, and although Morshedqoli Khan invited Kāja Afžal and delegates from the Šamlū chiefs to come and talk, there was no response. Kāja Afžal, afraid to go to Morshedqoli Khan, made no effort to settle the quarrel; on the contrary, he apparently was in league with the calumniators who were intent on destroying Morshedqoli Khan. The two armies therefore confronted each other at the village of Sū-saft near Toršiz, and envoys passed to and fro between the two camps.

Ebrahim Sultan Šaraflū, a kinsman of Morshedqoli Khan, arrived in

⁹⁰Southwest of Herat, in the Qohestān district of Khorasan.

⁹¹Northwest of Qāyen.

response to the latter's call. When he saw that Morshedqoli Khan and the Ostajlū emirs were camped on their own, apart from the others, to display his pride in his tribe he marched into Morshedqoli Khan's camp in full battle order, with drums beating and colors flying, and Morshedqoli Khan sent some of his men to greet him. The Šamlūs, hearing the drums and seeing cavalry fully armed, thought an attack was imminent and sounded the call. As a precaution, 'Aliqoli Khan mounted and positioned his left, right, and center; Morshedqoli Khan followed suit. At this point, Sultan Ali Kalifa, who had been released and pardoned after several days of imprisonment, showed his resentment at the treatment he had received at the hands of 'Aliqoli Khan by deserting him and going over to the enemy camp with all his men. His action, which caused consternation in the Šamlū ranks, raised the morale of the Ostajlūs correspondingly.

When the fighting started, 'Aliqoli Khan spotted a group of Ostajlūs among whom he thought Morshedqoli Khan had stationed himself. Abandoning all caution, he led a charge of Šamlūs against the group and scattered it. While he was pursuing the fugitives, Morshedqoli Khan, who was stationed elsewhere on the battlefield, caught sight of Abbas Mirzā's standard and sent a troop of his men in its direction. The Ostajlūs routed the small band of Šamlūs who were around the prince, and one of Morshedqoli Khan's men, Abū Moslem Khan Čaūšlū, reached the prince's side, seized hold of the reins of his horse, and led him to the Ostajlū camp. 'Aliqoli Khan, returning from his pursuit of the Ostajlūs, saw no sign of the troops of his center, or of the prince's parasol. When he heard what had happened, he broke off the engagement and retired to Herat, overcome with remorse and chagrin at his negligence, while Morshedqoli Khan carried Abbas Mirzā off in triumph to Mašhad.

Because the prince had been brought up among the Šamlū tribe since infancy and had developed personal friendships with 'Aliqoli Khan and his men, this turn of events was abhorrent to him. He was comforted, however, by the prospect of visiting the shrine of the Imam 'Ali b. Mūsa al-Reżā at Mašhad. Morshedqoli Khan behaved with great magnanimity toward the Šamlū captives. After the mischiefmakers had been rebuked, the prisoners were released and treated well. Morshedqoli Khan gave orders that, if any of the Šamlūs saw any of his property—be it horse, camel, or weapons—in the hands of his men, the property should be surrendered to him forthwith. The prisoners were then given the choice of returning to Herat or remain-

ing with Abbas Mirzā. Kāja Afżal, the vizier of 'Aliqolı Khan, was appointed vizier to Morshedqolı Khan. Those Şamlüs who elected to stay with the prince were enrolled in his service—among the *qürčis* of his personal bodyguard, as centurions, or as personal attendants. Morshedqolı Khan wrote a friendly letter to 'Aliqolı Khan, still couched in submissive terms, indulging in some friendly protests, and attributing the capture of Abbas Mirzā to the workings of fate.

Kāja Afżal and the Şamlü officers were not happy at Maşhad, and one by one they drifted back to Herat. Finally, the only Şamlüs left at Maşhad in the service of Abbas Mirzā were Hoseyn Beg Abdellū, the prince's personal rein holder, who had become separated from his master in the battle at Torşız, and 'Aliqolı Beg, the son of Shah 'Ali Beg Garamillū, who had parted company from 'Aliqolı Khan during the flight from Torşız and made his way back to Maşhad to place himself at the prince's service. Morshedqolı Khan therefore appointed officers to form a royal retinue for Abbas Mirzā, and constituted himself his *vakīl* and guardian. As a result, his power in Khorasan was greater than before.

Events in Azerbaijan, 'Osmān Pasha's Expedition to Tabriz, and His Subsequent Capture of That City and Devastation of the Surrounding Area.

The occupation of Erivan by Farhād Pasha has already been reported. 'Osmān Pasha left Şirvān and Şakkı in the hands of his officers and went to Istanbul, where the Ottoman Sultan made him grand vizier and commander in chief of an army, with orders to conquer the whole of Azerbaijan, if not Iraq. The spring of the Year of the Fowl (993/1585) found 'Osmān Pasha at Erivan and Hamza Mirzā at Tabriz, as usual preoccupied with carousing and wenching. Hamza Mirzā had also fallen in love with a boy named Seytān, the son of a blacksmith, whom 'Aliqolı Khan Fath-oglū had brought from Isfahan. When the weather turned hot and the plains became carpeted with poppies, the court moved to its summer quarters at Aşkanbar and Kalanbar, and from there to Bāzār Čāy. At Sägrı Bolagi, Mohammad Khan Tokmāq, who had been pushed out of the province of Çokur-e Sa'd by the Ottomans and had been wandering around bereft of men and equipment ever since, joined the royal camp. He was fitted out with troops and received in audience by the Shah.

The court was shaken out of its complacency by the news of the

approach of 'Oşmân Pasha. Mobilization orders were hastily issued to the troops of Fârs, Iraq, and Kerman. It was Ȧamza Mîrzâ's secret desire that the *qezelbâš*, under his leadership, should revenge the defeats of previous years. He wrote conciliatory letters to Moâmmad Khan, Mosîb Khan, and all the Turkman and Takkalû emirs reminding them that the *qezelbâš* tribes were the faithful Sufis of the Safavid house, and that to lose one's life in the service of one's benefactor was the ultimate degree of devotion. "Emir Khan," said Ȧamza Mîrzâ, "departed from the path of devotion; he was guilty of certain acts which angered me and necessitated his execution. But no one else was involved in these acts, and I have absolutely no quarrel with the rest of the Turkman emirs and *gâzîs*. Adhâm Khan Torkmân, one of the leading emirs of that tribe, holds an honored place in my service. Purge your mind of seditious thoughts and be not afraid, for such behavior is not compatible with professions of selfless and devoted service.

"Furthermore, our enemies are at hand ready to conquer the realm of Iran and destroy the *qezelbâš* tribes. Even now they are making for Tabriz, the burial ground of the *qezelbâš* for a hundred years,⁹² and the seat of Persian kings. Act wisely, with an eye to the future, and united in true devotion and service to the state, come to Tabriz with your men ready for action. Do not sully your record of a hundred years of devoted service by acts of sedition. Concentrate on one thing and one thing only, namely, fighting valiantly by the side of your prince. After the enemy has been repulsed, I will make every effort to fulfill whatever desires any individual among you may have. It is obvious that if Tabriz and the province of Azerbaijan, which is the most important province in Iran and its prime recruiting ground, were to fall into Ottoman hands, this would constitute a major blow to the whole state and would seriously affect the other provinces. I do not need to tell you what the state of the *qezelbâš* would be then."

After dispatching these letters, Ȧamza Mîrzâ waited for a month at Tabriz to see whether 'Oşmân Pasha might be making for Qarabag. When it became clear that Tabriz was his objective, the emirs assembled there held a council of war. A number of experienced advisers were of the opinion that they should use the same tactics as in the time of Shah Tahmasp: all civilians should be evacuated from the city of Tabriz and the route by which the enemy would approach it and

⁹²A pardonable exaggeration on the part of Ȧamza Mîrzâ; it was 86 lunar or 84 solar years since the coronation of Shah Esma'il I at Tabriz in 1501.

sent to Qarajadag, where there were some strongly fortified places, and no food supplies should be left in the city. Until the Takkalū and Turkman emirs arrived they should fight a delaying action, blocking the roads to prevent any food supplies from reaching the Ottomans and the Ottomans from sending out forage parties. Once the other emirs arrived, they could give battle to the Ottomans on a field of their choice. The more impetuous elements rejected this advice: there were one hundred thousand souls in Tabriz, they said, of whom at least half were lusty, serviceable lads who would fight for their families and homes. The streets must be barricaded, and the inhabitants must fight on the barricades and prevent the enemy from entering the city. While the populace was fighting the Ottomans within the city, the *qezelbāş* would engage them outside.

The majority supported the latter view. Some of the wilder elements at Tabriz, who were always at Hamza Mirzā's side flattering him, uttered empty boasts and refused to allow the city to be evacuated. Since everyone considered this fatal decision to be the correct one, the people were allowed to stay. Hamza Mirzā himself addressed the notables of Tabriz, urging them to fight like men against the enemy, and to protect their children, their dependents, and their property. He gave orders that, since the evacuation of families would cause confusion in the city, no families were to leave. "My men and I," he said, "will be engaging the enemy outside the walls, and we will not allow any harm to come to your families." Hamza Mirzā ordered to the city a few of the emirs, in particular Pīr Čeyb Khan Ostājlū, to organize the barricading of the streets in cooperation with Hoseyn Qoli Sultan, the brother of Aliqoli Khan, who was acting in his place as governor of the city and defender of the realm. The townspeople were urged to man the barricades, to ward off any assailants, to prevent anyone from taking his family out of the city, and, if anyone succeeded in doing so, to punish the master of the house and plunder his possessions.

The prince's orders raised the morale of the townspeople of Tabriz to some extent, and they set to work with a will to build barricades in the streets, dividing up the city by wards for this purpose. A local hero was placed in charge of each district, and a *qezelbāş* was allocated to each barricade with a number of reliable men. But these measures were to prove no more effective than trying to dam the course of a torrent with brushwood.

As the reader will know, Tabriz had for long been the capital of Iran; it possessed fine buildings such as mosques, *madrasas*, and various pious foundations which the rulers, viziers, and governors of the city had over the years constructed. Flourishing villages, fields, and estates were held in mortmain for the benefit of these institutions, and pleasant gardens had come into being around them. Adequately to describe the prosperity of the city is beyond the scope of my pen. The townspeople displayed such rivalry in the building and beautifying of their houses that the home of the meanest bazaar dweller was a worthy place for a mighty emir to spend the night.

During the reign of Shah Tahmasp, when Sultan Sūlāymān invaded Iran on several occasions, the people of Tabriz, who were noted for the strength of their Shi'ite convictions and their devotion to the Safavid house, performed valiant deeds on behalf of the Safavid dynasty. For this reason, Shah Tahmasp regarded the people of Tabriz with special affection. Since the majority of the citizens were merchants, artisans, and craftsmen, he waived the craft tax and absolved them from *dīvan* dues. The Shah's concern for these classes of society was such that he ordained that a *qāzī*-ye *aḥdās* (judge with jurisdiction in respect of the night watch) be appointed; that the *dārūgas* should conduct their cases in the presence of the *qāzī*-ye *aḥdās*, and that persons found guilty should be subject to the penalties prescribed by religious law and should not be fined.

After a long period of peace, the prosperity of the city of Tabriz had reached a pitch unequaled in the Islamic world. Such was the city now to be subjected to rapine and plunder; those of its inhabitants who survived the sword fled from their homes, and men of substance were brought low, in accordance with God's word: "Surely kings, when they enter a country, despoil it, and turn the highest of its people into the lowest. And this they will do."⁹⁹

In Azerbaijan, the Shah and Ḥamza Mirzā waited in vain for a sign of the *qezelbaş*, but none came, either from the Takkalū and Turkman tribes they had tried to conciliate, or from the armies of Fārs, Iraq, and Kerman. Sultan Mohammad Shah, with the baggage, marched toward Uzūmdeh and Dezmār; Ḥamza Mirzā, with a small force consisting of emirs, principal officers of state, *qūrčis*, and personal retainers of the royal family, moved off in a different direction, with the intention of giving battle to the Ottomans. The *qūrčbast*, with a small force of *qūrčis*, remained with the Shah.

⁹⁹Koran, 27:35.

Hamza Mirzā made for Tabriz from Marand, keeping to the mountains all the way, and watching the huge Ottoman army advancing from Tasūj.⁹⁴ He hoped for an opportunity to attack them and retreat into the mountains if he and his men appeared in danger of being overwhelmed. When the Ottomans saw the *qezelbāš* force, several regiments, contrary to the usual Ottoman practice, came out from behind the transport wagons and charged the *qezelbāš*. After inflicting heavy casualties on the Ottomans, the *qezelbāš*, following orders from Hamza Mirzā, fell back on both flanks, still fighting, and suffering some casualties in the process. In view of the immense size of the Ottoman army and the fact that Hamza Mirzā had less than twelve thousand men with him in all, he considered a pitched battle with the Ottomans an impossibility, and ‘Osmān Pasha advanced steadily until he reached Sūrāb, just outside Tabriz.

The people of Tabriz were filled with fear at the size of the Ottoman army. After several assaults, the Ottomans reached the barricades in the vicinity of the royal palace. There was some brief resistance before the Ottomans smashed down the barricades with cannon and mortar fire and reached the Meydān-e Şahēbabād. Civilians and military alike realized that further resistance was impossible; their scattered forces were unable to regroup anywhere to make a stand. Hoseynqolī Sultan and Pīr Ğeyb Khan, with the rest of the *qezelbāš*, left the city that night and rejoined the royal camp. The people of Tabriz, deprived of *qezelbāš* support, sent a delegation to ‘Osmān Pasha consisting of Kamrān Beg Owħādi, who was *qāzī*, and Mowlānā Mohammad ‘Ali, the son of Mowlānā ‘Enāyat, who was the *moftī* and *şeyk al-eslām*, to beg him to grant them security of life and property. ‘Osmān Pasha upbraided them, but since he had seen much of the fighting qualities of the Tabrizis, he considered it more diplomatic to adopt a conciliatory policy. He promised them quarter, said that henceforth they should consider themselves subjects of the Ottoman sultan. He ordered them to return to the city and report to their fellows what they had seen and heard.

Men of intelligence realized, however, that the Ottomans had rancor in their hearts against the Tabrizis and, because of the difference of religious faith, would not mix amicably with them. The Tabrizis began to bury their money and belongings in cellars, secret hiding places, and pits, and to slip out of the city at night with their families, in twos and threes, on foot and on horseback. If they took any money

⁹⁴On the north shore of Lake Orūmīya (Reżā’Iya).

with them, they were robbed and stripped by robbers on the way. 'Oşmân Pasha entered the city, but finding the palace unsuitable for fortification, moved his forces from Şûrâb to Çarandâb, on the south side of the city, and laid the foundations of a fort there. The construction work, divided up among his men, was completed in forty days, despite harrying attacks both by day and by night by *qezelbaş* who had retired to Mount Sorkâb. The *qezelbaş* were not able to form an accurate estimate of the size of the Ottoman army. The Ottomans completed the fort according to plan, stocked it with provisions, and equipped it with siege guns and mortars. The eunuch Ja'far Pasha was appointed commandant of the fort and governor of Tabriz.

During the construction of the fort, 'Oşmân Pasha permitted a general massacre to be perpetrated in Tabriz. The reason given for this was the lack of cooperation on the part of the townspeople. At night, ruffians from the city would creep into Ottoman tents, make off with anything of value they could find, and if they got the opportunity, kill the inmates. In addition, the townspeople would go to the fort by night and tear down what had been built during the day. On one occasion, the bath attendants at some public baths in the back-streets murdered an Ottoman soldier and threw his body down a well. This incident finally broke 'Oşmân Pasha's patience, and he burst out in anger: "The Tabrizis are a seditious lot and all deserve to be killed!"

The Ottomans slew anyone they saw in the streets, so the citizens hid themselves as best they could. The Ottomans then started on the houses, slaying all they came across and plundering the contents of the houses; the women and children they took captive. A number of people who had the ear of 'Oşmân Pasha sent to him and begged him to desist from this massacre. The Pasha called off his troops at night-fall, and the survivors left their belongings and fled from the city during the night. Enormous quantities of booty fell into the hands of the Ottomans. They were so assiduous in their search that they even extracted the treasures which had been hidden in wells, sometimes as much as twenty meters deep, on top of which had been piled rubble from ruined houses and walls.

This deed proved to be unlucky for the Pasha; in accordance with the tradition "God will not show mercy to him who refuses to show mercy to his fellow-men," the sighs and groans of the victims, and of Shi'ites of the House of the Prophet, caused the divine wrath to be

visited upon the Pasha. He died of quinsy without any sign of previous illness. During the forty or fifty days of the Ottoman occupation of Tabriz, in addition to a number of minor clashes in the streets, there were three major engagements between the *qezelbaş* and the Ottoman forces, and on each of these occasions the *qezelbaş* were victorious.

The Three Engagements between Qezelbaş and Ottoman Forces; The First Battle, in Which the Qezelbaş Were under the Command of the Qırçıbaşı, Qoli Beg

When the *qezelbaş* abandoned the defense of Tabriz, Hamza Mirzā rejoined the Shah at his camp at Üzümdel. He took counsel with Qoli Beg Afsār, an officer of sound judgment, and they admitted that it had been a mistake not to evacuate the city. Some advisers were now of the opinion that, since the city was under Ottoman occupation and the inhabitants dispersed, and in view of the shortage of regular and auxiliary forces and the numerical superiority of the enemy, no action should be taken until the Ottomans had completed the citadel and retired. As they retired, they should be kept under close observation and every opportunity of harassing them should be exploited. After they had retreated from Persian territory, an attack should be launched on the citadel at Tabriz.

The hot-tempered and impulsive Hamza Mirzā, however, could not bear the thought of inaction while the Ottomans quietly completed the construction of the citadel. He wanted to lead his forces against them in person, trusting in the Word of God, "How many a small party has triumphed over a large party, through the will of God!"⁹⁵ The *qırçıbaşı* and some of the other senior emirs were reluctant to allow the prince to expose himself by leading the attack in person. The *qırçıbaşı* proposed that he should lead the first attack and test his forces; if the results were satisfactory, the prince should lead the attack on another occasion. If his men were defeated, the prince's servants would bear the blame and not the prince himself. This plan was agreed to, and the *qezelbaş* moved to Darra-ye Nahang, four *farsaks* from Tabriz, and camped there. The prince appointed the *qırçıbaşı* commander of the assault force, and Mohammad Khan Tokmaq remained with the prince.

The *qırçıbaşı* sent men ahead as skirmishers, and they crossed

⁹⁵Korah, 2:250.

the Fahvasfanj River, which lies to the south of the city on the Iraq road, and came in sight of the Ottomans as they climbed the far bank. 'Osmān Pasha ordered Jegal-oğlū, the most valiant Ottoman commander at that time, to attack them. Jegal-oğlū, who had a low opinion of the *qezelbaş* and moreover could not see the *qezelbaş* center, which was still crossing the river, and thought that the skirmishers were the center, thought it safe to leave his artillery and gun carriages and to charge the enemy. At that point the main *qezelbaş* force breasted the far bank of the river and charged the Ottoman center at full gallop; some ten thousand Ottomans were killed in this single charge.

The Ottomans broke and fled; some men of note were taken prisoner by the *qezelbaş*, and Jegal-oğlū leapt on to a racing mare, which he kept ready for just such an emergency, and left the field. A *qezelbaş* trooper, Kür Seyyedî Keneslû, claimed to have wounded Jegal-oğlū with a spear thrust, but this was not verified. 'Osmān Pasha, receiving reports of the astonishing prowess of the *qezelbaş*, kept on sending reinforcements; but the *qırçıbaşı* wisely withdrew his men before these could reach the scene. That night, the *qezelbaş* camped on the banks of the river. The following day they returned to camp to display the heads of the Ottoman dead and the weapons and prisoners they had taken. Some townspeople from Tabriz who had escaped from the city and reached the royal camp reported that they had heard this defeat had made the Ottomans take the *qezelbaş* more seriously, and that 'Osmān Pasha had reprimanded Jegal-oğlū and accused him of cowardice and poor tactics.

The Second and Third Battles, in Which the Qezelbaş Were Led by Hamza Mirzä

After a breathing space of four or five days, Hamza Mirzä led the *qezelbaş*, numbering ten to twelve thousand men, in person in a further attack against the Ottomans. This time, 'Osmān Pasha sent against them Morâd Pasha, the *beglerbeg* of Qarâmân, and Môhammad Pasha, the *beglerbeg* of Diär Bakr, with the army of Anatolia. The skirmishers from both armies clashed on the banks of the Fahvasfanj River, and the fighting went on all day, with charge and countercharge. The *qırçıbaşı* and the senior emirs tried to restrain Hamza Mirzä, but in vain, and he led his troop of young heroes against the Ottomans, inflicting heavy casualties. The prince, set on the destruction of the enemy, refused to break off the action at night-

fall; on the Ottoman side, the pashas stood their ground, and lighted torches.

At this point, Ḥamza Mīrzā ordered Šāhroḵ Khan, who was on the Safavid left, to detach himself from the main body and attack the Ottoman right. Šāhroḵ led off his men, who included Zu'l-Qadars, and men from Qarāja-dāğ and the Šeykāvand tribes. As they crossed the river, they outflanked the Ottoman center. The Ottoman center, hearing the sound of fifes at its rear and simultaneously faced by a frontal attack by Ḥamza Mīrzā, broke up in confusion. The two pashas, who had tried unsuccessfully to rally their men, were taken prisoner. Since Mohammad Pasha was severely wounded and unlikely to live, he was decapitated. Morād Pasha, who had been taken prisoner by 'Alī Beg Sams al-Dīnlū, and the other prisoners, the most important of whom was Yūsuf Aqa, the Sultan's chief taster (*čašnī-girbāšī*), were led before the prince. The *qezelbāš* pursued the Ottomans all the way back to their camp at Čarandāb, and actually captured some of them among their own tents.

Since it was by now pitch dark, the *qezelbāš* returned to their camp. The following day was devoted to displaying the heads of the enemy dead and the captured weapons, and to rewarding those who had distinguished themselves by their gallantry. Morād Pasha and a few other captives of special note were sent on to the Shah's camp, whence they were taken to Qahqaha. For a few days, the *qezelbāš* rested their horses near the Fahvasfanj River, and then again prepared for battle. 'Oṣmān Pasha ordered his main force of some forty or fifty thousand men to mount guard on their camp and not to stir from it, since he was impressed by the amount of damage Ḥamza Mīrzā had managed to inflict on him with such a small body of men. However, his resources in men were still such that he could maintain a force of this size in battle readiness, and at the same time proceed with the construction of the citadel.

When the *qezelbāš* realized that 'Oṣmān Pasha did not intend to commit his forces to a major engagement, they decided on a policy of hit-and-run raids in order to give the Ottoman forces no respite. Their plan was to attack any Ottoman group which was prepared to give battle and, with luck, to break through their lines into the Ottoman camp without drawing rein, to continue fighting as long as they appeared to hold the advantage, and then to withdraw. With this resolve, the *qezelbāš* standards moved forward, with the royal para-

sol in the center. When the Safavid skirmishers reached the Ottoman lines, those who had been ordered to guard the camp maintained their positions and did not advance; the *qezelbaş* advanced with extreme caution, suspecting a trap and maintaining a guard on all sides. Night came without an engagement, and the *qezelbaş* camped on the spot.

The prince gave orders that a close guard was to be mounted all night; toward dawn, they would launch an assault and inflict as much damage on the enemy as possible before he could bring all his forces to bear. During the night, a daring *gazi* patrol penetrated the Ottoman lines and brought back a few prisoners from one of the enemy tents. They were immediately interrogated by the prince as to why the Ottomans had refused to give battle that day. They were only ordinary soldiers, with not much idea of the Ottoman commander's battle plans, but they declared that the latter had held several secret sessions with his staff officers, discussing plans for an Ottoman withdrawal, and that the men had received no orders other than to maintain a careful watch on the camp. At that moment, fires suddenly flared up all over the Ottoman camp. Old soldiers said that this was a sign that the enemy was about to strike camp, and that each man was burning the stocks of firewood he had accumulated in his tent. This seemed to corroborate what the prisoners had said.

About midnight, a Tabrizi made his way to the Safavid lines from the Ottoman camp, where he had been well treated by an Ottoman nobleman, who had protected him from being molested by the soldiery. He brought the news that 'Oşmān Pasha had been stricken by quinsy two days previously and had not stirred from his tent, but had died the previous night, the news being withheld from the men the following day. Jegal-oğlu had assumed command, and had called together all the pashas and other senior officers at the end of the day and asked their advice on how to proceed.

There had been a unanimous vote in favor of withdrawing from Iran, and the plan was to strike camp in the morning. However, it was only a few days since Ja'far Pasha had been sent to the citadel with orders to lay in a year's supplies; some of the pashas pointed out that, since this task had not been completed, the *qezelbaş* would take the citadel with ease once the main army had left. Why should the garrison, numbering several thousand men, be left to their fate? Jegal-oğlu had given Ja'far Pasha the choice of staying or leaving.

The latter had replied that, if he had not occupied the citadel, he would have left with the main army; now that he was in possession of the citadel, however, it would be a blow to the fortunes of their sultan if he were to abandon the citadel just because 'Osmān Pasha had died. "I will place myself in God's hands," he said; "do you strike camp. Whatever happens is God's will."

The Ottoman nobleman, said the Tabrizī, had returned to his tent direct from the council of war and had recounted to him what had taken place there. He had said, "We march in the morning. Since the *qezelbāš* are close at hand, there will probably be a fierce battle, and you will lose your life in the process. It is still dark. If you can get yourself to the *qezelbāš* camp, then go." "He then," said the Tabrizī, "gave me a few men as an escort through the Ottoman lines, and they turned back only when they could see the dark mass of the *qezelbāš* guard patrols." The Tabrizī gave it as his opinion that the Ottomans had been shaken by the death of 'Osmān Pasha, and by the bravery and temerity of Ḥamza Mirzā and the *qezelbāš*. He thought it unlikely that the Janissaries and others detailed to garrison the citadel would agree to stay; and, if they refused to stay, Ja'far Pasha would be forced to leave. This was a real possibility, and was much to be desired.

This news gladdened the hearts of the *qezelbāš*. Despite the disparity in numbers, they prepared to attack in the morning. Jegāl-oğlū marched off, with a strong vanguard and rear guard. The Safavid skirmishers passed Čarandāb, the site of the Ottoman camp, and made contact with the Ottomans near Šanb-e Čazān. Ḥamza Mirzā led the main Safavid force forward from Čarandāb, urging his men on to battle, and they drove the Ottomans back among their gun carriages, camels, and baggage.

There is little doubt that, had the strength of the *qezelbāš* been slightly greater, and had they fought with spirit, they might have inflicted a major defeat on the Ottomans on the day 'Osmān Pasha died and the Ottoman army was without a leader. This did not happen for several reasons: first, the *qezelbāš* were few in number, and the Ottomans knew that Ḥamza Mirzā did not have more than ten or twelve thousand men. In addition, they knew of the disunity among the emirs, and that most of the emirs were at odds with Aliqoli Khan Fath-oğlū Ostajlū and envied him because he was the prince's favorite. They did not want his friends to obtain influence among the

qezelbāş and win the kudos of victory. Second, when the *qezelbāş*, with scant ceremony, had driven the Ottomans back among their own baggage, they had turned to looting. Looting, of course, is second nature to any soldier, and these greedy fellows, showing lamentable lack of zeal, had stopped fighting and devoted all their energies to carrying away whatever they had laid their hands on among the baggage camels and the stores. Gradually, Ḥamza Mirzā's forces had dwindled, and the impetus they had built up dissipated. Third, Jegal-oglū, who had marched about two miles from Čarandāb to Šanb-e Gāzān, when he saw his rear guard thrown into confusion and in danger of being scattered, decided to pitch camp where he was. He made a laager by placing the gun carriages on either flank, and behind them he stationed the Janissaries.

The Ottomans, seeing no further activity from the direction of the *qezelbāş*, rallied. Ḥamza Mirzā, despite the fact that a considerable proportion of his forces was scattered, wanted to stake all on a desperate attack with the men he still had with him. But the emirs considered it madness to attack the laager, and held his horse to prevent him from doing so. The prince, realizing that their motive was to protect his person, agreed to break off the action, and camped at Čarandāb. In this action, although the *qezelbāş* obtained fewer enemy heads and weapons, they captured greater quantities of booty.

When the Ottomans marched from Šanb-e Gāzān, they were harried at every stage as far as Ṭasūj by Ḥamza Mirzā, who attacked them whenever it appeared advantageous to do so, his men bringing back enemy heads and weapons. At Māyān, a considerable battle was fought. Esmā'īlqoli Khan and the Šamlūs launched an attack but were repulsed by the Ottomans. As luck would have it, that part of the plain had been irrigated, and the Šamlūs' horses sank up to their chests in the mud. If help had not arrived quickly, the Šamlūs would have been completely wiped out; but Pīr Geyb Khan Ostājlū, who was ahead with the skirmishers, came to their rescue and drove the Ottomans off. As it was, Esmā'īlqoli Khan's brother and a number of other Šamlūs were killed. From among the prince's own personal retainers, Shah Ḥoseyn Beg, the son of Zeynal Beg the *šarbātdar*,⁹⁶ and Qur Koms Khan the director of the arsenal (*jabbādār*), the son of Div Sultan Zu'l-Qadar, both of whom were enrolled among the *moqarrabs*,⁹⁷ lost their lives.

⁹⁶The official in charge of sherbets, wines, and other drinks.

⁹⁷The *jabbādārbāst* is listed by TM (p. 56) among the *moqarrab al-kāqāns*.

In short, this action was a failure. Aliqoli Khan Fath-oglu, consumed by the jealousy and envy holders of high office customarily feel toward one another, started grumbling at Pir Geyb Khan: "Why did you go to the assistance of the Šamlüs?" he asked. "Why did you not leave them to be disgraced among their peers?" When one gets squabbling like this among the army commanders, it is not difficult to surmise how effective their conduct of operations will be. Hamza Mirzā abandoned the pursuit of the Ottomans at Tasuj. He was not guilty of any shortcoming in these operations; indeed, for fourteen days he had not taken off his jerkin and armor, but was in the saddle, pursuing the enemy, from morning to night. But the enemy superiority in numbers was too great. As for the conduct of the *qezelbāš*, who were too short-sighted even to forget their differences in face of their common enemy, what am I to say?

Hamza Mirzā, with the intention of capturing the citadel, returned to Tabriz and camped at Šanb-e Čāzān. The Shah meanwhile marched back to the city from Kamar Darra with the baggage train and made his headquarters at the house of the *sadr*, Mir Asadollah Šūstari. The emirs and principal officers of state found quarters where they could in the ruined city. The author was present in the royal camp. When I walked through the city, an astonishing sight met my eye. All the houses, formerly decorated with gold and lapis lazuli, were in ruins; their carved and decorated doors and windows had been ripped off and used as firewood. All the trees in the parks and gardens had been cut down to provide a year's supply of fuel for the citadel. Of all the thousands of houses, scarcely one middle-class residence remained unscathed. All the shops, two-storied tile factories, and bathhouses had similarly been destroyed. The corpses of the townspeople still lay where they had fallen, in the streets, bazaars, and shops. The city presented a picture of total desolation.

Mir Ja'far, the son of Mir Rāstī the *mohtaseb al-mamālek*,⁹⁸ was ordered by the Shah and Hamza Mirzā to arrange the burial of the dead and to clear the streets of dung and the corpses of animals which had died because of lack of food. The citizens of Tabriz, who had dispersed to the villages and fields, began to trickle back into the city. They found their homes in ruins, and no sign of money and belongings they had hidden away. Both civilians and military cooperated to make the city fit for habitation again, and the Shah spent the winter at Tabriz.

⁹⁸For the duties of this official, see *TM*, p. 83.

The Siege of the Citadel at Tabriz

The emirs began to construct breastworks around the citadel; on the east side, the direction of the Meydān-e Şahēbabād and the Mosque of Üzün Ḥasan, the work was allocated to Hamza Mīrzā and his personal retainers, including 'Alīqolı Khan Fath-oğlū, and to the Tabriz auxiliaries; the construction of breastworks on the southern side, the direction of the Sanjārān⁹⁹ and Deljūya districts, was allocated to the *qürçibāš* and his *qürçis*, and to various emirs. Other sections were allocated to Sāhroğ Khan and the Zu'l-Qadar tribe, and to Mohammadı Khan Tokmāq, the officers under the command of İmāmqolı Qajār, and the men of Qarābag. But because of their shortage of men, the *qezelbāš* were unable to construct siege works on two sides, namely, the west and the north. It was hoped that the arrival of the Takkalū and Turkman troops, so long awaited, would enable these gaps to be filled. A levy of men with spades and pick-axes was made throughout Azerbaijan, and siege guns were cast under the supervision of Morād Beg the *tüpçibāš* (commander in chief of artillery). The mosque of Üzün Ḥasan was chosen as the starting point of a mine, and sappers started work.

A series of misfortunes, however befell the royal army during the siege operations, and lowered the morale of the *qezelbāš*. The first of these was the capture of Sāhroğ Khan the *mohrdār* (keeper of the seal), a leading Zu'l-Qadar emir. Sāhroğ Khan, a valiant officer, could not brook the presence of Ja'far Pasha, a eunuch whose responsibility was supervising the women of the harem, in the royal palace and the Hašt Behešt building at Tabriz, the seat of the *qezelbāš* for a hundred years; nor could he tolerate his having had the *koṭba* read in the name of the Ottoman sultan. He vowed he would not sleep until the citadel was taken. Such was his zeal that he threw all caution to the winds; by the end of the first week of the siege, he had carried his breastwork forward as far as a house adjacent to the wall of the fort.

Hamza Mīrzā disapproved of his rash behavior, and twice sent couriers recalling him from this exposed position, and exhorting him to carry his breastworks forward step by step, and only after making sure that his rear was secure and he was covered by musket fire. Sāhroğ Khan replied that what the prince said was correct, and his orders must be followed, but now that he had got so far, he considered it inappropriate to withdraw: within the next few days, he would either achieve his objective or die in the attempt.

⁹⁹See *Nozhat al-Qolub*, p. 79.

The following day, Ḥamza Mirzā sent Pīrī Beg Šamlū, the *eṣṭik-āqāsībāšī*, to counsel him to leave his forward station. While they were still arguing, the Ottomans made a sudden sally; most of the guards on night watch had gone off duty and the daytime guards had not yet come. A group of Janissaries sealed off the street from which *qezelbāš* reinforcements might have come with musket fire; another group surrounded the house and opened fire against the doors and windows, eventually forcing their way into the house. Šāhroķ Khan, his son Abu'l-Qāsem Sultan, known as *Zahr-e mār* (snake's poison), Pīrī Beg the *eṣṭik-āqāsībāšī*, and a number of others put up a brave resistance. Šāhroķ Khan was severely wounded and taken prisoner, and the others were killed.

By the time the *qezelbāš* counterattacks came, the Ottomans had made off with Šāhroķ Khan into the citadel. The defenders were exultant, and the besiegers correspondingly dismayed. Ḥamza Mirzā's comment was that, if anyone behaved in a headstrong manner and refused to listen to his master and benefactor, he would inevitably regret it. However, because Šāhroķ Khan had striven mightily in the cause of religion and the state, the office of keeper of the seal was conferred on his son, Salmās Khan, and another son, Tahmāspqoli Sultan, received the office formerly held by his brother Abu'l-Qāsem Sultan. Reżāqoli Beg, a young and handsome officer, was made *eṣṭik-āqāsībāšī* in place of his father, Pīrī Beg. The Zu'l-Qadar troops retained their station at the fatal breastwork, but were unable to achieve anything more than holding their position.

The second misfortune to strike the besiegers was the loss of one of their best siege guns, a famous piece dating from the time of Shah Tahmasp, which hurled a ball weighing fifteen *man*.¹⁰⁰ This gun had been playing on one of the southern towers of the citadel and had demolished about half of it. The Ottomans made a daytime sortie against the gun, scattered its crew with musket fire, tied ropes to the wheels of the cannon, and dragged it off into the fort before anyone could stop them.

The third misfortune was the delay in the casting of new siege guns. It had taken two months to assemble the necessary materials and personnel. Because of the severe cold and the lack of sunshine, the mold did not set properly and retained some moisture. When the molten brass was taken from the furnace and poured into the mold,

¹⁰⁰About 97.5 lbs.

it boiled up over the sides and was spilled in all directions. Ȧamza Mirzā was nearly injured by the molten metal, and several of his close companions were burned. So, after two months of waiting, they still had no cannon. After this debacle, Barqordār Beg, the son of Heydar Beg Anîs, was placed in charge of the casting operations. The new commander in chief of artillery collected the necessary materials in about six weeks; and in the presence of a specially convened royal assembly, at an hour judged propitious by the astrologers, he cast a large siege gun that hurled a ball weighing twenty-five *man*. The gun was transported to the breastwork where Ȧamza Mirzā was in charge, and opened fire on the fort.

Meanwhile the mining operations were being pushed ahead. The experts judged that the tunnel now extended beneath the walls of the citadel, and one night about three hundred men were sent down the tunnel to dig an exit shaft inside the fort. When they emerged into the open air they were to sound their trumpets, and this would be the signal for a general assault from the breastworks. But when the sappers opened the end of the tunnel they found that their calculations had been wrong; they had emerged in Šir Hajjî district, and several days more work was required to take them within the walls of the fort. It was agreed to postpone this work to a more appropriate time.

For the moment, all action was postponed as a result of the defection to the Ottomans of the *qûrçibâši*, Qolı Beg Afşär, one of the most important of the principal officers of state, and of his nephew, Jabbârqolı Beg, who was the *qûrçibâši* of Ȧamza Mirzā. Qolı Beg the *qûrçibâši*, with Moḥammad Khan and the other conspirators, had been involved in the murder of Ȧamza Mirzā's mother, Mahd-e 'Olyā, in the assassination of Mirzā Salmân, and in other actions which had been abhorrent to the prince. The prince had always had the intention of taking revenge on these men when opportunity offered, but the Ottoman invasion had forced him to dissimulate and to postpone any action against them. The *qûrçibâši*, not being a fool, knew what was in the prince's mind, and consequently was always fearful of what he might do; for his part, the prince constantly regarded him with suspicion.

At this juncture, Moḥammad Khan and Valî Khan, who had banded together to seek revenge for the execution of Emir Khan, had moved their forces close to Tabriz and adopted a rebellious posture. Ȧamza

Mirzā knew that, although the *qürçibāši* was the most important of the principal officers of state, he was secretly in sympathy with the rebels. If they were to meet, all sorts of mischief might result. 'Aliqolı Khan Fath-oğlū and Məhəmməd Sərū Süləg, who had been primarily responsible for getting Emir Khan executed, now urged upon the prince the necessity of getting rid of the *qürçibāši* before he could make contact with the rebels. Once they joined forces, they said, they would be able to do anything they wished. The prince accordingly decided to get rid of the *qürçibāši*. Tahmāspqolı Sultan Areşlū Afşar, the son of Emir Aşlan Khan, who had just arrived at court with three hundred men of the Areşlū clan, was appointed *qürçibāši* on condition that he undertook to do the deed.

Qolı Beg's nervousness had increased in proportion as the rebels approached; feigning sickness, he left his post on the breastworks and retired to his house to await their arrival. Jabbarqolı Beg, his nephew, happened to hear of the appointment of Tahmāspqolı Sultan and rushed to Qolı Beg's house. They saw no alternative but to defect to the Ottomans. At the very moment when Tahmāspqolı Sultan was on his way to Qolı Beg's house with his troops, they slipped out across the garden and made their way to the walls of the citadel, where they removed their *qezelbāš* hats and threw them away. The Ottomans, who had been watching all this from the battlements, opened the gates and admitted them.

The Ottomans considered this a blow to the *qezelbāš* and a piece of good fortune for themselves. The same day, Jabbarqolı Beg informed the Ottomans about the tunnel and took them to the exit shaft in Şır Hajjı. The Ottomans opened up the mouth of the shaft, cleared the tunnel of sappers with musket fire, and stormed down the tunnel, emerging at the *madrasa* of Üzün Hasan; a melee occurred at the breastwork there. Hamza Mirzā came up with 'Aliqolı Khan, and heavy fighting ensued in which both sides suffered casualties. The Ottomans used the tunnel as cover from which to fire at the defenders of the breastwork. The *qezelbāš* were forced to make holes in the roof of the tunnel at several points, push straw through the holes, and set fire to it to smoke the Ottomans out. They also poured water into the tunnel, and this caused it to cave in and effectively blocked it. Thus two or three months work on the tunnel, which with luck might have led to the capture of the fort, came to naught. At this point, Hamza Mirzā was forced to leave the defense of the breastworks to the Tabrizis and local irregulars in order to deal with the Turkman-Takkalū rebellion.

A notable death this year, which occurred during the siege of the citadel, was that of the *sadr*, Mîr Šams al-Dîn Moḥammad Kâbişî Kermâni. He died of cachexy. He was a *seyyed* of noble birth and a man of great ability, skilled in the sciences of mathematics, geometry, geomancy, and astrology. He was a witty conversationalist, and composed good poetry under the pen-name of Fahmî. When he was appointed to the office of *sadr*, Sultan Moḥammad Shah honored him by giving him great power and influence in office and entrusting to him the administration of all matters, both great and small, connected with the religious law. Mîr Šams al-Dîn, within the space of two or three years, distributed among the *seyyeds*, the *'olama*, the poor, students, and deserving persons in every walk of life the sum of almost one hundred thousand *tomân* which he found in the treasury in the form of cash and turquoise dust. They had accrued to the treasury from lands held in mortmain throughout the empire, from the votive gifts of Shah Tahmasp, and from the twenty percent tax on the turquoise mines. Many people, as the result of his efforts, became the recipients of royal benefactions.

The Takkalū-Turkman Rebellion

It was generally believed that the coalition of Takkalū and Turkman emirs intended to proceed to the royal camp and force Ḥamza Mîrzâ to act in accordance with their wishes. Their plan was to hand over to Emir Khan's sons for capital punishment Aliqolî Khan Fâth-oglu, Moḥammadi Sarû Sûlag, and the others responsible for his execution. They would then dislodge the Şamlû and Ostâjlû tribes from their favored position at court and see that no member of those two tribes had access to positions of power; the Takkalûs and Turkmans would then be in control of the affairs of state as in times past. Having agreed on this course of action, the Takkalû and Turkman emirs had dispersed to their tribal districts to mobilize their men, after which they planned to meet at an agreed rendezvous.

Sûlag Hoseyn Takkalû, who held a fief in the Hamadan area, had strenuously opposed this plan and had tried to prevent Valî Khan from being incited to rebellion by the Turkmans. He had been ordered, he said, to guard the Baghdad frontier, and until such time as he received a royal order to report to the royal camp, he would not leave his station. He said that kings controlled the lives and pay of their troops, and it would not be compatible with their duty and loyalty to the king and the prince to voice any criticism in regard to

their treatment of Emir Khan. Valı Khan was afraid of what Sülag Hoseyn might do, and particularly afraid that the latter might wean the Takkalū emirs from their loyalty to himself. But in the end he succeeded in winning the support of the majority of the Takkalū emirs. Together with Mohammad Khan, they marched against Sülag Hoseyn. Sülag Hoseyn was severely wounded in the battle, in which his men fought in a half-hearted manner; he was taken prisoner by Valı Khan, who got rid of him during his advance on Tabriz.

When the Takkalū-Turkman coalition received the news of the withdrawal of the Ottoman forces from Tabriz and the siege of the citadel by the royal army, they proceeded toward Tabriz, ostensibly answering the prince's summons, but with the secret intention of furthering their own designs. Their forces included the Turkmans from Kashan, Qom, and Sāva; Mosīb Khan Ṣaraf al-Dīn-oğlu Takkalū from Tehran; Moqtār Sultan, his nephew, from Varāmīn; Valı Khan Takkalū, with his son Ali Sultan Pākmāl, and the brothers, sons, and followers of Emir Khan from Hamadan. Their couriers scoured Iraq for other Turkmans and Takkalūs. Mohammad Khan also won over to their cause Ommat Khan Zu'l-Qadar, the *amīr al-omarā* of Fārs, who had been slow in answering the prince's mobilization call because his men had been disbanded and sent on leave after the Khorasan campaign. Ommat Khan agreed to join Mohammad Khan because he was persuaded that the crisis could be settled through the good offices of the latter, to the satisfaction of the Shah and all concerned.

Although the fact that the emirs had assembled and acted in concert in this way was indicative of their rebellious intent, Ḥamza Mīrzā wanted the facts of the matter to be publicly known, and he opened negotiations with them. First, a messenger was sent to them on behalf of the Shah, who recalled their past services to the Safavid house and stated that their duty clearly dictated that they should have hurried to the defense of Tabriz as soon as they heard of the Ottoman invasion; they need not have awaited an official call to arms, and in any case there was no need for them to have delayed their departure by assembling at a rendezvous. If they had had some grievance to bring to the Shah, this could have been done after the enemy had been repulsed. Although urgent summonses had been sent requesting their assistance, they had procrastinated beyond all reasonable bounds, and now that they *had* come, they had come all together, thus demonstrating their seditious intent. If they were

genuine in their protestations of loyalty, they should split up and proceed separately to Tabriz to perform the ceremony of kissing the Shah's feet. A separate message was sent to Mosīb Khan Ṣaraf al-Dīn-oğlū Takkalū. It mentioned the close ties of kinship between him and the Shah, and asked what business he had getting involved in a dispute in which the Turkman emirs were accusing Ḥamza Mīrzā of being responsible for the death of Emir Khan. The message urged him to dissociate himself from the Turkmans and to proceed on his own to Tabriz.

The Takkalū and Turkman emirs replied that the Shah was well aware of the long-standing feud between the Takkalūs and Turkmans on the one hand, and the Šamlūs and Ostajlūs on the other. This feud had been revived by recent events in Khorasan, in which the Takkalūs and Turkmans, to demonstrate their loyalty to Ḥamza Mīrzā, had slain many *qezelbāš* from those two tribes. Now the Šamlūs and Ostajlūs had won the favor of Ḥamza Mīrzā, and had turned the prince against themselves. The execution of Emir Khan was clear proof of their mischievous intent, because Emir Khan had done nothing to merit death. "Our request is," concluded the emirs, "that the Šamlūs and Ostajlūs be removed from positions of influence around Ḥamza Mīrzā; the reason why we have come together in this way is that we are afraid of our enemies." Mosīb Khan excused his association with the other emirs in terms appropriate to his situation.

To this the Shah and the prince rejoined that all the devoted *qezelbāš* tribes deserved a fitting reward for their services. It was true that some members of the Šamlū and Ostajlū tribes had staged a revolt in Khorasan. On the other hand, other members of those same tribes in Iraq and Azerbaijan were the obedient servants of the crown, and had performed outstanding services on its behalf—particularly men like Moḥammadī Khan Tokmāq, who was one of the senior Ostajlū emirs, and the sons of Valī Kalīfa Šamlū. They should not be punished for the crimes of others. Aliqolī Khan Fath-oğlū, who was the recipient of royal patronage, had been in the service of Ḥamza Mīrzā since the accession of Sultan Moḥammad Shah; his conduct had been unexceptionable, and he had not been guilty of any misdeemeanor. So if he had been the recipient of royal favor, what was wrong with that, and why should other *qezelbāš* tribes resent it?

As to the matter of Emir Khan, this action had been taken by Ḥamza Mīrzā entirely on his own responsibility, because Emir Khan

had incurred his displeasure. It was no time to discuss this matter when Tabriz was in the hands of the enemy. The situation demanded that the emirs should assist in the capture of the citadel at Tabriz, and should desist from seditious activity. "If you persist in your attitude of rebellion," concluded the Shah and the prince, "we judge it necessary to take military action against you, since you are unable to see what the overall good of the state demands and are impervious apparently to feelings of shame at your disloyal conduct."

The emirs replied by reiterating their devotion to the crown. "But," they said, "we have banded together to resist our enemies; when we reach the foot of the throne, we will carry out any commands of the Shah and the prince which do not provide gratification for our enemies."

Next, Hamza Mirzā tried to detach Ommat Khan, the *amīr al-omarā* of Fārs and the leader of the Zu'l-Qadar tribe, from the coalition. The prince reminded the Khan that it was he who had appointed him to his governorate. The Zu'l-Qadar tribe had always been loyal Sufis devoted to the Safavid house; at no time had they been close friends of the Takkalū and Turkman tribes, nor had they suffered any affliction from their enemies. Consequently, said the prince, if the Takkalūs and Turkmans, in order to achieve their own ends, had elected to act in concert and march together on Tabriz, what had this got to do with the Zu'l-Qadar tribe? If the Zu'l-Qadars were relying on the wisdom of the Takkalū and Turkman leaders to settle the crisis, there were other and equally wise heads at court of which use could be made. They should come to court and enter into discussions with the senior chiefs of the tribes; a course of action would be determined upon that would be in the best interests of the state. The alternative was to be treated as rebels, like the Takkalūs and Turkmans, and they would share the infamy which was the lot of traitors.

This message was conveyed to the emirs' camp by Ḥabib Beg Zu'l-Qadar, an *aide-de-camp* of Hamza Mirzā. Ommat Khan considered himself bound by the oaths he had sworn to Mohammad Khan and refused to submit to the royal commands. Mohammad Khan and his fellow emirs, not satisfied with that, forced Ommat Khan to put Ḥabib Beg to death at Solṭāniya, despite the opposition of some of the Zu'l-Qadars to this foul deed, as proof that he was sincere in his attachment to the Turkmans.

When the coalition of emirs neared Tabriz, Ḥamza Mīrzā sent another envoy, 'Alī Khan Beg Torkmān, the *dārūğā* of the secretariat,¹⁰¹ one of the sons of Fathı Beg Parvāncı-oğlu and a leading emir of that clan, whose ancestors had a tradition of outstanding service to the state. 'Alī Khan Beg's mission was to try and bring the coalition emirs back to their allegiance and obedience to the prince's commands; to get them to desist from discussing Emir Khan; and to obtain from them a promise not to enter a dispute with Aḥiqolı Khan Fath-oğlu and Moḥammadı Beg Sārū Sūlāğ on this matter. After the citadel at Tabriz had been captured, provision would be made for the posterity of Emir Khan in a manner satisfactory to Moḥammad Khan. However, when 'Alī Khan reached the emirs' camp, he pleaded an indisposition and did not return.

When the coalition finally reached the outskirts of Tabriz and camped there, Ḥamza Mīrzā sent yet another envoy, Adham Khan Torkmān, the son of Heydar Sultan Čābūq, who was an honored emir in his service and a friend of Aḥiqolı Khan. Adham Khan had been wont to hang his head in shame at royal assemblies during the recital of the misdemeanors of the Turkmans. Ḥamza Mīrzā now gave him the opportunity to sublimate his guilt feelings by going to the emirs' camp and counseling them not to continue on the path of revolt. If they had a mind to accept his advice, they could use him as a mediator and return to duty. If not, Adham Khan should remain with his tribe, because it was obvious that, if the emirs were bent on revolt, they would keep Adham Khan with them as they had kept Aḥiqolı Khan and others.

Adham Khan departed on his mission, but went the way of his predecessors. His words had no effect, and Moḥammad Khan was delighted to see him and kept him with him. The emirs were now at Sa'īdābād, only four *farsaqs* from Tabriz, and the Takkalūs and Turkmans who were in the royal camp, fearful of their fate, began to slip away to join the coalition emirs. Not only that, but Kaçal Moṣṭafa Afşar, who after the defection of Jabbārqolı Beg to the Ottomans had been appointed *qürçibāşı* to Ḥamza Mīrzā, joined the rebels without apparent cause. Anyone who for any reason had a grudge against Ḥamza Mīrzā also slipped away by night to join them.

At this juncture, Ḥamza Mīrzā, fearing a sudden démarche on the

¹⁰¹ *Dārūğā-ye daftarbāna*; he was subordinate to the comptroller of finance (See TM, p. 122); Chardin renders his title as *prévôt de la chambre* (see TM, p. 198).

part of the rebels, moved the Shah, the royal princes, and the members of the harem from their royal residence in the city to the house and castle of Emir Khan. These were located in the direction of the Ottoman fort and the breastwork commanded by Ḥamza Mirzā; they were the residence of ‘Alīqolı Khan, and Ḥamza Mirzā had made them the headquarters from which he directed the siege operations. ‘Alīqolı Khan thus became the host of the royal family and responsible for its safety. He ordered a number of the great emirs, with men of the royal bodyguard and personal retainers of the royal family, to maintain a constant guard on the royal residence, and other troops constantly patrolled the area up to the end of the main street that carried traffic to Iraq.

The coalition emirs now advanced from Sa‘idābād to Fahvasfanj, two *farsaks* from the city, and sent forward armed patrols. The next day they sent to the Shah an envoy who restated their previous position: the Ostājlū tribe, they said, was guilty of slaying Emir Khan without cause; they considered ‘Alīqolı Khan answerable for his blood. Ḥamza Mirzā should arrest the murderers and hand them over to the sons of Emir Khan for execution; they could no longer tolerate the sight of them basking in royal favor and holding important positions in the state. Ḥamza Mirzā did not shift from his former position either. Negotiations continued, but it was clear that the coalition emirs would not return to their allegiance unless their demands were satisfied, and there was a strong possibility that they might enter the city and try to obtain their ends by force. Ḥamza Mirzā considered this an affront to his dignity as a prince. He abandoned his attempts at negotiation and began to upbraid the rebels in harsh terms.

The coalition emirs remained at Fahvasfanj for two more days, and then moved into the city in battle order, with skirmishers thrown out in front. Ḥamza Mirzā insisted that the Shah himself should mount his horse, and he rode off at his father’s side. The prince was by now so enraged by the behavior of the rebels that none of the principal officers of state dared to utter any protest at this action. By the time that the royal party had reached the beginning of the main avenue, the Ostājlū forward patrols had already engaged the rebels.

After a number of contestants had been wounded, a group of emirs (Emāmqolı Khan Qajar, the *beglerbeg* of Qarābāğ; Moḥammadī Khan Tokmāq; Seyyed Beg Kamūna; Şāhqolı Kolafā-ye Rümlü; and

Aliqolı Khan), rode up to the prince and held his horse's reins while they made the following loyal address to him: "It is not fitting that illustrious kings should in person take the field against their rebellious subjects. Further, it is already evening. If your royal highness rides forward only a few more steps, many men will lose their lives this dark night. Are the rebels so powerful as to justify your taking punitive action against them in person? Our advice is that you retire for tonight and delay further action against the rebels for a few days. It may be that your loyal servants can persuade them to humble themselves and submit to you. If we fail in our attempt, there is no need to worry your royal head about them—we can cope with them quite adequately." Ḥamza Mirzā followed their advice, recalled his patrols, reported the situation to his father, the Shah, and they returned together.

The next day, the coalition emirs sent a request that a team of negotiators be appointed. Ḥamza Mirzā refused to send anyone, considering it beneath his dignity to negotiate further with the rebels. However, the Shah acceded to their request and sent the *qāzī*-ye 'askar (military chaplain), Mir Abu'l-Vali Enjū (who later became *sadr*); Seyyed Beg Kamūna; and Šahqolı Kolafā-ye Rūmlū, all moderate men. To prevent a repetition of the Adham Khan incident, when the royal envoy was detained by the rebels, it was stipulated that the negotiators from both sides should advance from opposite ends of the main avenue, and should meet and conduct their negotiations on horseback halfway down the avenue, under the watchful eye of their respective patrols, and should then return.

The negotiators for the rebels inquired why Ḥamza Mirzā, merely for his own satisfaction, was sheltering two troublemakers from tribes which had caused all sorts of strife in Khorasan, at the expense of alienating three loyal tribes like the Turkmans, Takkalūs, and Zu'l-Qadars. They also inquired why, at a time when the Ottomans were occupying a citadel in Tabriz, he was seeking to disperse ten thousand men who had braved the rigors of winter to reach Tabriz. The Shah's negotiating team made soothing replies. The gist of these replies was that the Ostajlū and Šamlū tribes were also loyal *qezelbāš* tribes. At the moment, there were some ten thousand members of these two tribes living in Iraq, and their destruction would throw the Ostajlū and Šamlū tribes into despair. The Shah cultivated them in the hope of encouraging the Korāsanī branches of these tribes to return to their allegiance, and it was much better for the rebels not to try and

swim in these deep waters. After a great deal of discussion, the Shah's negotiators succeeded in persuading the rebels to refrain from demanding satisfaction for the death of Emir Khan.

"But," went on the rebels, "Aliqoli Khan and Mohammadi Saru Sulag are the authors of all this trouble, and have poisoned the Shah's mind against us. If, for the sake of the security of the realm, they cannot be deprived of royal favor, at least, for the sake of soothing the hearts of the Turkman tribe and the sons and followers of Emir Khan, let them be sent to some provincial governorate, say in the Hamadan area, so that they no longer remain at court. This will go some way toward restoring the prestige of the Turkman tribe, and will enable us to return to court in the Shah's service. If these conditions are fulfilled, we are ready to present ourselves at court whenever the Shah shall command." The royal negotiators dutifully reported all this, but no action was taken because Hamza Mirza was determined to protect Aliqoli Khan and Mohammadi.

These two men expressed their gratitude to the prince in a royal assembly. "However," they said, "we cannot agree to any course of action which is to the detriment of the state. Two men cannot be weighed in the scales against ten thousand. We will carry out without delay whatever course of action is, in the judgment of your royal highness, in the best interests of the state." The prince replied that his stubborn determination not to yield in this matter was not for their sakes, but for his own, because he had chosen to extend his patronage to them. The attacks of their enemies were an insult to himself, and to expel them from court would be bad policy and evidence of the weakness of the throne. He would therefore stand firm, and would never consent to any course of action of which he disapproved. God, he said, would soon judge between himself and those traitors. Meanwhile, the two men were to remain where they were.

The next day, an astonishing incident occurred at court. Esma'il-qoli, the brother of Hoseyn 'Ali Alkasan-oglu Zu'l-Qadar, who was one of the troublemakers among the *qezelbasi* and was constantly instigating mischief of some kind, went to see Hamza Mirza with a number of other troublemakers like Tahmaspqoli Beg Afsar the *qapuci* (doorkeeper), the brother of Sahsavar Beg the chief doorkeeper, and Kalifa Qajar and other members of the royal bodyguard who were on guard duty. Adopting a hypocritical attitude of humble submission, they declared that the most important people at court

were the members of the royal bodyguard. "We are involved in every aspect of state affairs, and other people have no option but to obey us. Now, however, we find ourselves in a quandary. We do not understand why, for the sake of 'Aliqolı Khan Fath-oğlù and Moḥammad Sārū Sūlāğ, such a division has been allowed to occur between the *qezelbāş* tribes that civil war will ensue. Why are the Turkman, Takkalū and Zu'l-Qadar emirs not allowed to play their part in capturing the citadel from the Ottomans?"

A number of those brainless simpletons who are called *pīra* and *kalīfa*¹⁰² among the *qezelbāş* Sufis applauded this action on the part of the royal bodyguard, calling it "conduct appropriate to a Sufi" (*sūfīgārī*) and "true devotion to the Shah." They all decided to go to Ḥamza Mirzā, and in accordance with the normal practice between a spiritual director and his disciples, put their problem to him and ask him to resolve it. Meanwhile, the more stupid members of the royal bodyguard concocted a plan, if Ḥamza Mirzā failed to set their minds at rest, to fall on 'Aliqolı Khan and Moḥammadī in a body and to slay anyone who stood in their way. With this vicious idea in their heads, they set up a shout, "Let all who love the Shah and are well-wishers of the Safavid house gather round us." A large mob assembled, as the appeal to "those who love the Shah" became generally known, and the leaders of the group went as a delegation to see Ḥamza Mirzā. They formed a "circle of divine unity,"¹⁰³ as is the custom of Sufis of the Safavid Order, and began to chant the name of God and to declare His unity.

Before the meeting of this delegation with the prince had taken place, a group of ignorant mischief makers, looking for action and not talk, rushed into 'Aliqolı Khan's saddle shop and other workshops and started looting. A report having got around that 'Aliqolı Khan and Moḥammadī had been slain, the mob attacked and plundered the houses of most of the retainers of 'Aliqolı Khan, Moḥammadī, and other Ostājlū nobles in various wards of the city. This was joyful news to the Takkalū and Turkman emirs.

¹⁰²See R. M. Savory, "The Office of Khalīfat al-Khulafā under the Ṣafavids" in *JASOS*, 85, 4, pp. 497-502. It is interesting to find a pejorative reference to the Safavid Sufi organization as early as this; of course this may be a case of prolepsis.

¹⁰³*Halqa-e towḥid*. Every Thursday evening, the Sufis of the Safavid Order used to gather in the *towḥid-kāna* (House of Unity), which was situated close to the palace, for the purpose of performing the *zehr* ritual (chanting the name of God), etc. (see *TM*, pp. 55, 126).

Meanwhile, the delegation had pressed up against the windows of the palace and spoken to Ȧamza Mirzā, but they had only alluded to Aliqolı Khan and Moḥammadī, and had not dared actually to mention their names. Ȧamza Mirzā initially received them courteously, but pointed out that he was not their spiritual director; their *moršed* was Sultan Mohammad Shah, whom they would find at home. They should take their petition to him. He said he was the deputy and heir-apparent of their king and spiritual director, and had no ambition other than loyal service to him.

Ȧamza Mirzā ordered Esmā'ılqolı Khan Şamlü to go and find out what the trouble was really all about. Esmā'ılqolı Khan stood in the window and shouted soothing words to the delegation; God willing, he said, everything would be arranged in accordance with the interests of the state. Civil war would not be allowed to break out between the *qezelbaş* tribes; Ȧamza Mirzā did not wish strife between two groups which were both in the service of the same monarch, and would do his best to avert it.

This did not satisfy the delegates, who started shouting more loudly, and this time, when the prince inquired whom they were talking about, Aliqolı Khan spoke up and said that, although they were using allusions, they were in fact referring to him. "They want," he said, "to make myself and Moḥammadī the victims of royal wrath in order to appease the rebel emirs and make it possible for them to return to court without fears and apprehensions. We have repeatedly said that our lives are at the disposal of your royal highness." Ȧamza Mirzā replied: "If this is the case, they should be talking to me, not you, because I was responsible for the execution of Emir Khan, and it is I who have extended my patronage to you."

Esmā'ılqolı Khan failed in his attempts to satisfy the delegates and persuade them to depart; on the contrary, they became bolder and began to shout distinctly the names of Aliqolı Khan and Moḥammadī. Why should the foundations of the state be shaken, they said, for the sake of two troublemakers? They abused Esmā'ılqolı Khan and reviled him: "You are one of the seditious people who deserve to be put to death. You should be the first to be killed." Ȧamza Mirzā, who hated Hoseyn 'Ali Alkasan-oğlu because the latter was one of the murderers of his mother, now flared up with rage at the insolence of the protest group. He drew his sword and waded into the rioters. The first person whose blood was up sufficiently to oppose him was Hoseyn 'Ali, and Ȧamza Mirzā killed him with one blow of

his sword. After him, Tahmāspqolı Beg the doorkeeper, and anyone else who had the temerity to stand against him, were also slain, and the rest scattered.

After this incident, the prince showed more favor than ever to Əli-qoli Khan. The latter had lost his turban jewel, his turban, and his *qezelbaş* hat when his saddle room was looted. The prince replaced these with a brocade turban, a turban cloth woven with gold threads, and a distinctive turban jewel of his own. Əliqolı Khan was then ordered to take the Ostājlü emirs and parade through the city to put down rumors of his death. The following night, however, an even more astonishing event took place.

When he received the news of this setback to his hopes, Məhəmməd Khan conceived the plan of abducting one of the royal princes, retiring to Iraq, and proclaiming him king. Two princes, Abū Tāleb Mırzā and Tahmasp Mırzā, were with their father and brother in Emir Khan's fort. At night, guardians (*lala* and *dada*) were stationed to guard their bedroom, which was near the Shah's private quarters. Abū Tāleb's *lala* and *dada* were both Takkalüs; his *lala*, Kəlil Beg Takkalū, had remained in Iraq and at that time was with the coalition emirs.

Abū Tāleb Mırzā was an intelligent boy, and the emirs realized it would be difficult to deceive him. On the other hand, Tahmasp Mırzā was still a youngster, and his *lala*, Keykəsrow Beg Gorjı, was an ingenuous officer of limited intelligence. Məhəmməd Khan persuaded two Turkman members of the royal bodyguard to suborn Keykəsrow with promises of a governorship and monetary rewards, and to abduct Tahmasp Mırzā and bring him to the Turkman camp. Keykəsrow agreed to have two swift horses ready at the appointed time beneath the tower where the prince slept and to abduct the prince, either still drugged with sleep as is usual with children (the prince was ten years old at the time), or awake, as the case might be, and lower him in a sack by a rope from the battlements. All went according to plan, and Keykəsrow delivered the prince to the Takkalū-Turkman camp. Some said that it was the *qürçis* who dreamed up this wild scheme, and that Məhəmməd Khan Torkmān had no knowledge of it, but this is not credible. On the contrary, some such plan had been in their minds from the beginning of their revolt.

The emirs conferred kingship on Tahmasp Mırzā because he bore

the same name as Shah Tahmasp and because the latter also came to the throne in his eleventh year. They forgot that Shah Tahmasp was the eldest son of Shah Esma'il I and had come to the throne by virtue of being heir-apparent and the natural successor of his father, whereas Tahmasp Mirzā's father was still living and still shah, and the prince had elder brothers who had a prior claim to the throne. It is difficult to see, therefore, how the emirs could have deluded themselves into thinking that Tahmasp Mirzā had a valid claim to kingship.

As soon as Tahmasp Mirzā was safely in the Turkman camp, the coalition emirs marched off in the direction of Iraq. The following morning, consternation prevailed in the royal household. A few short-sighted people actually suggested that Sultan Mohammad Shah was behind the abduction of Tahmasp Mirzā, and the Ostājlū and Šamlū emirs, believing this absurd suggestion, made Ḥamza Mirzā suspicious of his father.

The circumstances that had given rise to this rumor were as follows: Sultan Mohammad Shah's mother was a Turkman¹⁰⁴ and had many relations among the coalition emirs. Many of these emirs were kinsmen of the Shah himself, and the Shah had always shown favor to that group as a result. For instance, Mosīb Khan Takkalū was the maternal cousin of the Shah, and Mohammad Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oglū, his father, had been the Shah's guardian when the Shah, then only a child, had been appointed governor-general of Khorasan. The Shah, in fact, had grown up among the Takkalū tribe; when he talked, the name of Mohammad Khan Takkalū would often crop up. The Shah often used to praise his conduct compared with that of his subsequent guardian, Šahqolī Sultan Ostājlū, and he used to think of the Takkalū tribe as being related to himself. Consequently, when the Takkalūs and Turkmans began to misbehave, the Shah, not wishing the Takkalū and Turkman emirs who were at court to become alienated from Ḥamza Mirzā, from time to time adopted a conciliatory role that indicated his bias. Ḥamza Mirzā, in the year or so that had elapsed since he gained his majority,¹⁰⁵ had taken the conduct of state affairs very much into his own hands, and had frequently behaved in a manner not unusual in young men but which annoyed his father. For all these reasons, people thought that the Shah harbored feelings of resentment against his son, and so they were ready to give credence to this rumor.

¹⁰⁴She was the daughter of the Turkman Emir Mūsa Sultan Mowṣellū.

¹⁰⁵I.e., since he reached the age of eighteen in 992/1554-55.

The truth of the matter was, however, that the Shah continued to regard his son with affection, dedicated himself to gratifying his desires, and considered his opinion paramount in matters of state. As a result, he could not understand why, despite all the affection he had lavished on Ḥamza Mīrzā, despite all the efforts he had made to please him, and despite the fact that he had made him his heir-apparent, his relations with his son had deteriorated.

However that might be, Ḥamza Mīrzā and his supporters considered that punitive action against the coalition emirs should take priority over the capture of the citadel at Tabriz. Ḥamza Mīrzā realized that if he and the Shah went in pursuit of the rebels, with a view to intercepting them en route and attacking them before they had had a chance to set their affairs in order, they would have to abandon Tabriz and perhaps the whole of Azerbaijan. After the royal standards had left Tabriz, none of the Azerbaijan emirs would be able to maintain his position there; on the other hand, if they left a detachment to assist the Azerbaijan emirs in besieging the citadel, the forces left at their own disposal would be insufficient to deal with the rebels.

In the end, Ḥamza Mīrzā decided to leave his brother Abū Ṭaleb Mīrzā with his father at Tabriz, with Moḥammad Khan Tokmāq, Emāmqolī Khan, the *beglerbeg* of Azerbaijan, and other emirs together with a detachment of men of the royal bodyguard. He himself, with his personal retainers, and 'Alīqolī Khan and the emirs who had fiefs in Iraq, marched toward Iraq by way of Ardabil and Kalkāl, recruiting any supporters they found on the way. On the same day, Ḥamza Mīrzā obtained permission from the Shah to appoint as guardian of Esma'il Mīrzā Esmā'īlqolī Khan Šamlū, the governor of Qazvin, and to send him ahead by forced marches via Tārom and Kalkāl, with the object of getting to Qazvin before the rebels.

Since the families of most of the *qezelbaš* were at Qazvin, and men were pouring into the city to protect their wives and children, Esmā'īlqolī Khan was ordered to make use of these men to erect barricades in the streets and to put the city and the palace in a state of defense pending the arrival of the royal army. It was thought probable that, when the rebels heard that Esmā'īlqolī Khan had reached Qazvin, the emirs would disperse, each to his own fief. Esmā'īlqolī Khan left the same day to carry out his orders, but he did not take the young prince with him.

Hamza Mirzā's Pursuit of and Victory over the Rebels

When the royal army marched from Tabriz, Mohammadi Khan Tokmāq was appointed governor of the city and ordered, together with Emāmqoli Khan, the *beglerbeg* of Qarābag, and the other Azerbaijan emirs, to continue the siege of the citadel. A number of *qūrčīs* and attendants at court were detailed to guard the palace, where Abū Ṭāleb Mirzā was left with his father. Since the withdrawal of the major part of the siege force obviously meant further delay in capturing the citadel, the bourgeoisie of Tabriz became extremely restless. They were calmed by Hamza Mirzā's promise to return to Tabriz within three months.

Hamza Mirzā left Tabriz with a force made up of his personal retainers, some emirs and some *qūrčīs*—not more than three thousand men in all. He marched to Ardabil in seven stages¹⁰⁶ and visited the Safavid shrine and the tombs of his ancestors. He spent a week there celebrating the advent of the Year of the Dog, 994/1586. Since the enemy forces were larger than his he was in no hurry to engage them, but advanced slowly toward Iraq by way of Kalkāl. He tried to recruit men as he went, but with little success. Even the Šeykāvand tribe, despite their ties with the Safavid house, failed to come forward; in fact, they showed signs of hostility, seizing some of Hamza Mirzā's personal mounts which were being brought along in the rear. When Hamza Mirzā reached Tārom, he paused again to gather his forces and ordered Pir Čeyb Khan Ostājlū, the governor of Tārom, to guard the bridge. Because the river was in flood, few peasants joined the prince's army. Food supplies ran short. After a few days of short rations, Hamza Mirzā broke up all the gold and silver vessels belonging to his establishment and distributed them among the *qezelbāš*.

At this juncture, news came that Tahmasp Mirzā and the rebels had occupied Qazvin, and that Esma'īlqoli Khan had fled to Rūdbār and then toward Deylamān. Esma'īlqoli Khan had carried out his orders; he had barricades erected in the streets and placed musketeers and archers at each. When Tahmasp Mirzā and the emirs of the Takkalū-Turkman coalition reached Abhar, they heard that Esma'īlqoli Khan had occupied the city and sent an envoy, 'Ali Khan Sultan Torkmān, the *dārūga-ye daftarkāna*, to call on him to submit. The substance of their message was as follows:

¹⁰⁶The distance from Tabriz to Ardabil is about 120 miles.

Our king and spiritual director, Sultan Mohammad Shah, is—God be praised!—securely seated on the throne, and we have no object in mind but to render loyal service to him. We know that you are a reasonable and sensible fellow. We had expected that Ḥamza Mirzā would have made some effort at Tabriz to satisfy our demands and would not reject them out of hand. We had despaired of obtaining any concessions from the prince, and had not even been granted an audience, when something happened which necessitated our return. Now we hope that you will put an end to discord and open negotiations with us, so that all outstanding issues may be resolved in the best interest of the state and in accordance with your considered judgment.

Without waiting for a reply, the emirs had advanced and camped about a *farsak* from the city.

Esmā'īlqolī Khan found the emirs' message unacceptable; moreover, he did not trust them. On the other hand, he felt unable to oppose them. He therefore sent 'Alī Khan Sultan back with a friendly reply, but slipped out of the city the same night with his family and any unmarried men among the Šamlüs, and went in the direction of Rüdbär. Mīr Ja'far Qazvīnī, the superintendent¹⁰⁷ at Qazvin, and Pahlavān Sultan Mahmūd, the commander of the watch ('asasbašī), accompanied Esmā'īlqolī Khan because they were supporters of Ḥamza Mirzā. The Turkman-Takkalū emirs entered the city without opposition, and installed Tahmasp Mirzā in the royal palace. At an auspicious moment, Tahmasp Mirzā was proclaimed heir-apparent to Sultan Mohammad Shah. The rebel emirs took possession of everything belonging to Ḥamza Mirzā that remained in the city—including his *farrāškāna*,¹⁰⁸ his equipment, and the royal workshops. They also sought out and confiscated any money and property belonging to the civilian and military officers in the employ of the prince.

Shah Qevām al-Dīn Hoseyn, the son of the *sadr* Shah Taqī al-Dīn Mohammad Eṣfahānī,¹⁰⁹ who was the grandson of Qāzī Jahān, the

¹⁰⁷*Motāṣaddī* in Safavid usage usually denotes the manager of some subbranch of the administration.

¹⁰⁸The *farrāšbašī*'s department dealt with the repair, maintenance, and equipping of tents, and so on (see *TM*, p. 67).

¹⁰⁹He was *sadr* from 964/1556–57 to 970/1562–63 (see *Savory, Offices II*, p. 80).

vizier of Shah Tahmasp, was on his way to court hoping to obtain employment in the service of Ḥamza Mirzā. He arrived at Qazvin at this time and was appointed by the coalition emirs vizier to Tahmasp Mirzā, with the title of *e'temād al-dowla*.¹¹⁰ Mirzā Mohammad Hoseyn, the son of Mirzā Šokrollāh the comptroller (*mostowfi*) of Shah Tahmasp, was appointed comptroller of finance, and various other administrative appointments were made. The office of *vakīl* was a matter of dispute between the Takkalū and Turkman tribes, and finally Mohammad Khan appointed himself guardian to the prince and named Mosīb Khan Saraf al-Dīn-oğlū as his *vakīl*. The real power, however, was in the hands of Mohammad Khan, who sent couriers to Isfahan, to all parts of Iraq, and elsewhere to announce the enthronement of Tahmasp Mirzā. On their official documents, however, the coalition emirs continued to observe due protocol in regard to the Shah, Sultan Mohammad; following the practice of Ḥamza Mirzā, they affixed their seals at the bottom of the document, not at the top.

Meanwhile, Valī Khan Takkalū had been sent in pursuit of Esmā'īl-qolī Khan; he trapped the latter in a narrow defile near Rūdbār. Esmā'īlqolī Khan turned at bay with his musketeers and archers. One of the local inhabitants, who knew the country, led Valī Khan around to the rear of Esmā'īlqolī Khan's men, who were thrown into confusion by being attacked from two different directions. The sons of Mowlānā Ne'matollāh Rūdbārī volunteered their services to Esmā'īlqolī Khan and said that, if he would abandon his baggage, they would lead him through the forests by paths which were sure to be free of the enemy. Esmā'īlqolī Khan had no choice but to accept their offer and follow them to Deylamān, taking only a handful of men with him. Most of the Šāmlū soldiers dismounted from their horses, stripped off their military uniforms, and with great difficulty made their way to Deylamān. Khan Aḥmad, the governor of Gilan, sent them gifts in homage and salutation. All the Šāmlū equipment and possessions fell into the hands of the Takkalūs; some of it had been damaged, but the rest they took back to Qazvin. Mohammad Khan did not allow them to lay a finger on the families of the Šāmlūs.

After the return of Valī Khan, the coalition emirs decided to mount punitive expeditions against those *qezelbāš* tribes living in the neighborhood of Qazvin that had not so far come to the capital to tender their submission. Considering this misdeed, like their ear-

¹¹⁰Lit.: trusted support of the state; see *EP*, under *I'timād al-Dawla*.

lier misdeeds, a perfectly proper course of action, they plundered the Üsalū and Irlū clans of the Afšār tribe, and were on the point of making a similar raid on the Bayāt tribe when they heard that Ḥamza Mīrzā had crossed the Qezel Üzün and reached Čaman-e Māhān. They then marched out to give battle to him.

Hearing of Esmā'īlqolī Khan's defeat and flight, Ḥamza Mīrzā sent an aide to guide him to his own camp via Pāvrūd Baba Manşūrī and Tārom. From his own establishment, the prince sent tents, equipment for workshops, and other necessities to Esmā'īlqolī Khan, his brothers, and the Šamlū junior officers. He sent mounts for the Šamlū emirs and officers, and provided mounts for the other men by commandeering all the spare horses his own forces had with them. 'Ali-qolī Khan Fath-oğlū and the other emirs also sent contributions. After Esmā'īlqolī Khan had rejoined him, Ḥamza Mīrzā crossed the Qezel Üzün and marched to Čaman-e Māhān, where he was joined by the Ostājlūs from Kalkāl and Tārom. From there, he moved to Čaman-e Solṭāniya, where he was joined by Moḥammad Hoseyn Sultan and the Imūr tribe from Zenjān-rūd. The news of the Takkalū and Turkman raids on the tribal encampments around Qazvin had the effect of sending everyone who could scurrying to join the prince at Solṭāniya. Dowlatyār Sīāh-Manṣūr,¹¹¹ a *qūrčī* in the service of the prince, whom he had made emir of the Sīāh-Manṣūr tribe, arrived with a body of Kurds from his tribe. Although most of these reinforcements were auxiliary troops and few were fully equipped, they helped to swell the numbers of Ḥamza Mīrzā's army to about seven thousand men, of whom some five thousand were battle-worthy.

Meanwhile, the Takkalū-Turkman forces had reached Čaman-e Māqlavā; they numbered more than ten thousand men, all fully equipped and most with spare mounts. Ḥamza Mīrzā moved from Solṭāniya to a point about two *farsaks* from Şayen Qal'a¹¹² and sent forward Pīr Geyb Khan Ostājlū and two thousand of his men and others ahead as skirmishers. On the left of the skirmishers he stationed 'Ali-qolī Khan, Salmās Khan the keeper of the seal, 'Ali Sultan Tatlı-oğlū, and 'Ali Sultan the grandson of Şahqolī Kalifa Zu'l-Qadar the keeper of the seal—about two thousand men in all. On the right, he stationed Esmā'īlqolī Khan, Qūr Koms Khan, and Şahverdi Kalifa

¹¹¹See *TM*, p. 16.

¹¹²Twenty miles southeast of Solṭāniya. The Mongols renamed the original village of Qohud in honor of Genghis Khan's grandson Şayen (Batu Khan); see Le Strange, pp. 222-23.

Inallū, with the Şamlū troops—one thousand two hundred in all. The prince took his place in the center with his personal retainers, and Şahqolı Sultan Kolafā, Seyyed Beg Kamūna, and Dowlatyār Sīah-Mansūr. Most of the auxiliary troops, whose horses were poor, were placed in the center to create an impression of numbers. As a result, the center numbered in all some three thousand men.

Ḩamza Mīrzā drew up his men for battle, but waited all day in vain for their attack. When he heard that the rebels had camped for the night near the Miānkūh River, he settled his men for the night and posted two or three thousand men in the open plain to guard against surprise attack. He himself, with a group of dedicated followers, spent the night in prayer: "O God," they prayed, "soften the hearts of our intransigent foes, and bring this rebellion to a happy outcome." A copy of the *Rowzat al-Şafā* happened to be lying around. Ḥamza Mīrzā ordered a prognostication to be sought from it concerning their fate on the morrow. By chance, the book opened at the chapter about the revolt of certain emirs against Emir Sultan Abū Sa'īd Khan, the son of Öljeytū,¹¹³ with the object of breaking the power of Emir Čubān; the battle fought between them; and the victory of Abū Sa'īd. Ḥamza Mīrzā vowed that, if he were victorious, he would not behave as did the victors in that battle; he would not put a single person to death.

Before dawn, Ḥamza Mīrzā said goodbye to Zeynab Begom,¹¹⁴ his paternal aunt and chief lady of the royal household, and to the other women of the harem and their children. He placed Aqa Jān Beg Afşār and the *qūrčis* of the harem bodyguard on guard over the royal tent, and drew up his men in the same battle order as the previous day. No sooner had his men taken up their positions on some rising ground than they saw a vast cloud of dust in the midst of which appeared to be about twenty thousand of the enemy. After hesitating for a while, they advanced into the plain until they were able to see that the "enemy" consisted of the rebel army's camels, which were laden and following in the rear of their troops. The morale of the prince's troops rose slightly, but there is every likelihood that, had the rebels been able to attack at the moment when the prince's forces had halted in dismay, they would have won the day.

I, the author of these words, then twenty-six years of age, and en-

¹¹³The Mongol Il-Khan, ruler of Iran 1317-35.

¹¹⁴The daughter of Shah Tahmasp, and therefore Ḥamza's father's sister.

rolled among the men of the pen and the officials of Ḥamza Mirzā's bureaucracy, with the stupidity typical of a young man of my age, put on armor and took up arms, and took my place with my lance among the warriors. I never left the side of the prince until the victory was won. I was therefore able to perceive all the details of the engagement, and to set down on paper an exact account of the battle as I saw it.

When the rebel army drew closer, it became possible to see that its center was in two parts: one commanded by Mosīb Khan and Valı Khan at the head of their Takkalüs, with 'Alı Khan Sultan Päkmäl out ahead in a skirmishing role; the other commanded by Mohammad Khan, Ommat Khan Zu'l-Qadar, Adham Khan, Esmā'il Khan the brother of Emir Khan, Sultan Ma'süm Khan Tarkān, and the rest of the Turkman emirs, with Golabı Khan, the son of Emir Khan, out ahead as skirmisher. Tahmasp Mirzā's golden parasol was visible in the center of the Turkman troops. When battle was joined, the Takkalüs faced the Šamlüs, and the Turkmans the Ostajlüs. In the early fighting, 'Alı Sultan Pakmäl was killed by the Šamlüs, and Esma'il Khan's vizier, Ḥamza Beg, reported this to Ḥamza Mirzā. On the left of the royal army, the Ostajlüs also got the better of the Turkman skirmishers. Aliqolı Khan Fath-oglu, who liked to think of himself as an outstanding warrior, foolishly left his station in the center of the Ostajlüs and rode forward to join those in the front ranks in hand-to-hand fighting. The Turkmans were thrown into disorder by the Ostajlüs, and Šahqolı Sultan, the brother of Emir Khan, was killed; the Ostajlüs brought back his head, his war trumpets and his weapons.

On the right of the front, the Takkalüs now launched a fierce charge that shattered the Šamlü ranks. Shah Karam Beg the Lame, the *därüğa* of Qazvin, was slain with several other valiant youths, and Ḥamza Beg was taken prisoner. Simultaneously, the Turkmans, including all the brothers and followers of Emir Khan, and Šahqolı Sultan Piada and others, charged the Ostajlüs, determined to smash Aliqolı Khan and take revenge for the death of Emir Khan. Pir Geyb Beg Ostajlū and his skirmishers were swept aside, and the impetus of the Turkman charge carried them right through to the Ostajlū center, where Aliqolı Khan had left his post. Without their leader to rally them, the Ostajlüs scattered in all directions, and their standards and war drums were lost. Aliqolı Khan, who had been riding furiously around the battlefield engaging in individual combat,

finally extricated himself with a few companions and retreated to the foothills.

When the prince saw the rout of both his wings, he threw into the battle Aslams Khan Zu'l-Qadar the keeper of the seal and a number of other Zu'l-Qadar emirs, who had been stationed on the left of the center in reserve, to assist 'Aliqolı Khan, but the move was ineffectual. 'Aliqolı Sultan Tatlı-oğlū Zu'l-Qadar was killed. The shattered remnants of the Zu'l-Qadars fled in disorder, not even stopping when they reached the center where Hamza Mirzā himself was stationed. As a result, Hamza Mirzā's men too were thrown into some disarray. They were saved by the fact that the wind was blowing toward Hamza Mirzā. The dust of battle obscured the prince's parasol, so that the rebel troops passed right by the prince's center without realizing it and returned to their own lines.

The prince stood his ground resolutely, and sent Mirzā Hedāyat Najm-e Şanı Eşfahānī to find 'Aliqolı Khan and bring him to him. The reply came back from 'Aliqolı Khan that he did not dare to appear before the prince. All was lost, he said; there was no point in going on living merely to see the triumph of one's enemies. He was resolved to hurl himself into the battle and, engulfed by the enemy, sink into oblivion. The prince sent his messenger a second time, this time accompanied by 'Aliqolı Sultan Zu'l-Qadar Qoruglu. "Do you imagine," asked the prince in tones of unmistakable scorn, "that I would turn and flee, and count as gain the two extra days of borrowed time thus won? What a vain thought! What an absurd idea! Come here at once, and share whatever befalls me!" After considerable insistence, the envoys succeeded in bringing 'Aliqolı Khan.

The rebel center now began a general advance. The Turkman portion of the center, where Tahmasp Mirzā was stationed, advanced more slowly, but the Takkalūs, who had been inflamed still more by the death of 'Ali Pākmāl, moved rapidly against the prince's center, preceded by some four or five hundred musketeers who kept up a brisk fire. As they advanced, they left in their rear the Şamlūs who had been stationed on the right of the prince's army and had been shattered by the earlier Takkalū charge. Mohammad Khan and Adham Khan Torkmān, with three or four hundred men, placed themselves to protect the Takkalū rear in case the Şamlūs should reform and attack it.

By the time 'Alıqolı Khan and 'Alıqolı Sultan Zu'l-Qadar reached the prince's side, the Takkalū musketeers were so close that bullets were raining all around him. His parasol bearer, Şahqolı Beg, a *golām* in the prince's private treasury department, was hit in the leg. Hamza Mirzä gave the parasol to Farrok Beg, one of the *golāms* of the royal household (*golām-e kāṣṣa-ye ṣarīfa*) who, after this battle, became known as Farrok-e Yaka-tāz, with orders to hold the parasol over his (the prince's) head and not move from his side. The prince's center, shaken by the Takkalū charge, had suffered heavy casualties from musket fire. Many turned to flee. The prince himself, protected by the armor of divine providence, shielded himself against the bullets with his shining shield, now holding it before his face, now turning it this way and that. Even his personal retainers had fallen back several paces—an indication that they were about to flee. All those with him had lost hope, because none of their men remained alive on the battlefield; the plain behind was covered with fugitives for a distance of one *farsak*.

At this point, 'Alı Khan Rümlü, the chief herald (*jārčibāšı*), leaped from his horse, seized the reins of Hamza Mirzä's mount, and said: "War has its ups and downs. Brave men are sometimes victorious, sometimes defeated. If our fate is not to win this battle, do not throw away your life needlessly. The time for heroics has passed; there is none to come to our rescue, and the situation is not going to improve. By nightfall, we could ride ten *farsaks*—that is no problem for us. Do you ride direct to Azerbaijan, report to the Shah, and mobilize fresh forces there." The prince turned on him with great asperity and said: "What would be the purpose of living burdened with the disgrace of having run away? Men would say, 'that's the man who was put to flight by his younger brother!' I will die fighting, and will not tolerate the shame of flight." So saying, the prince snatched the reins of his horse from the hand of the chief herald, couched his lance, and shouted, "Whoever wishes to taste death with me, that man is my comrade; whoever chooses to save his skin, may God go with him!"

With these words, Hamza Mirzä spurred his horse and charged the oncoming Takkalüs. I was in close attendance on the prince, and I did not see more than fifty men go with him. Simultaneously, Es-mā'ilqolı Khan rallied his scattered Şamlüs and charged Adham Khan Torkmān and his men, who had been detailed to guard the rear of the advancing Takkalüs. Adham Khan's men were broken by

the Şamlū charge, and the Şamlüs carried on and attacked the Takkalüs in the rear. In the melee, Valı Khan Takkalū was struck by a ball fired by one of his own musketeers. A certain Jamşid, a *golam* of Süləg Hoseyn, is alleged to have fired the shot to revenge his master. One of Süləg Hoseyn's sons, Beyräm Khan, when this was reported to him, rode forward until he could see the prince's face, and then dismounted. The prince, who considered this action a portent of victory but had no time to stop and talk, told Beyräm Khan to get back on his horse and join in the attack on the Takkalüs. The latter, who had thought the prince's forces defeated, were now fiercely attacked both from the front and the rear; with their leader *hors-de-combat*, they broke and ran. Ommat Beg, an Ostajlū *qürči*, unhorsed Valı Khan Takkalū, who was weak from his bullet wound, and decapitated him.

Mohammad Khan and his Turkmans drew off to the side of the battlefield. Because they had insufficient room to wield their lances, they began to fire volleys of arrows at the prince's forces. The author, who had managed to control his fear up to that point, was now absolutely terrified because the prince's men were surrounded by superior rebel forces. But the prince, drawing rein for no more than a moment, charged again, this time against the Turkman center. Some of the archers were caught with their arrows half-in and half-out of their quivers, and had no chance to get off another shot; the majority threw away their quivers and fled. Most of the Şamlüs were now engaged in pursuing the Takkalüs, and the Ostajlüs the Turkmans, but Mohammad Khan maintained his position beside Tahmasp Mirzā's parasol and colors. Hamza Mirzā's charge carried him past Tahmasp Mirzā, but one of the prince's personal aides-de-camp (*yasdvolân-e sohbât*),¹¹⁵ Rûhollâh Beg Zu'l-Qadar, forced his way through to Tahmasp Mirzā and seized his crown, turban, and turban jewels; his dagger belt and other weapons were seized by 'Aliqoli Sultan. Tahmasp Mirzā fell from his horse in the struggle and was held by Mahdiqoli Sultan Taleš. The Şamlüs and Ostajlüs formed a close guard around him and slew any who tried to come to his rescue.

His victory now assured, Hamza Mirzā, mindful of God's injunction, "Fulfill your covenant with me, I will fulfill My covenant with you,"¹¹⁶ ordered his heralds to proclaim that the slaughter should cease, that any prisoners should be brought to him alive, and that the

¹¹⁵See *TM*, index, s.v.

¹¹⁶Koran, 2:41.

pursuit should be called off. Some of the Turkmans made their way to the mountains and escaped—Adham Khan to Qom, and Sultan Ma'süm Khan to Sāva. Ommat Khan Zu'l-Qadar reached Yazd en route to Shiraz, but was slain there by the Afšārs. Esma'il Sultan the brother of Emir Khan, Sultan Morād Khan and Golābī Khan, the sons of Emir Khan, and Shah Būdāq Sultan, a kinsman of Emir Khan, set off for Anatolia, but Morād Khan and Shah Būdāq Sultan later turned back. Esma'il Sultan returned to the *qezelbāš* fold after the accession of Shah 'Abbas I; Golābī Khan went to Tiflis to Šaraf Khan Kord, who was Emir Khan's son-in-law. Their subsequent history will be related under the reign of Shah 'Abbas.

The Takkalūs had been scattered all over the plain of Abhar. Tahmasp Mīrzā's guardian, Kalil Beg, was killed, along with many other Takkalū nobles. Of the survivors, some fled to Hamadan, others to Baghdad. Mosīb Khan Šaraf al-Dīn-oğlū was taken prisoner by Morshedqoli Beg, Esmā'ilqoli Khan's brother. Many of the fugitives were stripped of their possessions by the local peasants, but made their way to safety naked and on foot, thankful to have escaped with their lives. The Turkman and Takkalū baggage camels stationed about half a *farsak* from the battlefield were plundered by the prince's men. Shah Qevām al-Dīn Ḥoseyn Eṣfahānī, Tahmasp Mīrzā's vizier and *e'temād al-dowla*, was killed in the battle by an unknown hand. Mohammad Khan was surrounded and set on by at least a hundred men of the lower ranks, but Ḥamza Mīrzā came up just in time to save his life. The prince kept his assailants away from him with his lance, looked at the Khan compassionately, and sent him back to his camp.

After the battle, the prince sent Kāja Aqa Shah Abharī, his overseer of the treasury (*mošref-e kazāna*), to take the news of victory to his aunt and the other women of the royal household. The messenger reached the prince's camp to find the women disconsolate at the bad news of the earlier course of the battle. On receiving the news of the victory, they beat the kettledrums in triumph. Ḥamza Mīrzā returned to his camp and rested awhile, since he had had two days and nights without sleep. At night, victory festivities were held and the heads of the rebel dead were displayed in front of the audience tent, as a warning to all. The same night, one of the prince's aides-de-camp, Šāhverdī Beg Bāybordlū, took the news of the victory to Tabriz. The next day, Ḥamza Mīrzā held an audience, seated on a jeweled throne, with 'Aliqoli Khan, Esmā'ilqoli Khan, Pir Čeyb Khan, and Aslams

Khan standing on his right and left; the rebel heads, weapons, and prisoners were paraded before him.

The first of the prisoners was that innocent child Tahmasp Mirzā. Ḥamza Mirzā embraced him warmly and seated him at his side. At Ḥamza Mirzā's command, Mohammad Khan and Mosīb Khan were released from their bonds and given a seat at the assembly, and the other prisoners were pardoned. However, a number of particularly wealthy prisoners were handed over to the tax collectors who proceeded to mulct them of their wealth by means of fines and confiscation of property.

Mohammad Khan was entrusted to the care of 'Aliqolı Khan, and Mosīb Khan to Esma'il Khan, to be treated as honored guests in their host's house. The two rebel khans were overcome with shame at their misdeeds, and Mohammad Khan was treated by 'Aliqolı Khan as a father would treat his son. Two men who were judged to deserve punishment were sewn up in an ox skin for several days. These two were Satelmeş Beg Āsān-oğlū İnällū, who, although from the Śamlū tribe, had joined the rebels; and Kaçal Moṣṭafā Afşār, who had forsaken his post as *qurcibaşı* to Ḥamza Mirzā and had also joined the rebels. When the two men were on the point of death, Esmā'ilqolı Khan interceded for Satelmeş Beg and 'Aliqolı Khan for Kaçal Moṣṭafā, and both prisoners were released. On the other hand, those who had performed outstanding deeds of valor in the battle were duly rewarded.

A few days later, Adham Khan came from Qom, and Sultan Ma'-shūm Khan from Sāva. They were brought into the prince's presence with their swords slung around their necks. Since the prince had always regarded Adham Khan with special affection and had been heard to say that Adham Khan did not really want to belong to the rebel coalition, he pardoned him. Ma'-shūm Khan, however, because he had been guilty of previous misdemeanors and had been slow to answer the call to arms, and because the people under his jurisdiction had complained of his harsh treatment of them, was punished. His possessions were expropriated by the *dīvān*, and his fief of Rayy, the richest land in Iraq, was given to 'Aliqolı Khan instead of Tabriz. Pīr Čeyb Khan was appointed governor of Hamadan, and the other Ostājlū emirs were also given appropriate fiefs and governorships. They included Sīmā Ḥoseynqolı Sultan, the brother of 'Aliqolı Khan; Allahqolı Sultan Kangarlū, the son of Ja'far Sultan; Ahmad Sultan Āsāyeş-oğlū; and Mahdīqolı Sultan Čāušlū, the son of

Eyğüs Sultan. Esmâ'îlqolî Khan, who already held the title of *yoldâş* (comrade) and the post of *tovâčbašî*, was empowered to affix his seal to *dîvân* documents and letters of appointment. Morşedqolî Sultan, his brother, received the fief of Farâhan, and Qom was allotted to 'Aliqolî Sultan Qorûglû, the grandson of Şâhqolî Kalîfa the keeper of the seal.

The post of *amîr al-omarâ* of Fârs was granted in the first instance to Mahdiqolî Beg Şâdî Takkalû, the kinsman of 'Aliqolî Khan, but subsequently to 'Ali Khan Şâdî Takkalû, as before, with Mahdiqolî Beg as his *vakîl*. Subordinate emirs were then appointed, and mobilization orders were served on the great emirs, bidding them report to the royal camp with their men. Tahmasp Mîrzâ was imprisoned at Alamût; the post of commandant of that fortress was in the possession of the Qüçlüy family, kinfolk of 'Aliqolî Khan. Since most of the summer of the Year of the Dog had already elapsed and Ottoman reinforcements might be on their way in a month or two's time, Hamza Mîrzâ was impatient to capture the citadel before that happened. He therefore marched to Tabriz without waiting for his mobilization orders to take effect.

Hamza Mîrzâ's Return to Tabriz, the Arrival of Ottoman Reinforcements, the Withdrawal of the Royal Army to Qarâbâğ, and Associated Events

After Hamza Mîrzâ had spent nearly two months at Qazvin dealing with various essential administrative matters and seeing to the welfare of his troops, he began his return march to Tabriz. As he hoped, after capturing and razing the citadel, to conduct operations against the main Ottoman army, he paused a few days at the Soltâniya pastures, hoping that substantial contingents of *qezelbâş* would join him. But this did not happen. The fortunes of the *qezelbâş* were at an extremely low ebb: most of the chiefs of the Takkalû and Turkman tribes had either been killed or taken prisoner, and the rank and file of those tribes, although the prince had demonstrated his willingness to pardon them, had scattered hither and yon. The Afşars, located mainly in the areas of Isfahan, Yazd, Abarqûh, Kerman, and Kuh Gîluya, were still in a state of apprehension because of the defection to the Ottomans of their leader, Qoli Beg the *qûrçibašî*, and they made this the excuse for inaction. There were other contingents whose arrival was more probable, but time was short, and so Hamza Mîrzâ decided to march with the ten thousand or so men whom he had.

As the prince neared Tabriz, the Shah came out from the city a distance of nearly a *farsak* to meet him, preceded by Abū Ṭālib Mīrzā. As soon as Hamza Mīrzā saw his father's parasol, he dismounted and, as protocol demanded, kissed his father's thigh and stirrup, before entering the city with him and taking up residence at the house of Pīra Mohammad Khan Čāušlu. The next day, the prince received a visit from the Shah, in whose honor he gave a regal banquet. Everything was on a lavish scale—food, drink, carpets, and largesse. The prince offered all the contents of his household establishment to the Shah, who courteously refused them; in order not to hurt the feelings of his son, he accepted a few items and returned the rest.

The festivities over, they got down to the serious business of besieging the citadel. A large cannon was set up near the tomb of Uzūn Hasan, and it began to play on the walls of the fort. Quantities of earth were brought from the direction of Şahēbād, and the siege works went on night and day. The arrival of Farhād Pasha, who had accelerated his march to relieve Ja'far Pasha when he heard of the return of Hamza Mīrzā to Azerbaijan, caused the prince to revise his plans. It seemed inexpedient to try and storm the citadel, a type of operation always fraught with heavy losses, especially because the equipment needed for an assault was not yet ready. Nevertheless, because time was short, a decision was made to launch a general assault. If they succeeded, well and good; if they failed, they considered they would not be accused by experienced campaigners of not having tried.

On the day appointed, therefore, having made this rash decision, which was contrary to all considered opinion, they paraded willy-nilly at the mosque of Uzūn Hasan and received their orders for the assault. At the signal, they shouldered their scaling ladders and ran forward. The Ottomans, however, had not wasted their time, and had everything ready for the defense. Musket fire rained down like hail, and the air was filled with smoke. The ditch around the citadel was rapidly filled with the bodies of the slain and those wounded by stones or spear thrusts. Those who reached the walls with their ladders and ascended them were hurled down by the defenders with blows from blacksmith's hammers and iron war maces, and with thrusts from spears and spikes.

The attack was repulsed with heavy losses. The officers of state were dismayed, and the townspeople of Tabriz began to get restless.

Since Farhād Pasha's army was now nearing Tabriz, Ḥamza Mirzā ordered an evacuation to Qazvin. The military were ordered to assist with mules and camels. A number of learned men, together with most of the nobility and persons of note in the city, were dispatched to Qazvin. The lower orders took refuge where they could, and the city was evacuated overnight. The royal troops marched off toward Ūzūm-del and Dezmār, intending to obtain information about the size and composition of the Ottoman army and make their plans accordingly. The following day, Farhād Pasha camped at Čarandāb. He transported to the citadel the year's supply of provisions he had brought with him and replaced some units of the garrison which had had too long a spell of duty. Having satisfied himself that all was in order at the citadel, he left Tabriz without delay on his return march; at the same time, he sent a letter to 'Alīqolī Khan and the *qezelbāš* emirs on the subject of a truce:

From the time when strife, fomented by seditious persons, first broke out between our respective monarchs, thousands of believers have lost their lives. For our part, we have proposed peace on the basis that territory which has been occupied by Ottoman forces should remain part of the Ottoman empire, for it is contrary to Ottoman practice voluntarily to relinquish territory once occupied. You intransigent *qezelbāš* emirs have refused to accept these terms, with the result that every year you have lost further territory, and have now lost the city of Tabriz, the capital of the kings of Iran. If matters continue in this fashion, next year you will lose Ardabil and Iraq. Since you are the servants of the Safavid dynasty, be guided by my well-intentioned counsel, and convince your prince of the desirability of peace. Since we in the Ottoman empire are well aware of the disunity among the *qezelbāš* emirs, and consider the conquest of Iran an easy task for us, the Safavid house would be well-advised to abandon its intransigent attitude and seek to placate the Ottoman Sultan, so that I and other well-disposed persons on our side may have some grounds for working for peace in the interests of all God's servants.

When Farhād Pasha's letter was received, some of the emirs, in

their ignorance and pride, said: "Farhād Pasha's only object is to prevent us from making any attack on the citadel at Tabriz after the Ottoman army has left. We must not lose the opportunity of making a further attempt on it. After capturing the citadel, we can make a winter expedition against Ottoman territory, when all their troops have retired for the winter into their fortresses, and we can pillage and plunder." Ḥamza Mirzā, deeply distressed as he was by *qezelbaş* disloyalty and disunity, refused to be rushed into making a decision. He knew it was true that, since the outbreak of the present round of hostilities, the Persians had lost more territory every year, but this fact had not restored unity among the *qezelbaş*, nor had the *qezelbaş* recovered a single piece of lost territory. If things went on in this way for a few years, the Safavid state would be completely destroyed. He therefore acted contrary to the emirs' advice and made a friendly reply to Farhād Pasha's overtures. The only condition he made was that Tabriz should be returned.

Farhād Pasha replied that, if one of the Safavid royal princes were to accompany him to Turkey, to be treated by the Ottoman sultan as one of his own sons, it was possible that that prince would be made governor of the province of Tabriz. No other solution regarding Tabriz was possible. Since Ḥamza Mirzā regarded this as a possibility, he agreed to send his younger son, Sultan Heydar Mirzā, to Turkey; 'Aliqolī Khan, who was the prince's guardian, agreed. The Shah and the army were opposed to this plan, but considered it necessary in order to protect the lives of Shi'ites and to give relief to ordinary people, who had suffered so much from the war. When Farhād Pasha learned that Ḥamza Mirzā was acting contrary to the wishes of the emirs in making friendly overtures to the Ottoman sultan, he applauded him and exclaimed that he wished Ḥamza Mirzā had been of this mind before Tabriz had been lost. Farhād Pasha considered it a great feather in his cap to have negotiated the transfer of a prince of the Safavid royal house to Istanbul, there to add to the prestige of his own royal master. He therefore pressed Ḥamza Mirzā to put the plan into effect, and sent Valī Aqa, his chief taster and a trusted officer, to fetch the prince.

Valī Aqa reached the royal camp at Ganja and was allocated quarters in the house of 'Aliqolī Khan and treated with great honor. Farhād Pasha moved to winter quarters at Erzerum, from which he continued to send letters to Ḥamza Mirzā urging him to send the prince, his letters of friendship for the Ottoman sultan, and suitable

presents to his camp before the spring campaigning weather arrived. Ḥamza Mīrzā planned to return to Iraq to prepare a suitable retinue and equipage for his son. He would go to Isfahan, which came under his personal jurisdiction, to rest for a while after the pressures of recent events and to see to affairs in Fārs, Kerman, and Yazd, where various Afšār and Zu'l-Qadar governors had taken advantage of the disturbed times to behave in a seditious manner. Emāmqolī Khan was invested with robes of honor and confirmed in his governorship of Qarabāğ. Affairs in Azerbaijan he decided to leave until after the conclusion of peace. He set off from Ganja, but while camped at a place called Āb-e Šahma, he was murdered.

*The Murder of Ḥamza Mīrzā at the Hands of His Barber,
Kodāverdī*

On the night of 22 Zu'l-Hejja 994/4 December 1586, Ḥamza Mīrzā camped at Čašma-ye Berenjerd and spent the evening with 'Alīqolī Khan, drinking wine. About midnight, he left 'Alīqolī Khan's tent, drunk as a lord, and went to the royal pavilion with a few of his personal retainers and *golāms*. Eventually, he set off to go to the harem but finished up in the special tent which was used as an aviary, where a number of rare birds were kept. He called for a bed to be brought for him there. His barber, Kodāverdī, went out and spoke to the guard of personal retainers who were in the process of stationing themselves for the night around the prince's sleeping place. Telling them that the prince wished to be alone with a mistress and not to be disturbed, he moved the guards farther away from the tent.

Kodāverdī was an orphan of unknown parentage who used to ply his trade as a barber in Qazvin. As a youth he had entered the employ of Ḥamza Mīrzā, and since the two boys were of a similar age, the prince felt a natural affinity for him. The prince liked the way he performed his duties as a barber, and extended his favor to him and made him his confidant. As a result, persons of rank and wealth used him as a go-between, and he was deferred to by the emirs and principal officers of state. His evil nature now led him to commit the dastardly crime of murdering the prince.

The guards, hearing the words "private" and "mistress," and not suspecting that anything was wrong, followed his instructions and moved away from the aviary tent. Kodāverdī returned to the tent; finding the prince lying there dead drunk, he took the prince's dagger

from his belt and stabbed him several times in the stomach and side. When he was satisfied that the prince was dead, he left the tent. One of the prince's servants, a boy named Fattāḥ, who had been instructed to wait on the prince, then entered and found the prince lying in a pool of blood and breathing stertorously. He rushed out, shouting for the guards, but none dared to enter the tent. Finally, the *Şarbat-dar*, Zeynal Beg, went in; he summoned surgeons and physicians, but the prince was beyond help and died a few minutes later.

Aliqolı Khan and Esma'ılqolı Khan, who at that time were two of the principal officers of state, were then informed. Since the prince had given orders to march before dawn, many of those in the camp, ignorant of what had happened, had already left. The Shah and the women of the royal household, on receiving the news, raised a clamorous lament. The emirs assembled at Aliqolı Khan's tent, and sent Adham Khan Torkmān to fetch the prince's body. Adham Khan, assisted by the prince's personal servant, placed the prince's body, still in its bloodstained clothes, on a litter; two or three thousand people, lacerating their breasts and heaping dust on their heads, preceded the bier and filled the air with their laments. When the emirs saw the body, they removed their *qezelbāş* hats and hurled them on the ground, adding their plaints to the general lament. The corpse was taken first to a special tent which had been erected near the harem, where it was visited by the Shah. The tent was filled with keening mourners who had scored their faces with their fingernails and torn handfuls of hair from their heads. The corpse was then entrusted to the *sadrs* and *'olamā*, who performed the ritual washing in accordance with the prescriptions of Islamic law and placed it in its shroud. A small party was then detailed to take the prince ahead to Ardabil and bury him in the Safavid shrine there.

Not the least extraordinary aspect of the night's events was that the murderer was drawn back by feelings of guilt to view the body. After he had committed the murder, Kodāverdi went to his own tent, picked up a bag containing about fifty or sixty *tomān* in gold Ašrafi coins, saying that the prince wanted the gold to give to his mistress. He then went on foot and alone to the tent of Esma'ılqolı Khan, whom he knew best of the great emirs. Esma'ılqolı Khan was holding a party with some of his friends when Kodāverdi entered in a state of great perturbation. After the usual formalities, the Khan asked him why he had come at such an hour. Kodāverdi said, "I have committed a terrible crime. What am I to do?" He then confessed to

the murder and begged the Khan to assist him. One might ask why the Khan did not slay him on the spot.

After Kodäverdi had related this astonishing story, the Khan handed him over to Reżäqoli Beg, the son of Pırlı Beg İnallı, who had succeeded his father as *eşik-daqasıbäşı* to Hamza Mirzā, with orders to guard him and take him to his tent. Reżäqoli Beg placed him in a chest, loaded him onto a cart with some other chests full of clothes, and took him to his tent. Later that night, on orders from Esma'ılqoli Khan, he handed him over to two of his own men, with instructions to take Kodäverdi off into the forest and murder him. The two men, once they got Kodäverdi into the forest, struck him a couple of blows, but then got so interested in dividing up the gold he had with him that they neglected to finish him off. Kodäverdi was able to drag himself into a murky pool and conceal himself among the reeds; his wounds proved not to be serious.

After the two men had gone, Kodäverdi emerged from the pool, chilled to the bone, and made for a fire he could see in the distance. The "fire" turned out to be torches burning in the tent where the prince's body was lying. Some of the prince's retainers who were guarding the body saw Kodäverdi and seized him. When Kodäverdi saw the body, he wept with remorse. The guards said to him, "By virtue of enjoying this prince's favor, you were deferred to by emirs and the highest in the land. Why did you kill him?" He replied, "A group of people put me up to it, and made promises to me, and suborned me, and I was stupid enough to be deceived by them." However, Kodäverdi did not say who the people were who had worked on him to commit this crime.

In the morning, the Shah was informed of the arrest of Kodäverdi. The barber was taken first before an assembly of emirs, where he began to indulge in all sorts of loose talk. On the order of the emirs, a large packing needle was stuck through his tongue to prevent him from talking loosely and making wild accusations against the loyal servants of the crown. The Shah said he personally would exact retribution on the murderer. The Shah stabbed him several times in the stomach with his dagger, and his corpse was taken away by camp followers and burned. Glory be to God! How is it that man allows himself to be seduced by the whisperings of Satan and is persuaded to commit acts that result in his being doomed both in this world and the next?

An investigation into the motive for this crime failed to elicit any information; on the contrary, the more the investigators delved, the stranger the whole business appeared. No satisfying motive could be found. However, various rumors went around, and I will report these, since it is my duty as a historian to do so. One story, put about by persons who were on the fringes of the prince's circle, was that Kodäverdi had conceived an overwhelming passion for Reżäqoli İnallü, a handsome, beardless youth. Sometimes Kodäverdi would refer to this affair jokingly in the prince's assemblies, and the prince, in his more expansive moments, would refer to it (Kodäverdi was not sure whether he was serious or joking) in a way which upset Kodäverdi. Kodäverdi, suspecting that the prince too had a secret liaison with the youth, used to say, "I will be revenged on you for this!" The prince used to take this sort of remark as a joke, but (so this theory went) Kodäverdi's passion for Reżäqoli became so intense that it drove him to murder the prince.

Another theory was that Esmä'ilqoli Khan had become envious of Aliqoli Khan because of all the favors Hamza Mirzä had heaped upon the latter, including the title of *känlarkänî* (chief khan), was willing to contemplate the murder of Hamza Mirzä in order to bring down Aliqoli Khan, and had incited Kodäverdi to do the deed. Those who subscribed to this theory considered their case supported by the fact that Kodäverdi had gone to Esmä'ilqoli Khan's house after committing the murder, and that the Khan had concealed him.

Yet another theory was that the "triumvirs," Aliqoli Khan, Esmä'ilqoli Khan, and Mohammad Särü Sülag, had conspired to kill the prince (employing Kodäverdi as their instrument) because he had written to Morteżäqoli Khan Torkmān at Damghan, summoning him to court, and had kept this a secret from the triumvirs, although normally they were his confidants. The three had concluded that they had lost the prince's favor and that he intended to get rid of them. In support of their case, those who held this theory pointed out that the triumvirs, after the murder, acted with complete unanimity, despite the enmity and rivalry which in fact existed between them. Esmä'ilqoli raised no protest when Aliqoli Khan assumed the office of *vakil*, but on the contrary was at pains to demonstrate his friendship for him. The emirs had taken a crime of this magnitude extremely lightly, and they had made sure that Kodäverdi could not talk.

The triumvirs chose Abū Tāleb Mīrzā, who was still a minor,¹¹⁷ to succeed Ḥamza Mīrzā as heir-apparent. I might add that I heard from Mīrzā Loṭfollah Šīrāzī, Ḥamza Mīrzā's vizier, that the prince had indeed turned against the triumvirs and had become suspicious of them. "During the two days we were traveling from Ganja toward Iraq," said Mīrzā Loṭfollah, "the prince summoned me to him while he was in the bathhouse and said, 'What have I ever done to those two ingrates¹¹⁸ to make them now thirsty for blood? During our carousals, they start demanding justice—in other words, they are planning to kill me.' When the prince told me this, Kōdāverdī was shaving him and heard everything. It is quite likely that Kōdāverdī stupidly went and told the khans, and that they suborned Kōdāverdī to commit the murder."

Prima facie it seems unlikely that these two khans, both of whom owed their rise to Ḥamza Mīrzā, who had elevated them from the status of attendants and servants and made them khans, governors, and important officers of state, and merely to please them had gone to war against the Turkman-Takkalū coalition, an action fraught with all sorts of evil consequences, could have forgotten all they owed to him. Why did they not consider the consequences of their action, and how could their own intelligence have allowed them to commit a deed that would bring them ill repute in this world and the next? Be that as it may, they decided on this course of action. I heard this alleged far and wide, and so I have set it down in my history. However, the khans did not long survive their crime, as will be related in due course.

How Abū Tāleb Mīrzā Was Made Heir-Apparent and How His Fortunes Subsequently Declined

After the murder of Ḥamza Mīrzā, Sultan Mohammad Shah convened a meeting of the great emirs and exhorted them to cease the intertribal strife, in particular the feud between the Šamlū-Ostājlū faction and the Takkalū-Turkman faction. The Shah decided to undertake the burden of state affairs in person and not appoint any of his sons, or the other royal princes, deputy (*nāyeb*) of the *dīvān-e a'la* and heir-apparent. He made this decision for various confidential reasons he considered it inexpedient to make public.

¹¹⁷He was born in 1574, and was therefore now twelve years old.

¹¹⁸Clearly the two principal triumvirs, 'Aliqoli Khan and Esmā'ilqoli Khan, are meant.

The feud, however, continued between the Khorasan emirs, of whom Morshedqoli Khan was now the leader,¹¹⁹ and the Iraq emirs. Neither Abū Tāleb Mīrzā nor Tahmasp Mīrzā, by virtue of their age, was old enough to be heir-apparent, and Tahmasp Mīrzā, because he had been supported by the Takkalūs and Turkmans, was now incarcerated at Alamūt under Ostajlū guard. But the emirs at court rejected the Shah's view and decided that their best interest lay in making Abū Tāleb heir-apparent. The Shah continued to oppose this course of action and to counsel delay. He thought that Ḥamza Mīrzā had met his untimely end as a result of too close association with ignorant *qezelbāš*; in the future, he said, he would do without the assistance of any of his sons, and would not permit the *qezelbāš* to have constant access to them.

The emirs put forward Mīrzā Moḥammad, the comptroller of finance (*mostowfi al-mamālek*) to speak for them: "For some years," he said, "'Hamza Mīrzā (by virtue of the Shah's decree) has managed the affairs of state and of the crown, and reports of his power and authority have spread to all parts. If our enemies do not speedily hear of the appointment of one of the royal princes as his successor, it is likely that trouble will break out on all sides, to the detriment of both religion and the state. 'Abbas Mīrzā, who is the eldest of your surviving sons, is in Khorasan and has been declared ruler of that province by the Khorasan emirs; on the other hand, Abū Tāleb Mīrzā is here at court; he should be made heir-apparent without delay."

The Shah finally gave in, though with reluctance. This was the first mistake on the part of the Iraq emirs. It was obvious that 'Abbas Mīrzā's star was in the ascendant, but they closed their eyes to this fact. It was equally clear that, whenever 'Abbas Mīrzā chose to march from Khorasan to Iraq, the *qezelbāš* would have no option but to submit to him. The Iraq emirs thought, however, that the Khorasan emirs, especially Morshedqoli Khan, who was the guardian and *rokn al-salṭana* of 'Abbas Mīrzā at Mašhad, would prefer to remain in Khorasan, where he was all-powerful, rather than go to Iraq, where he might not wield the same authority.

On the 10th of Moharram 995/21 December 1586, at a time when the Shah and the troops were still clad in mourning for Ḥoseyn, the Iraq emirs, insisting on the need for haste, brought Abū Tāleb Mīrzā into the presence of his father in the royal camp at Tatār Čay. With his

¹¹⁹By virtue of his seizure of 'Abbas Mīrzā.

Actions of the Emirs of Iraq, Azerbaijan, Fars, and Kerman

own hands, the Shah transferred his crown to his son's head, girded him with a jeweled dagger belt and sword belt, clothed him in a splended robe of honor, and named him his heir-apparent. Ḥamza Mīrzā's personal retainers and the administrative officers of the supreme *dīvān* were placed at the service of Abū Ṭālib Mīrzā, and the late prince's property and royal workshops were similarly transferred to Abū Ṭālib Mīrzā. In accordance with Ṣafavid custom, all the emirs and *qezelbaš* nobles at court performed the ceremony of kissing the feet of the new heir-apparent, and proclamations were sent to the provincial governors. Emāmqolī Khan and the Qarabag emirs left camp and returned to their fiefs, while the royal army proceeded on its way to Ardabīl, where the body of Ḥamza Mīrzā was buried in the tombs of his ancestors. As part of the rites for his dead son, the Shah distributed food and alms to the poor.

'Alīqolī Khan and the Iraq emirs rewarded Mīrzā Mohammad, who had worked hard on their behalf to achieve what the emirs desired, by securing him the appointment of *vazir-e dīvān-e a'lā*. Mīrzā Mohammad had complete independence in the management of *dīvān* affairs, and received the title of *e'temād al-dowla*. The Iraq emirs now began to act in accordance with the dictates of their own ambition, and to put their own interests before those of religion and the state: however, they soon met their just deserts. From Ardabīl, the Shah marched to Qazvin via Tārom and Kalkāl, and wintered at the capital.

The Actions of the Emirs of Iraq, Azerbaijan, Fārs and Kerman from the Time of the Murder of Ḥamza Mīrzā to the Time When the Sun of Abbas Mīrzā's Power Rose Above the Horizon in Khorasan

After their defeat at Şäyen Qal'a, many of the Turkman emirs made their way to Damghan, where they joined Morteżāqolī Khan Pornāk. In order to win them over, Ḥamza Mīrzā, without the knowledge of the Iraq emirs, had written a conciliatory letter to Morteżāqolī Khan, summoning him to court and making various promises to him. The Khan had set out, but when he reached Rayy, he heard of the death of Ḥamza Mīrzā and the assumption of power by Abū Ṭālib Mīrzā with the support of 'Alīqolī Khan and Esmā'īlqolī Khan. He had not dared to proceed further, and he was apprehensive of possible punitive measures the Iraq emirs might take against the Turkman tribe. He had therefore proceeded to Qom and Sāva, in which areas most

of the families of the Turkman tribe resided, and had compelled those families, whether they wanted to or not, to proceed to Damghan. The people of the region, thinking that Morteżāqolī Khan had rebelled, had sent him gifts with the object of persuading him not to do them any harm.

Valī Khan Torkmān, the son of Mohammad Khan Torkmān, who with his father had governed Kashan for some years, had always encouraged Morteżāqolī Khan to expect the most lavish gifts from the people of Kashan, most of whom were merchants and wealthy persons from many regions. It was he who had been the cause of Morteżāqolī Khan's commencing secret discussions with the people of Kashan. Initially, the people had rejected his overtures, but on second thoughts, concern for their lives and property had led them to adopt a more conciliatory attitude toward him on the advice of the *dārūga*, Behzād Beg, and the vizier, Mīrzā Ahmād Kojojī. They had appealed to Valī Khan to protect them from Morteżāqolī Khan. Valī Khan had gone to Kashan without permission from Morteżāqolī Khan, and his entry into the city had not been opposed by the *dārūga* and the vizier, who did not attach any great importance to him. Valī Khan had been a guest in the house of the *dārūga*.

Within a few days, Valī Khan had gathered round him a group of veteran Turkmans who had been in Kashan since the days when Mohammad Khan and his sons governed that city, and who had elected to remain there in the service of the *dārūga*. He was also joined by men from outside the city. Feeling his own strength to be now superior to that of the *dārūga* and the vizier, he determined to seize control of the city from them. His Turkmans seized their officials and employees and finally seized the vizier and the *dārūga* too, and confiscated all their possessions. The people of Kashan submitted to him, having no other choice. Initially, Valī Khan treated them well, but as his power increased, his behavior changed.

Morteżāqolī Khan had therefore parted company with Valījan Khan and had proceeded to Damghan with the men who had elected to follow him. On arrival there, he sent a message to Morshedqolī Khan at Mašhad in the following terms: "While Ḥamza Mīrzā was alive, I, as a good Sufi, remained loyal to him, since he was the elder son of Sultan Mohammad Shah and was his heir-apparent. Now that he is dead, however, I consider 'Abbas Mīrzā to be the heir-apparent. If prince's standards advance toward Iraq, he will find the Turkman tribe ready to obey him."

Valījān Khan, after consolidating his position at Kashan, had great expectations of exacting money from the wealthy burghers of that city. He gradually gathered more and more Turkmans under his banner. He then sent a letter to Qazvin representing himself as having performed a service to the crown by keeping Kashan out of the hands of Morteżāqoli Khan, and confidently expecting that the emirs and principal officers of state would furnish him with an official mandate as governor. The officials at Qazvin, however, did not like his headstrong action and dictatorial manner, and did not wish to bow to his demands. They therefore appointed 'Aliqoli Khan Šaraf governor of Kashan. Valījān Khan, seeing that his hopes in that direction had now been dashed, sent a courier to Khorasan and declared himself a supporter of 'Abbas Mīrzā. He arrested all the purveyors (*gerek-yarāqān*)¹²⁰ of the emirs and principal officers of state who were in Kashan and expropriated their supply caravans.

It will be recalled that Yūsuf Khan Afšār, after the defection of his father, Qolī Beg the *qūrčibāšī*, had gone from Abarqūh to Yazd. In cooperation with the *dārūga* of Yazd, Mohammad Kalīfa Afšār, he had seized the citadel there and had taken the possessions of the royalist emirs. After the defeat of the Takkalū-Turkman rebellion, Yūsuf Khan, at the command of Ḥamza Mīrzā and with the approval of Mīrmīrān, was placed in bondage and imprisoned. At this juncture, Valī Khan, the governor of Kerman, arrived in Yazd with his son Bektaş Khan; they were on their way to join the Shah in Azerbaijan. Since Bektaş was a rebellious and ambitious man, he released Yūsuf Khan from prison, arrested the *dārūga* and the purveyors who had been appointed by the supreme *dīvān*, and assumed a rebellious posture vis-a-vis the Shah. When they heard of the death of Ḥamza Mīrzā, Valī Khan marched back to Kerman and Bektaş engineered for himself a marriage connection with Mīrmīrān that increased his power and influence at Yazd and encouraged him to think of himself as the de facto governor of the region. With his blessing, Yūsuf Khan returned to Abarqūh and resumed his post as governor there. Bektaş Khan's actions had made him a little apprehensive of retribution from the emirs and the principal officers of state. With the approval of Mīrmīrān, he too sent a courier to Khorasan to 'Abbas Mīrzā and Morshedqoli Khan, assuring them of his fealty. The Areşlū and Afšār emirs of the Isfahan region followed his lead and declared their opposition to Abū Taleb Mīrzā. The Afšārs of the Kūh Gilüya region constituted themselves into independent groups, each with an emir.

¹²⁰See TM, pp. 177-78.

In Fārs, the governor 'Alī Khan Šādī Takkalū was faced with open hostility from his Zu'l-Qadar subjects even while Ḥamza Mirzā was still alive. 'Alī Khan had therefore traveled to Qazvin to present his services to Ḥamza Mirzā, consolidate his own position, and get the dissident Zu'l-Qadars punished. When he reached Qazvin and heard of the murder of Ḥamza Mirzā, he remained there to pay his respects to the Shah and Abū Ṭālib Mirzā. The emirs and principal officers of state secured his reappointment as governor of Fārs, and letters were written to the Zu'l-Qadar junior officers in Fārs threatening them with the Shah's wrath and punishment. 'Alī Khan was equipped with a robe of honor and sent on his way.

When the news of his return reached Fārs, Mirzā 'Abdollah, the son of Mirzā Salmān Jāberī, who aspired to hold the office of *vazīr-e dīvān-e a'la* and whose thoughts were dominated by this ambition day and night, instigated the Zu'l-Qadar emirs to oppose 'Alī Khan. They singled out Mahdiqoli Beg Šādī Takkalū, raised him to the rank of khan and to the position of governor of Fārs, and expropriated for his use all of 'Alī Khan's equipment and possessions that were in Shiraz. 'Alī Khan heard the news as he approached Shiraz, but continued to press on fearlessly with the two to three hundred men he had with him. He warned the rebels of his approach, and confidently expected that rifts would appear in their ranks and that, group by group, they would come out to welcome him. But they pledged themselves to support Mahdiqoli Khan and to oppose 'Alī Khan. 'Alī Khan never imagined that the Zu'l-Qadars would disobey a royal edict. He reached Kūtal Mā'in, some twelve *farsaks* from Shiraz, but not a soul came out to meet him.

When he realized the opposition to him was united, he was filled with consternation and did not dare to go forward or to return. Mahdiqoli Khan and the Zu'l-Qadar junior officers, having renewed their oaths, marched out against 'Alīqoli, who had no alternative but to stand and fight with the small band of men at his disposal. The Shirazis, outnumbering his men many times, routed them at the first charge. But because his men were also from the Zu'l-Qadar tribe, they forebore from killing any great number of them. All the supplies in 'Alī Khan's camp were looted, and he himself was taken in fetters to Shiraz and executed with great ignominy in the *meydān*. This foul deed was perpetrated by men who had been recipients of his favor for years; Mahdiqoli Khan was actually related to him, and had always been treated by him as a son. The just retribution that overtook those

guilty of this deed will be related in Book II of this history.

Those who had committed this deed now stood in fear of the supporters of Abū Ṭāleb Mīrzā and the principal officers of state, and they hastily sent a courier to Moršedqolī Khan, declaring themselves to be Abbasid supporters. As a result, letters came from Khorasan appointing Mahdīqolī Khan governor of Shiraz and Mīrzā ‘Abdullāh, the son of Mīrzā Salmān, *vazīr-e dīvān-e a’lā*. The latter, however, with an eye on Sultan Mohammad Shah, made no changes in the *kotba* or the coinage, but continued to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

At Isfahan, the *golām* Farhād Aqa, who had governed that city for some years on behalf of Ḥamza Mīrzā and who had constructed a strong fort in the vicinity of Naqsh-e Jahān and stocked it with everything necessary for its defense, was devastated by the turn of events at Qazvin. ʻAlīqolī Khan had become *vakīl* with absolute authority, and Mīrzā Mohammad had become vizier and *e’temād al-dowla*. The reasons for his alarm were that he had quarreled with ʻAlīqolī Khan when the latter was *dārūga* of Isfahan and had refused to give the Khan’s agents much freedom of action. As a result, Farhād Aqa now felt he could place no confidence in the Khan. Mīrzā Mohammad too had a grudge against him. On the pretext of dealing with the disloyal Arešlū and Afšār tribes, therefore, Farhād strengthened the fort at Isfahan, not wishing to submit to the Abū Ṭāleb Mīrzā faction.

In Azerbaijan, after the murder of Ḥamza Mīrzā, it was a case of every man for himself. The king’s commands were ignored, and local chiefs seized control of whatever territory they could. As a result, Ja’far Pasha was able to extend the area under his control, and most of Azerbaijan passed out of the hands of the *qezelbāš*.

To sum up, the affairs of Azerbaijan, Iraq, Fārs, Kerman, Kūh Gilūya, and Kūzestān were in a chaotic state. The civilian population suffered because of the supremacy of the military in these areas, and the military were like sheep without a shepherd. Toward the end of the year, however (995/1587), ‘Abbas Mīrzā began his westward march from Khorasan, and the promise of his coming was like the promise of rain in a parched land.

*The Conduct of the Emirs and Principal Officers of State
of Sultan Mohammad Shah, and the Supporters of
Abū Ṭāleb Mīrzā*

Abū Ṭāleb Mīrzā and the emirs at Qazvin did not for a moment imagine that Morṣedqolī Khan would dare to advance on Iraq with the relatively small forces at his disposal. But, when New Year's day of the year 995/1587 ushered in the Year of the Pig and alarming reports began to come in regarding the situation in Kashan, Isfahan, Yazd, Shiraz and Kerman, the emirs recovered to some extent from their state of euphoria, and began more soberly to appraise what was happening in the provinces and to take steps to remedy the situation.

Mīr Ja'far Qazvīnī, formerly the vizier of Farhād Aqa at Isfahan and now holding the post of manager (*motasaddī*) at Qazvin, was sent to Isfahan to fetch Farhād Aqa to court. Orders issued to the latter were designed to conciliate him. Pīrqolī Beg, the son of Šāhqolī Saqqā, who had close relations with the family of Qolī Beg the *qūrčibāšī* and the Afšār tribe, was dispatched to Yazd to Bektāš Khan, in the hope of winning him over to support of Abū Ṭāleb Mīrzā. Meanwhile, the royal camp moved to its summer quarters of Karraqān.¹²¹ Mīr Ja'far returned, bringing with him Farhād Aqa. The latter gave only a paltry present to the Shah and to Abū Ṭāleb Mīrzā, but he gave large sums in cash to 'Alīqolī Khan, Esmā'ilqolī Khan, and the vizier Mīrzā Mohammad, and consequently succeeded in getting himself reappointed as governor of Isfahan. Farhād Aqa made haste to obtain permission to return to Isfahan at the earliest possible moment, while every day some unwelcome news reached the ears of the emirs and principal officers of state at Qazvin. The emirs deferred in all matters to the judgment of Mīrzā Mohammad the vizier, but all their plans were frustrated, because fate willed that kingship and the government of the state be conferred on Abbas Mīrzā.

At this point, a quarrel that occurred between the Šāmlūs and Ostajlūs at Qazvin was patched up through the good offices of Moḥammadi Beg Sārū Sūlag. The cause of the quarrel was the appointment of Pīr Čeyb Khan Ostajlū as governor of Hamadan by the late Ḥamza Mīrzā, because Esmā'ilqolī Khan Šāmlū wished to confer this governorship on Šāhverdī Kalīfa, his elder brother. Since 'Alīqolī Khan could not afford the luxury of crossing Esmā'ilqolī Khan, and since he bore a grudge against Pīr Čeyb Khan in any case, he gave his approval, and a letter of appointment as governor of Hamadan

¹²¹Southwest of Qazvin (see Le Strange, p. 196).

was issued to Šāhverdī Kalīfa. Pīr Čeyb Khan was angered by this action; although he ostensibly handed over the office to Šāhverdī Kalīfa, he remained in residence in the governor's house and did not go out. Šāhverdī Kalīfa was a diplomatic and dignified officer, but some of his Šāmlū troops urged him to expel Pīr Čeyb Khan by force. However, Pīr Čeyb Khan had more men at his disposal than Šāhverdī Kalīfa at that moment. He would not bow to force, and his resentment at the way he had been treated would not permit him to submit to the Šāmlūs. The quarrel developed into actual conflict, the Ostājlūs being mainly responsible, and the situation had an extremely adverse effect on Šāhverdī Kalīfa's prestige.

When Esmā'īlqolī Khan heard what had happened, he wanted to leap on his horse and lead his Šāmlūs at full-speed to Hamadan to punish Pīr Čeyb Khan, but 'Alīqolī Khan, trying to avoid open conflict with the Šāmlūs, suggested that he should go himself to Hamadan, install Šāhverdī Kalīfa, and bring Pīr Čeyb Khan back to court and hand him over to Esmā'īlqolī Khan. Esmā'īlqolī Khan agreed. Before 'Alīqolī Khan could set out, peacemakers had patched up a temporary truce between the two parties at Hamadan, and Pīr Čeyb Khan had left the city. He met 'Alīqolī Khan on the way, and returned with him to Karraqān. But since Pīr Čeyb Khan was not on very good terms with 'Alīqolī Khan and was terrified of Esmā'īlqolī Khan, he fled from the royal camp with his brothers and a few Ostājlūs who had been his personal retainers for many years. Abandoning his baggage, he made for Khorasan. He did not rest night or day on the road, and a few days later was in Mašhad kissing the feet of 'Abbas Mīrzā. Then he was received by Moršedqolī Khan, in whom he instilled the desire to advance on Iraq by describing the chaotic state of affairs there.

While the royal camp was still at Karraqān, 'Āshūr Aqa, a messenger from 'Abbas Mīrzā and Moršedqolī Khan, arrived bearing various letters. Moršedqolī Khan, an extremely cautious and experienced officer, had wanted to get firsthand information on the actual situation in Iraq before deciding on a course of action. There were two letters, one from 'Abbas Mīrzā to his father asking for information about the murder of his brother, Ḥamza Mīrzā, and the other from Moršedqolī Khan, addressed to the principal officers of state. The gist of the latter was as follows:

For some years now, there has been division between

the emirs of Iraq and those of Khorasan. As a result of this disunity and strife, our enemies have been able to encroach on our territory and the government of the realm is in complete disorder. Now that Ḥamza Mīrzā is dead and 'Abbas Mīrzā is the eldest son of the Shah and has reached maturity and given clear signs of his ability to rule, I beg you, the principal officers of state, to set aside your differences with us so that we may all pledge our fealty to one prince, restore unity to the realm, jointly take whatever action is judged necessary against our enemies, and heal this schism between the *qezelbāš*.

When 'Āṣūr Aqa arrived at Qazvin he was detained by Qūr Koms Khan Šamlū, who had been charged with the defense of the capital; after permission had been received, he was sent on to Karraqān. The great khans read the letter from Khorasan, but they distrusted Morshedqoli Khan, who had made himself *vakīl* with full powers in the service of 'Abbas Mīrzā. They were swayed by 'Aliqoli Khan Fath oglū, who had been raised to a position of the highest authority in the supreme *dīvān*. He exercised control over both the affairs of state and the king and considered himself a kingmaker par excellence; he was also well aware that he and Morshedqoli Khan could not exist together.

Looking to his own interests, 'Aliqoli Khan interpreted Morshedqoli Khan's words as a deceitful trick, and the emirs rejected them utterly. In reply they wrote: "Ḥamza Mīrzā was made the heir-apparent by Sultan Mohammad Shah. When Ḥamza Mīrzā left to conduct operations against the rebel Turkman-Takkalū faction, the Shah made a testamentary disposition to the effect that, if anything happened to Ḥamza Mīrzā in that campaign, Abū Ṭāleb Mīrzā was to succeed him as heir. In pledging ourselves to Abū Ṭāleb Mīrzā, therefore, we are merely carrying out the wishes of the Shah, and we will not agree to any other course." They concluded by attacking Morshedqoli Khan for causing discord between the Iraq emirs and those of Khorasan. All the emirs and elders of the tribes affixed their seals to this document, handed it to 'Āṣūr Aqa, and dismissed him with slights and insults. Apart from the triumvirs, 'Aliqoli Khan, Esmā'il-qoli Khan, and Moḥammadī Sārū Sūlag, and the vizier Mīrzā Mohammad, none of the other emirs wanted to affix their seals to this document. They were forced to do so, and some of them sent verbal messages to this effect to Khorasan.

After the courier had left for Khorasan, the Iraq emirs decided to march against Valī Khan and wrest Kashan from his control and then to proceed to Isfahan and Yazd to settle the affairs of Fārs and Kerman, intending to punish intransigents and replace unreliable governors with their own men. 'Aliqolī Sultan Zu'l-Qadar, the governor of Qom, and Moršedqolī Sultan Šāmlū, the brother of Esmā'īl-qolī Khan, were sent on ahead to Kashan against Valījān Khan.

The Iraq emirs had hopes of extracting large sums of money from Farhād Aqa. Some Iṣfahānīs who had come to court to lay complaints against Farhād Aqa urged them to arrest and fine him. These men undertook to divest Farhād Aqa of his possessions, to extract money from his supporters and financial agents, and to hand the proceeds over to the emirs. Farhād Aqa, who had still not managed to leave the court's summer quarters at Karraqān, was arrested, and everything he possessed was confiscated. Mīrzā Ahmad Kofrānī, the *nāz̄er*, was appointed vizier and business manager (*şâheb-e mo'āmela*) at Isfahan; Mīrzā Hedāyat Najm-e Sānī was appointed superintendent of commercial transactions (*nāz̄er-e mo'āmelât*). Collectors (*zābeṭān*) were appointed to appropriate Farhād Aqa's property. They extracted considerable sums from some fifty or sixty of his officials and employees, and sent ruthless collection agents to Isfahan. Seyyed Beg Kamūna was appointed *dārūga* of Isfahan. The royal army then marched to Kashan in twenty days.

Valījān Khan, who had given up hope of receiving any appointment from court, secured the gates of the city and prepared to defend it. He began to plunder the merchants and wealthy citizens of Kashan in order to give his retainers large grants of money. Gradually, taking as his motto "a slave and everything he possesses belongs to his master," if he suspected anyone of possessing some wealth, he regarded it as his own and extorted it from its owner by force. The besiegers gradually brought their earthworks forward as far as the ditch round the city walls.

At this point, the besiegers received bad news from Isfahan. When he heard of Farhād Aqa's arrest, Kosrow Beg, a *golām* and a relative of Farhād, had shut himself up in the citadel with some of Farhād Aqa's retainers and had defied the collection agents. Seyyed Beg Kamūna and Mīrzā Ahmad Kofrānī, the vizier and fiefholder, took up their station in the compound of the Hoseynī seyyeds known as the Hoseynīya, long venerated as a sanctuary by the people of that

province. Levying musketeers and archers locally, they settled down to defend the Ḥoseynīya and the city. The garrison of the citadel consisted mainly of destitute *golāms* who began to plunder the citizens. Growing bolder, they finally attacked the Ḥoseynīya, breached its walls in several places, and rushed in and carried off enormous quantities of loot. Seyyed Beg Kamūna, the *dārūga*, and Mīrzā Mohammad Amīn, both of whom were among the elect of the Islamic world, were seized and held as hostages for Farhād Aqa. The vizier, Mīrzā Ahmad, fled with a few men to Kashan, whereupon Allāhqolī Sultan Kangarlū and other emirs were dispatched to Isfahan. As this force approached Isfahan, it was attacked by some of the rebel Areşlū emirs at Mürča-ķort. Allāhqolī Sultan, Mīrzā Hedāyat Najm-e Sānī, and several other notables, both Turks and Persians, were taken prisoner. On receiving this news, the principal officers of state at Kashan redoubled their efforts to capture the citadel there.

Since their presence was urgently needed at Isfahan, the Iraq emirs launched a night assault on the citadel without having the necessary equipment, and fighting went on until midnight without their having effected an entry. Esmā'īlqolī Khan decided to call off the siege, to conclude a truce with Valījān Khan, and leave him to be dealt with after the more pressing situation at Isfahan had been settled. On his own responsibility, therefore, Esmā'īlqolī Khan opened negotiations with Valījān Khan, who responded favorably because he was hard pressed. He sent some of his men with insignificant gifts to plead for pardon, and Esmā'īlqolī Khan obtained an audience for them with 'Alīqolī Khan, who obtained an audience for them with the Shah and Abū Ṭaleb Mīrzā.

Valījān Khan's request for pardon was granted, and he was given two months in which to complete his arrangements at Kashan and go to whatever destination the supreme *dīvān* might stipulate. It was agreed that, when the royal army left for Isfahan, he should open the gates of the citadel and admit a force of some three hundred Šāmlūs, Bayāts, and others. These would remain at Kashan as a garrison. The terms of this extraordinary truce were agreed to, and the royal army marched away to Isfahan, entered the city at an hour judged propitious by the astrologer Mīrzā 'Arab Haravī, and made the Ḥoseynīya their headquarters. 'Alīqolī Khan camped near the royal headquarters, but Esmā'īlqolī Khan camped at Golbār,¹²² and the other emirs camped at suitable points. The royal army busied itself

¹²²See Le Strange, p. 205.

with casting cannon and preparing siege equipment, but after a few days 'Alīqolī Khan decided to see whether he could get possession of the citadel by guile. He brought Farhād Aqa to his own quarters, had his neck chains removed, treated him as his guest, made fair promises to him, and undertook to plead his case. Farhād Aqa then sent a messenger to Kosrow Beg calling on him to surrender the citadel. Kosrow Beg at first distrusted the message and sent back a harsh answer to Farhād Aqa, but he gradually became reconciled to the idea. Once he was assured that his life would be spared, he opened the gates of the citadel, which was thus captured by kindness.

A delegation of tribal elders arrived on behalf of Mahdīqolī Khan and the Zu'l-Qadars of Fārs, asking pardon for their action in killing 'Alī Khan. If the principal officers of state would overlook this incident, they said, and confirm Mahdīqolī Khan as governor of Fārs, they would pledge the support of the Zu'l-Qadar tribe, which was noted for its loyal service and adherence to the rules of Sufi conduct; moreover, the tribe was willing to pay a large fine to the supreme *divān*. The sensible thing in that situation would have been to grant their requests, but Mīrzā Mohammad the vizier did not like their servile attitude, and appointed as governor of Fārs, Shāhqolī Kalīfa Zu'l-Qadar, the governor of Dārābjerd, who was at court, and gave his post to Tahmāspqolī Sultan, the son of 'Alīqolī Khan. Although these appointees never succeeded in getting to Fārs, the fact of their appointment merely confirmed Mahdīqolī Khan and the Zu'l-Qadars in their opposition to the Iraq emirs, and caused them openly to proclaim their support of the 'Abbasid cause.

A quarrel now developed between two of the triumvirs, 'Alīqolī Khan and Esmā'īlqolī Khan, over the appointment by the former of 'Alīqolī Sultan Zu'l-Qadar as governor of Qom. 'Alīqolī Sultan was the grandson of Shāhqolī Kalīfa, who had held the office of keeper of the seal under Shah Tahmasp and had held Qom as a fief. 'Alīqolī Sultan wanted to take advantage of the fact that 'Alīqolī Khan, who was his friend and patron, was now the most powerful man in the state. He wanted the office of keeper of the seal, which had been held by his grandfather. 'Alīqolī Khan supported his request, partly because he wanted to indulge him and partly because he was dissatisfied with the performance of the incumbent in that office, Aslams Khan the son of Shāhroq Khan. Aslams Khan, however, was supported by those Zu'l-Qadars who owed their rise to the patronage of his father, Shāhroq Khan. Esmā'īlqolī Khan threw his

weight behind this faction, an action that greatly displeased 'Alīqolī Khan and caused him to press more strongly the claims of his nominee. This was the origin of the feud between the two triumvirs which, fanned by troublemakers, led to an estrangement between them and the pairing off of the *qezelbāš* in support of one or the other. Each faction erected barricades in the streets of Isfahan, and each went around fearful of attack by the other.

This state of affairs produced a complete breakdown in the administration of the city and the realm, and no one showed any concern for the weak and indigent. The licentious behavior of rude and mischievous *qezelbāš* soldiers made it difficult for citizens to go about their business in the streets of the bazaar. Merchants closed their shops and business came to a standstill. But one activity that did continue was the business of extorting money from the citizenry by means of fines and confiscations. Large sums were levied on behalf of the fiefholder of Isfahan, and as billeting allowances (*dūšollokāt*)¹²³ for the principal officers of state. These levies were made by persons holding drafts issued by the emirs, and such persons employed collection agents to get the money. Since no questions were asked about the methods they used, anyone who got his hands on a draft was able to extort double the face value of the draft.

At this juncture, the news arrived that Abdollah Khan, the Uzbeg ruler, had invaded Khorasan and besieged Herat. The report said that 'Alīqolī Khan Šāmlū was defending the city and that Moršedqolī Khan had left Mašhad with 'Abbas Mirzā and planned to march to Iraq via Ṭabas. Since communications between Iraq and Khorasan were poor, it was not clear whether Moršedqolī Khan had left Mašhad simply in fear of Abdollah Khan, or whether he intended to attempt a coup in Iraq. At all events, this news produced a rapid rapprochement between the two estranged triumvirs! However, the two khans approached the idea of a meeting between them with extreme caution; the Šāmlūs did not want Esmā'īlqolī Khan to go to 'Alīqolī Khan's quarters to patch up their quarrel. The meeting did take place, but each khan was supported by a fully-armed phalanx of his own men.

Esmā'īlqolī Khan marched to the Ḥoseyniya with great pomp and ceremony. On his side, 'Alīqolī Khan had turned out the court chamberlains and doorkeepers, and stationed plenty of musketeers

¹²³See *TM*, p. 157.

on all sides. When Esmā'īlqolī Khan saw this formidable array awaiting him, he braved it out and continued to advance. But when he, his brothers, and the other Šāmlū emirs who were with him had entered 'Alīqolī Khan's quarters, 'Alīqolī Khan's men closed behind them and prevented the Šāmlū troops from entering. Esmā'īlqolī Khan, making no protest, went in and met 'Alīqolī Khan, and they concluded a spurious truce.

Hardly had the two khans become reconciled to each other than the news arrived from Khorasan of the death of Morteżāqolī Khan Pōrnāk, followed by repeated reports that Moršedqolī Khan was advancing on Iraq. 'Alīqolī Khan's first thought was to take his men, some five thousand in all, and to go first by forced marches to Rayy, which was his fief, and then to Kār and Semnān, with the object of securing the roads as far as Damghan and of preventing anyone who might feel disposed to do so from going out to welcome 'Abbas Mīrzā. Since the Khorasan army was small, he said, this would effectively prevent it from advancing on Iraq by this route. He suggested that Esmā'īlqolī Khan should proceed to Qazvin with the Shah and Abū Tāleb Mīrzā and hold the capital. 'Alīqolī Khan's officers demurred; Esmā'īlqolī Khan could not be trusted, they said, and consequently it would be folly to place the Shah and Abū Tāleb Mīrzā in his hands and then to take himself far away. They thought Moršedqolī Khan would move against Isfahan, rallying to him the Afšārs and Zu'l-Qadars from Kerman, Yazd, and Shiraz who had declared their support for 'Abbas's cause. They therefore deemed it wiser to remain at Isfahan. The argument went back and forth for several days. Then, on receiving reports that 'Abbas was advancing along the Damghan road, the triumvirs decided to fall back on Qazvin. Before they left Isfahan, however, they once more bled the population white. After the damage had been done, they appointed Ebrahim Khan Torkmān, the son of Heydar Sultan Čābūq, *dārūga* of Isfahan. They marched off toward Qazvin, sending on ahead 'Alīqolī Sultan Zu'l-Qadar, the governor of Qom, with instructions to mobilize his men at Qom and rendezvous with them at some place to be determined.

Hardly had the khans left Isfahan than one of the triumvirs, Mōhammadī Sarū Sūlāg, the "brains" behind the movement to put Abū Tāleb on the throne, fell ill. The others waited for him for ten crucial days at Mūrča-Āqort. Then, receiving confirmed reports that 'Abbas was advancing along the Kār and Semnān road, they marched off

toward Jorpādeqān,¹²⁴ instead of taking the usual route through Kashan, because of the presence there of the hostile Valījān Khan.

Events in Khorasan, the Advance of 'Abbas Mīrzā on Iraq, and His Accession to the Throne of Iran

Although 'Alīqolī Khan Šāmlū, at Herat, had lost custody of 'Abbas Mīrzā to Moršedqolī Khan, he continued to be apprehensive of the latter. He realized he could not expect any help from Iraq and so, like a drowning man clutching at a straw, he cast around for some ally. He sent couriers to the Mogul princes at Kandahar and to 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg at Bokhara, representing himself as their vassal. 'Abdullah Khan considered this an amazing piece of luck, and sent back letters of apparent friendship; the princes at Kandahar made no response. In reality, 'Abdullah considered this a golden opportunity to capture Herat, on which he had for long had his eye. He determined to invade Khorasan and, at the beginning of the Year of the Pig (end of 995/1587), appeared on the borders of Khorasan with a large army. First, he sent a message to 'Alīqolī Khan, as follows:

You made friendly overtures to me, and paid me for compliments due from a servant to his master. Now I have decided to conquer Khorasan, and have brought an army for this purpose. If you are sincere in your avowals, then join me without delay and make your obeisance to me, and let my name be inserted in the *kotba* and stamped on the coinage throughout the province. If you prefer to hand over the administration of the province to my supreme *dīvān*, you may take your pick of any other governorship you fancy in the provinces of Transoxania, Turkestan and Badakšān. If, however, you were not sincere in your avowal of friendship and do not wish to enter my service, you should evacuate Herat and rejoin your fellow *qezelbāš*, since I do not intend to return without achieving my object.

This message filled 'Alīqolī Khan with alarm, and he bitterly regretted having, in his desperation, made overtures to 'Abdullah

¹²⁴The modern Golpa'īgān, the town lies northwest of Isfahan. The necessity of using this route meant a considerable detour for the Iraq emirs if they planned to march east toward Khorasan.

Khan. He knew it was an impossibility for *qezelbāš* and Uzbegs to mix; he could not think of surrendering Herat, the most important region of Iran and one which aroused the envy of the gardens of paradise; and he could not trust the Iraq emirs. Consequently, he accepted his fate and prepared to defend the city. 'Abdollah Khan, giving up hope of obtaining the submission of 'Alīqolī Khan, appeared before Herat and commenced the siege. Every day there were skirmishes between the besiegers and the besieged. The full story of the siege will be narrated in Book II.

Meanwhile, Morshedqoli Khan's envoy, whom he had sent to Qazvin to sound out the emirs there in regard to their willingness to acknowledge 'Abbas Mīrzā, had returned without the answer Morshedqoli Khan had hoped for. Morteżāqoli Khan, after his return from Iraq, had sent a delegation to Mašhad consisting of his brother, Kāzemqoli Sultan; Besṭām Aqa; and Bektāš Beg the son of Mohammad Khan Torkmān, to declare his solidarity with Morshedqoli Khan. In addition, Morteżāqoli Khan urged him to march on Iraq, and the news from Fārs, Kerman, and Yazd all supported such a move. However, Morshedqoli Khan was an extremely prudent and experienced officer; in addition, because of the enmity between the Ostājlūs and the Turkmans, he did not altogether trust Morteżāqoli Khan. Moreover, he did not want to take his trump card, 'Abbas Mīrzā, and place him in the midst of two or three thousand Turkman households. He therefore procrastinated in regard to advancing to Damghan.

On the one hand, he did not consider the forces at his disposal strong enough for an advance on Iraq; on the other hand, he realized that it was not safe to remain where he was in view of the Uzbeg invasion of Khorasan. After spending sleepless nights trying to decide what to do, he finally decided that the best plan would be to advance on Iraq via Ṭabas and Yazd and avail himself of powerful reinforcement from the Afšār and Zu'l-Qadar emirs of Yazd, Kerman, and Shiraz, who kept assuring him of their fealty. At the same time, Morteżāqoli Khan would advance from Damghan, link up with Valījān Khan at Kashan, and constitute a second prong of attack on Iraq. Morshedqoli Khan appointed his brother, Ebrahim Khan, governor of Mašhad during his absence; he left with him Abū Moslem Khan Čāušlū, governor of Esfara'īn; Mohammad Khan, the son of Eygūs Sultan Čāušlū, governor of Jām; and Būdāq Khan Čeganī, governor of Kabūshān. He also spread the rumor that he intended to march to Herat against the Uzbegs. When Morshedqoli Khan reached Toršīz,¹²⁵

¹²⁵Southwest of Mašhad, on the road to Ṭabas and the desert route to Iraq.

however, he received news that caused him to abandon his original plan and to advance on Iraq via Damghan and Semnān.

The first piece of news was that Morteżāqolī Khan had died at Damghan, and so Moršedqolī Khan no longer felt apprehensive about the Turkmans. His fears on this score were one reason why he had originally rejected the Damghan route. The second piece of news was that the Iraq emirs had moved to Isfahan and were intending to proceed to Fārs, Kerman, and Yazd to restore their authority in those areas. Moršedqolī Khan thought that the Afşār and Zu'l-Qadar emirs, confronted by this show of force, would abandon their intention of joining 'Abbas Mīrzā. In addition, by moving to Isfahan, the Iraq emirs had left the road to Qazvin exposed. When 'Āšūr Aqa was at Qazvin, some of the emirs there, especially the Šāmlüs, who were responsible for the defense of the city, had expressed to him their support for 'Abbas Mīrzā and had urged an advance on Iraq without delay. The third piece of news was the death of Šāhverdī Sultan Tabat-oğlū Zu'l-Qadar, governor of Semnān, who was a protégé of 'Aliqolī Khan Fath-oğlū and a supporter of the Abū Ṭaleb Mīrzā faction.

Moršedqolī Khan therefore retraced his steps to Mašhad. Before beginning his westward march, he satisfied himself as to the strength of the citadel and, with some fifty or sixty of his retainers, visited the shrine of the Imam Reżā and prayed for his support. When he reached Damghan, the brothers and sons of Morteżāqolī Khan pledged themselves to him and elected to accompany him. When he neared Semnān, he called on Ahmed Sultan to tender his submission. Ahmed Sultan, the *vakīl* of Šāhverdī Sultan Tabat-oğlū, after the latter's death had been elected governor of Semnān on the proposal of the elders of the tribe and with the approval of 'Aliqolī Khan Fath-oğlū. Ahmed Sultan considered it expedient to comply; he sent officers to meet the prince's cavalcade and opened the gates of the citadel to his forces.

From Semnān, Moršedqolī Khan sent an envoy to Qazvin calling on Qūr Koms Khan Šāmlū and the notables of the city and the populace generally to come out and welcome the prince's cavalcade. Qūr Koms Khan called a meeting of those Šāmlū officers who were in Qazvin, including Esmā'ılqolī Khan's brother and 'Abbas 'Alī Sultan, the son of Čarandāb Sultan, and of the people and leading citizens, to decide what reply to give. Esmā'ılqolī Khan's brothers and

the sons and supporters of Valī Kalīfa were for rejecting Moršedqolī Khan's demand, but the rank and file of the soldiers and the common people enthusiastically demonstrated their support for Abbas, and adopted 'Abbasid emblems. Group after group of people left Qazvin to go and meet Abbas's cavalcade.

Hoseynqolī Sultan Fath-oglū, 'Alīqolī Khan's brother and governor of Rayy on his behalf, caught between the advancing Khorasan emirs and the rush of people coming east from Qazvin, abandoned his baggage and fled to Alamūt, where Tahmasp Mīrzā was held prisoner in the charge of men of the Fatḥlū clan, his kinsmen. Abbas Mīrzā entered Qazvin unopposed and took up residence in his grandfather's palace. Moršedqolī Khan assumed the office of *vakīl-e dvān-e 'alī*, with full powers, and from all parts of the realm *qezel-bāš* emirs began their trek to Qazvin to offer congratulations to Abbas. Valī Khan marched by forced marches from Kashan, and performed the ceremony of kissing Abbas's feet. Moršedqolī Khan, very much on his guard against possible moves by the Iraq emirs, sent Pīr Čeyb Khan Ostājlū and his brothers to take up their station at Deh-e Pīr-e Şūfiān on the Isfahan road.

Meanwhile, the emirs of the Abū Ṭāleb Mīrzā faction, advancing via Jorpādeqān, had reached the outskirts of Qom. The news that Abbas Mīrzā had entered Qazvin caused consternation in their ranks. They summoned 'Alīqolī Sultan Zu'l-Qadar, the governor of Qom, but he procrastinated and shut the gates of the citadel against them. 'Alīqolī Khan, since he considered the governor of Qom one of his devoted followers, had never envisaged this situation. He and Esmā'īlqolī Khan and some other emirs entered Qom on the pretext of making a pilgrimage to the shrine of Fāṭema and sent a smooth-talking envoy to 'Alīqolī Sultan to try to persuade him to join them. "We have come as your guests," said the emirs; "entertain us as befits a host. There are various vital matters which we must talk about face to face." The governor sent back a message to the effect that the Qorūglū tribesmen had declared for Abbas and would not let him leave the castle. So the emirs gave up the attempt, performed their visit to the shrine, and returned to camp. Up to this point, it had never occurred to them that their cause might not triumph, as they did not have a high opinion of Moršedqolī Khan and the Khorasan emirs. This incident opened their eyes to the realities of the situation and had a sobering effect on them.

When the Iraq emirs neared Sāva, their men began to drift away from camp without permission, as they all had families in Qazvin. The emirs stationed Moršedqolī Sultan Šamlū, the brother of Esmā'īlqolī Khan, on the road to Qazvin with orders to slay and plunder any who left the camp without leave. This order only increased the determination of the men to leave; they slipped away at night by side roads, abandoning their belongings, and Moršedqolī Sultan was powerless to prevent them. The officers explained to the emirs that the families of most of the *qūrčīs* and retainers of the royal household were in Qazvin. The men were afraid that, if fighting broke out between the two factions, Moršedqolī Khan would molest their families.

The Iraq emirs, realizing that the majority of the *qezelbāš* were opposed to the idea of armed conflict between the two factions, changed their plans from one minute to the next. To make matters worse, 'Alīqolī Khan did not altogether trust Esmā'īlqolī Khan. Their discussions were not exactly friendly, and any plan suggested by 'Alīqolī Khan was criticized by Esmā'īlqolī Khan. 'Alīqolī Khan put his case as follows:

In view of the dissension among the *qezelbāš* and the fact that most of our men are making off to Qazvin, we cannot stand against the Korāsānis in our present state of uncertainty and divided opinions. Let us take the Shah and our prince, and anyone who will stay with us, and go to Hamadan for a while. This will give the people of Iraq time to think of the future, and will stop the drift toward Qazvin. When word gets around that the Korāsānis have come empty-handed, whereas we have money and treasure with us, the ordinary soldiers, whose actions are always governed by material considerations, will rally around us. Let us lie low for a while and see what fate will bring; as the saying goes, "the night is pregnant; let us see what the morrow will bring forth."

Esmā'īlqolī Khan rejected this view: "The men we have with us," he said, "all have families at Qazvin, and naturally they want to see them. If we go to Hamadan this will seem to them like a retreat, and it is probable that those who are now on our side will desert us, which will mean the end of us. I think the better plan is for us to go to Qaz-

vin. Morshedqoli Khan is only one man; we have heard that many of his followers have been forced to accompany him against their will. When we reach Qazvin, if he submits to us, well and good; if not, our forces are still stronger than his. We will destroy him, and make heir-apparent whichever of the princes we like."

Aliqoli Khan refused to agree to this: "By going to Qazvin," he said, "we are surrendering the initiative to Morshedqoli Khan. He will attack us the day we arrive, and there will be no chance of second thoughts next day. Prudence and caution dictate that we should stay apart from each other and enter into negotiations with him until we see what fate has in mind." The vacillation of their leaders was now apparent to all, and the defection of men began to affect even the most reliable officers, who also began to desert and to vie with one another in their zeal to enter 'Abbas's service.

Since the emirs could not think of any other plan except the march on Qazvin, it was agreed that all the emirs, centurions, and nobles from every tribe should gather at an appointed place and conclude a solemn pact that they would be loyal to one another, would not depart from any agreed policy, would not attack one another either in the interest of their own ambition or at the instigation of someone else, and would unite against anyone who attacked any of his fellow *qezelbâš*. The principal emirs involved in this compact were Aliqoli Khan Fath-oglu; Esmâ'ilqoli Khan Şamlü; Şâhverdi Kalifa İnâllü Şamlü; Aslams Khan Zu'l-Qadar, keeper of the seal; Adham Khan Torkmân; Şâhqolî Kolafâ-ye Rümlü; Seyyed Beg Kamûna; Esma'il Sultan Alplü Afşär; Shah Ali Kalifa Zu'l-Qadar, governor of Shiraz; Mahdîqoli Sultan Tâleş, son of Hamza Kalifa; and various other emirs from the Şamlü, Ostâjlü, and Bayât tribes, and sons of emirs of the Mowşellü Turkman tribe, kinsmen of Soljânom, the mother of Sultan Mohammad Shah.

All these emirs assembled at the quarters of Mîrzâ Mohammad the vizier, where they swore the oath on the Koran. Hardly had the decision to march on Qazvin been made, however, when two of Aliqoli Khan's trusted officers, Mahdîqoli Sultan Tâleş and Allah-qoli Sultan Kangarlü, left camp without permission, followed by the majority of the Ostâjlüs. Aliqoli Khan was left virtually without any troops. The Şamlüs, on the other hand, stood staunchly behind Esmâ'ilqoli Khan, and the balance of power between the two khans therefore shifted in favor of Esmâ'ilqoli Khan. He had received a

bland message from Moršedqolī Khan Ostājlū to the following effect:

"I need not remind you," wrote Moršedqolī Khan, "of the long-standing friendship between the Šamlū and Ostājlū tribes, which have stood together in all vicissitudes. It is imperative that one of the great Šamlū chiefs should hold one of the principal offices of state. Today, the only two Šamlū chiefs who have the appropriate stature are yourself and 'Aliqolī Khan Šamlū, the governor of Herat and grandson of Dürmiš Khan. I need not remind you either that 'Aliqolī Khan is my enemy and your enemy, and therefore I have no option but to befriend you. You acquiesced in 'Aliqolī Khan's appointment to the office of *vakil*, and deferred to him. I am no less a man than he is, and I shall treat you better than he has. I can understand that 'Aliqolī Khan Fath-oglū may be nervous about coming to Qazvin, because he and I are members of the same tribe, and there will therefore be a problem as to which of us is to be *vakil* and the senior chief (*riš-safid*) of the tribe. But there is no reason for you to hold back."

Although there was not an ounce of truth in all this, Moršedqolī Khan's words were persuasive. Esma'Ilqolī Khan was deceived and would not consider any plan except that of going to Qazvin. 'Aliqolī Khan kept saying, "Moršedqolī Khan is from my tribe, and I know him better than you do; there is absolutely no reliance to be placed on his protestations of sweet reasonableness. As soon as he has us in his power, he will not leave us alive a day longer. There are many aspirants to power among the Šamlūs; he will choose one of them, who will thus be 'his man,' and you will probably meet your end before I do! Let us think again." After more argument, the two khans finally decided each to send an experienced and trusted officer to Qazvin to seek audience with 'Abbas Mirzā, to meet Moršedqolī Khan, and to deliver the following message: "The emirs and khans in our party, mindful of the overriding need to preserve the stability of the state, have waived their own claims and have refused to countenance civil war between our two parties; the possibility of negotiation between us still exists." The envoys were further instructed to find out what the real intentions of the 'Abbasid faction were and to report back. 'Aliqolī Khan chose as his envoy Ahmad Beg Bebi'l; Esma'Il-

qolı Khan chose Aḥmad Beg Begdilü Şamlü. The two envoys were received by Moršedqolı Khan, who spoke diplomatically to both and reassured them by his moderation and by his deferential and suave manner. The envoys then returned and made a full report.

The emirs willy-nilly resumed their advance on Qazvin. When they reached Košk-rūd,¹²⁶ they were met by a delegation from Qazvin consisting of Mīr Seyyed Ḥoseyn the *mojtahed*, 'Abbās 'Alī Sultan Şamlü, and Aḥmad Beg the *eşik-āqāsi*, a senior chief of the Ostājlü tribe. They delivered the following message from Moršedqolı Khan:

The disunity which has existed between the *qezelbāš* has emboldened the enemies of our faith; as a result, much *qezelbāš* territory has been occupied by Ottoman forces. Now the Uzbegs plan to conquer Khorasan. It is perfectly obvious that, as long as this disunity continues among the *qezelbāš*, the Khorasan army is not strong enough to deal with the Uzbegs, nor that of Iraq to face the Ottomans. If this state of affairs is allowed to continue for another few years, both religion and the state will suffer irreparable harm. When 'Abdullāh Khan invaded Khorasan, I thought it inadvisable to remain there and allow 'Abbas Mīrzā, who is the Shah's eldest surviving son and has given evidence of fitness to reign, to be beleaguered by the Uzbegs. I considered it my duty to the Safavid house to bring the prince here, and my only objects were the preservation of unity, the strengthening of religion and the state, and the repulse of our enemies. My sincere wish is that the great emirs and senior chiefs will forsake their quarrels so that, with unity restored, we may jointly plan whatever measures are in the best interests of the state.

Moršedqolı Khan had instructed his delegates that, if the emirs were disposed to make peace, the delegates should administer to them an oath that they would be friends of Moršedqolı Khan and would not plot against him. The delegates went first to the quarters of 'Alīqolı Khan, and Esma'īlqolı Khan and the other emirs and senior chiefs assembled there. Esma'īlqolı Khan nodded his head in

¹²⁶In the Karraqān district; See Qazvīnī, *Nozhat al-Qolab*, p. 215.

satisfaction more than any of the other emirs, and applauded Moršedqolı Khan for having sent this delegation. But ‘Aliqolı Khan, who had a much wiser head on his shoulders, knew that there was no way in which he could live with Moršedqolı Khan, since they were both kingmakers and vicegerents of the realm (*vakil al-saltana*). Whichever gained the upper hand would kill the other without hesitation. However, since he could not see any way out, and since the rift between him and Esmā‘ılqolı Khan was clearly visible, he surrendered himself to his fate with the greatest reluctance, and they all swore the oath. It was then agreed that each of the great emirs should send a reliable officer back with the delegates to the city to administer the oath to Moršedqolı Khan, so that both parties might feel secure against treachery on the part of the other. They would then enter the city, be admitted into audience with ‘Abbas Mırzā, and discord would be ended.

The emirs and khans, accompanied by the delegates, were then received in audience by Sultan Mohammad Shah; ‘Abbas ‘Ali Sultan and the *mojtahed* of the age, brought salutations and greetings from the Shah’s son, ‘Abbas Mırzā, and expressions of devotion from Moršedqolı Khan. Sultan Mohammad Shah, who loathed all these intrigues and was heartily tired of the business of ruling, expressed his joy at the arrival of his son and applauded Moršedqolı Khan’s action. The delegates, having discharged their mission with success, returned to the city, accompanied by Mohammadi Beg Sărū Süläg, who was instructed to administer an oath to Moršedqolı Khan that he would treat ‘Aliqolı Khan like a brother and not be guilty of any treachery toward him. All the nobles sent their representatives to congratulate ‘Abbas Mırzā on his arrival.

When Moršedqolı Khan learned of the disarray of the army of Iraq and of the disagreements among the emirs, his anxiety about the possible outcome of an armed confrontation with the Iraq emirs disappeared. This major crisis had been resolved in favor of ‘Abbas Mırzā with an ease he would not have thought possible. However, he was still nervous about the possibility that, when all the Iraq emirs came in a body to offer their congratulations to ‘Abbas Mırzā, they might plot some treachery. He spent night and day pondering how he could split the Iraq emirs and bring them into the city one by one; he was particularly anxious that the triumvirs, ‘Aliqolı Khan, Esmā‘ılqolı Khan, and Mohammadi Sărū Süläg, should be isolated from the other emirs, so that he could deal with them more expeditiously and rid himself of anxieties in regard to them.

When the *mojtahed* of the age, 'Abbâs 'Alî Sultan, and Aḥmad Beg the *eşik-āqâsî* reported to him and announced the arrival of Moḥammadi Sârû Sûlag, Moršedqolî Khan pretended that the hour was inauspicious for their meeting. He gave instructions that he should lodge at the house of Mohammad Šârif Beg Čâušlû, a *qûrçî* of bow and arrow, until the hour was auspicious for their meeting. Moršedqolî Khan then had orders, sealed with the royal seal, issued in the name of all the emirs and viziers in the Abû Ṭâleb Mîrzâ faction and dispatched to them by the hand of their retainers who had come to the city. These orders bade them present themselves individually at an audience with 'Abbas Mîrzâ. When Moḥammadi Beg saw what was going on, he realized that no reconciliation between his faction and Moršedqolî Khan was possible.

After Moḥammadi Beg left for the city, the Shah's camp deteriorated into a state of utter confusion. Soldiers of all ranks, not obeying anyone's orders, began to leave. Even the men in the royal workshops abandoned their gear and left. The men in the royal band-master's department decamped with the trumpets and kettledrums, and played a fanfare for 'Abbas Mîrzâ after they reached the city. On the day they struck camp and moved toward the city, only a handful of grooms, reinholders, and stableboys were left to assist the Shah and Abû Ṭâleb Mîrzâ. Of Abû Ṭâleb Mîrzâ's servants, none remained except Zeynal Beg the master of the wine-cellar and a few menials. The great emirs, who were always in attendance near the royal tent and blew a fanfare on the trumpets when the Shah and the prince mounted, were absent. Each kept himself apart, apprehensive of his fellow emirs. They could not wait until Moḥammadi Beg returned from the city with news; when they camped at a place called Manbara, about four *farsâks* from the city, each emir planned to slip away during the night, without telling his fellows, and race to the city to beat them to an audience with 'Abbas Mîrzâ and Moršedqolî Khan.

The first one away was 'Alîqolî Khan, who was afraid of Esmâ'îlqolî Khan because the latter had far more troops left at his command. 'Alîqolî left after one watch of the night had elapsed, without telling Esmâ'îlqolî Khan, and taking with him Aḥmad Sultan Āsayeş-oglû, Qanbar Beg Gözü-büyüklü, and those who were with him. Esmâ'îlqolî, who had had the same idea, followed suit, taking with him Şâhverdî İnâllü Beg, a *qûrçî* of the sword, who was his nephew; Reżâqolî Beg, the *eşik-āqâsîbâşı*, who was the son of Pîrî Beg

Inallū; and about five hundred Şämlüs. Mîrzâ Mohammad, the vizier in office, and Mîrzâ Loftî, the vizier who had been dismissed, with his son Mîrzâ Mohammad Zamân, who was the comptroller of finance, misinterpreted the actions of the two khans. They thought the khans might think there was some money to be had from them, since they were Persians and therefore cunning and greedy fellows. And so they made off in a different direction and reached the city that night by an unfrequented route. They went to the house of Qûr Komîs Khan Şämlü and asked him to go with them to the palace and obtain an audience for them with 'Abbas Mîrzâ that night, so that they might kiss his feet and meet Morshedqoli Khan. So it turned out that all those who had slipped away that night met outside the royal palace at Qazvin—it was a case of everyone being in the same boat!¹²⁷

Morshedqoli Khan had barred the doors of the royal palace and placed on guard there some trusted men brought with him from Khorasan. Although his visitors had arrived at an unreasonable hour, these were the men he wanted to get hold of more than any others, and they had fallen right into his lap. He gave orders that each of the principals should be admitted to the palace with one attendant, and that the rest of their men should be dismissed and instructed to report back in the morning. The guards and doorkeepers then opened the palace gates and admitted the khans and their companions as instructed. Morshedqoli Khan sent a man with the message that, since they had demonstrated their loyalty and behaved like devoted Sufis coming straight to the palace without going first to their homes, it was only proper that they should have the privilege of an audience with 'Abbas Mîrzâ before retiring; unfortunately, the prince was asleep. He suggested, therefore, that they spend the rest of the night at the palace and be ready for an audience first thing in the morning.

Escorted to some apartments located between the palace and the Meydân-e Asp, they spent the night there under guard. The emirs realized they were prisoners and that they were not going to be received in audience by the prince, or even succeed in meeting Morshedqoli Khan. In the morning, the guards came in, removed their swords and all other offensive weapons. There was then no doubt about the fact that they were prisoners.

In the Shah's camp, the other emirs, when they realized their leaders had left them, all rode to the city with their men and lodged

¹²⁷In Persian, "everyone you see is suffering from the same complaint."

in their own quarters. In the morning, on orders from Qûr Koms Khan Sâmlû, Mîrzâ Şâhvâlî, the vizier of Morşedqolî Khan, and a group of senior Ostâjlû chiefs, rode out to escort the Shah and Abû Tâleb Mîrzâ to the city. On arrival at Manbara, they found the Shah and Abû Tâleb Mîrzâ sitting in their tent, stunned by the mysterious workings of providence, and escorted them into the city. 'Abbas Mîrzâ greeted the Shah and Abû Tâleb Mîrzâ at the royal palace; he kissed his father's hand, embraced his brother, and then escorted his father to the harem quarters. The Shah, heavy-hearted at the harsh treatment meted out to him by events, sought only peace and security. He demonstrated great joy at meeting his son 'Abbas, and divesting himself of kingship and royal authority, he placed the crown upon his son's head. He committed to his son those principles of spiritual guidance handed down in the Safavid family from generation to generation, and the prince, hitherto known in Iraq as 'Abbas Mîrzâ, was named Shah 'Abbas. The same night, the women of the royal household, chief of whom were Zeynab Beg, Shah Tahmasp's daughter, and Solṭânom, mother of Sultan Moḥammad Shah, arrived in Qazvin with the rest of the royal princes, and were received in audience.

Steps were now taken to destroy as rapidly as possible the powerful enemies who had fallen so easily into the hands of Shah 'Abbas and Morşedqolî Khan. The latter was still slightly nervous about possible reaction from the Sâmlû tribe, so he made Qûr Koms Khan his accomplice by promising to make him senior chief of that tribe. The day after his accession, Shah 'Abbas convened an assembly in the Čehel Sotûn hall. All the emirs and principal officers of state were present. Sultan Moḥammad Shah having given his consent, Shah 'Abbas was formally acknowledged as the inheritor of temporal power and the spiritual succession. The *qezelbâš* emirs and nobles, standing in serried ranks before the throne, pledged themselves to serve Shah 'Abbas loyally. Shah 'Abbas then accused the emirs of the Abû Tâleb Mîrzâ faction of being responsible for the murder of his brother Ḥamza and demanded the death penalty for them. All the *qezelbâš* tribes signified their assent, and it was agreed that the guilty persons should be summoned to the Čehel Sotûn hall and executed by the Sufis and loyal supporters of the Safavid house.

When the accused were brought down from the upper rooms where they had been quartered, they realized what their fate would be. As each of them entered the hall, swords were plunged into him from all sides. Ironically, as 'Aliqolî Khan had predicted, Esmâ'Ilqolî Khan

was killed before him. Moḥammadı Khan Sarū Sūlag, brought from the house of Moḥammad Šarīf Beg Čauşlū, shared the fate of his fellow triumvirs. Ahmād Sultan Āsāyeş-oğlū, who was not marked down for execution, was moved by his friendship for the triumvirs to draw his dagger and inflict wounds on two men, and for this act he too was slain. Finally, Reżāqolı Beg İnallū, who had shared complicity with the barber Koðaverdi for the murder of Ḥamza Mırzā, was executed. The possessions of the executed men were confiscated. Shah 'Abbas then decreed an amnesty for the crimes of other emirs, but all guilty persons were heavily fined and the proceeds used to reward the emirs who had accompanied him from Khorasan.

I stated in the exordium that this volume of my history would include twelve discourses (*maqāla*). God be praised! I have now completed the first of these discourses, which has dealt with the history of the ancestors of Shah 'Abbas and events from his birth to the time of his accession. I must now fulfill my promise by composing the remaining discourses. These will describe the character and conduct of Shah 'Abbas and give a synopsis of the events of his reign, which will be related in much fuller detail in Book (*sahīfa*) II. In this way, those readers who have studied Book I will have a foretaste of what is to come and will gain some idea of Shah 'Abbas's powers of innovation, his abilities as a ruler, and his other outstanding qualities, which enabled him with God's help to achieve such mighty victories, to improve the possibilities of advancement on the part of the officers of state, and to order the affairs of his people in such a way that both princes and their counselors will make this record their exemplar.

Discourse 2

On the Piety of Shah 'Abbas

The ancestors of Shah 'Abbas were distinguished by their descent from *seyyeds* and by their spiritual authority. These attributes, coupled with the poverty, self-discipline, and the inner struggle against the carnal soul which they made their rule of life, earned their acceptance among the mystics, shaikhs, and holy men of their day; supernatural phenomena were constantly associated with them. Shah 'Abbas inherited these great gifts. Despite his preoccupation with the material affairs that are inescapably linked with government and administration, and despite the lure of the trappings of kingship, which are a test of a man's character, many supernatural phenomena were observed to derive from him. But it would take too long to relate these in detail.

Shah 'Abbas was never remiss in seeking to approach God's throne; when he prayed, he was so absorbed in his devotions that he appeared to have left his material body. In all affairs of state, he would seek an augury from the Koran, and he would take no action in the realm of government without asking God's advice. If the text of the Koran expressly forbade something, he would respect God's wise counsel and refrain from taking that action, even though it was desirable in order to gain some material advantage.

Discourse 3

On Shah 'Abbas's Judgment, His Divinely Given Wisdom, and the Excellence of His Policies, Which Are in Conformity with the Divine Will

Without wishing to wax lyrical in praise of Shah 'Abbas, that monarch is endowed with an unusual degree of understanding, shrewdness, acumen, native sagacity, and learning, and possesses a sound judgment in the everyday problems of this life. When he came to the throne, he set a new standard among the princes of the world in administration, in the conduct of war, in the management of armies and tactics in battle, and in the dispensation of justice. His excellent decrees were accepted as a model by other princes. Although he has wise and experienced officers in his service, in all the battles, sieges, and conquests in which he has been involved from his youth up to the present time, his judgment has been superior to theirs, and it has been his wisdom which has, in the long run, solved all the knotty problems of state affairs. Any course of action on which he has decided has proved to be in conformity with the divine will. Policies his counselors have considered to be a mistake have in the long run been proved to be right. Therefore it is apparent to all that, in all matters affecting his subjects, both great and small, or inescapably associated with government and conquest, the Shah is guided by divine inspiration, and by that alone.

When Shah 'Abbas undertook the personal direction of affairs of state, despite his youth, the multiplicity of his enemies, and the paucity of his helpers, by the grace of God, by good fortune, and by the exercise of his own divinely given intelligence and mother-wit, he succeeded in restoring such order to the state that men stood in amazement at it. It should not be forgotten that Iran had been without a strong king for more than ten years. As a result, the ignorant military, the army officers and the leading men of the tribes, had formed two factions and blotted their scutcheon by treachery and mad ambition. Their actions rent the fabric of the state and gave their enemies the opportunity to attack Iran on two fronts; every year, some new province was lost.

Shah 'Abbas took steps to remedy the situation: first, he judged it

better to deal with his domestic foes. One by one, he got into his power and destroyed those seditious emirs and army officers who had risen to the rank of emir, sultan, or khan, whether by virtue of seniority or corrupt practices, and had then proceeded to stir up trouble between the *qezelbaš* tribes. In their place, he appointed to the highest offices, and to the emirate, promising officers who owed their rise to himself alone. Gradually, as the former class of officer faded into oblivion, he managed to reduce the dissension among the *qezelbāš*, and the king's commands were once more obeyed by the army. He was thus enabled to regain the territory that had been lost, and even to acquire some new. But this will be described in the proper place in Book II.

Discourse 4

On Shah Abbas's Good Fortune

It will not have escaped the notice of perspicacious persons that the title of *sâhib-qerân* (lord of the auspicious conjunction of planets) has, in the past, frequently been bestowed on princes by secretaries wishing to flatter their masters. In the case of Shah 'Abbas, however, it is verifiable by fact. From the time of his birth up to the present day, there has occurred the conjunction of various celestial bodies, the prognostications of which corroborate events in the life of Shah 'Abbas. According to the calculations of astrologers, each of these conjunctions foretell the appearance of a powerful and fortunate prince. Skilled astrologers, who have gone deeply into these matters, declare that the signs predict that his reign will be a stable one, and that his nature will reflect the influence of these conjunctions—particularly the conjunction of the planets which occurred in the station of Sagittarius, in the form of a fire, in the year 1012/1603-04.

The predictions astrologers have made in the past—for instance, those of Mowlâna Mohyî al-Dîn Anâr-o-plâzî,¹ who was a master of the science of astrology—have come to pass in every particular. He predicted the appearance of a fortunate ruler, in whose reign there would be troubled times marked by the fluctuating fortunes of various religions; he predicted that some provinces would be devastated, and there would be killing and looting and taking prisoners.² This prediction has been fulfilled in its entirety during the reign of Shah 'Abbas in Azerbaijan, Šîrvân, and Georgia, where various vain religions that found currency in the course of time have been smitten by his shining sword. As a result of the passage of armies, some parts of the lands of Islam have been devastated, and many people, both Muslims and non-Muslims, have been displaced from their homes and scattered throughout other cities and regions. Finally, great slaughter and looting has taken place in Georgia, and many thousands of Georgian women and children, non-Muslims, have been taken prisoner and brought within the fold of Islam.

¹Lit.: he of the pomegranate and onion! I assume that the Mowlâna used these articles in making his astrological predictions.

²Needless to say, the Mowlâna's "remarkable" prediction was sufficiently vague to be applicable to almost any period of history!

In the common parlance and fancy of the vulgar, any great crisis is called a calamity (they use the same word, *qerān*, as is used for "a conjunction of the planets.") According to them, Shah 'Abbas, from his infancy until the present time, has survived more "calamities" than any other ruler who is "lord of a conjunction of the planets." They enumerate these major crises or calamities as follows:

1. For a child to be separated from its mother and father constitutes extreme hardship, and this calamity occurred to Shah 'Abbas early in life.
2. During the reign of Shah Esma'il II, the Shah's sole ambition was to murder all the royal princes. 'Abbas Mīrzā's guardian, Šah-qolī Sultan Yakān, was murdered, and the prince was saved only by the timely death of the Shah himself—a clear indication of the working of providence.
3. The third crisis which Shah 'Abbas survived—and this was the greatest crisis of all—occurred when 'Alīqolī Khan Šamlū arrived at Herat with orders from Shah Esma'il II (according to the popular and well-attested account—God alone knows the truth!) to slay the prince 'Abbas. The Khan reached Herat during the month of Ramażān, and though filled with the greatest trepidation, delayed action until after the end of Ramażān. The very night on which he had decided to commit the murder, a courier arrived with the news of the Shah's death. Without a doubt, this remarkable event demonstrates that 'Abbas was born under a lucky star.
4. When Sultan Mohammad Shah and Ḥamza Mīrzā led the royal army to Khorasan to put an end to the division between the Iraq and the Khorasan emirs, a battle was fought at Tīr-e Pol, near Čūrfān, as has already been related, and the Khorasan army was defeated. The fact that 'Abbas, then only a child, escaped safely from that battlefield, with just a few of his retainers to protect him, is again an indication of the hand of providence.
5. Had 'Abbas Mīrzā remained at Herat, he would have been in grave danger, since the city was fated to fall to the Uzbegs, and its defenders to be slain or taken prisoner. It was therefore the divine will that a quarrel should develop between 'Alīqolī Khan and Mor-šedqolī Khan, hitherto firm friends, and that in the ensuing battle the Šamlūs should be defeated. After this battle, 'Abbas Mīrzā's

chain mail bore the marks of arrows and spear-thrusts, but fortified by the holy spirit of the Imam Reżā, he reached Mašhad safely and thus escaped a double danger.

6. By the grace of God, Abbas recovered from a number of serious illnesses which afflicted him. At Shiraz, he fell from his horse and was confined to his bed for a while, but from this too he recovered.

7. After the battle with Jegāl-oğlū, when the Ottoman prisoners were being paraded before Shah 'Abbas, one of them, a tall, powerfully built Kurd of the Mokrī tribe, snatched a dagger from his boot and hurled himself on the Shah. With God's assistance, and the strength of his own right hand, the Shah grasped his assailant's wrist and wrenched the knife from his grip, as will be related in detail later, God willing!

Discourse 5

On Shah 'Abbas's Justice, Concern for the Security of the Roads, and Concern for the Welfare of His Subjects

The greater part of governing is the preservation of stability within the kingdom and security on the roads. Prior to the accession of Shah 'Abbas, this peace and security had disappeared in Iran, and it had become extremely difficult for people to travel about the country. As soon as he came to the throne, Shah 'Abbas turned his attention to this problem. He called for the principal highway robbers in each province to be identified, and he then set about eliminating this class of people. Within a short space of time, most of their leaders had been arrested. Some of them, who had been driven by misfortune to adopt this way of life, were pardoned by Shah 'Abbas and their troubles solved by various forms of royal favor. Overwhelmed by this display of royal clemency, these men swore to serve the king and to behave as law-abiding citizens. Others, however, were handed over to the *šahna* (a police official) for punishment, and society was rid of this scourge. With security restored to the roads, merchants and tradesmen traveled to and from the Safavid empire.

The welfare of his people was always a prime concern of the Shah, and he was at pains to see that the people enjoyed peace and security, and that oppression by officialdom, the major cause of anxiety on the part of the common man, was totally stamped out in his kingdom. Substantial reductions were made in the taxes due to the *dīvān*: first, the tax on flocks in Iraq, amounting to nearly fifteen thousand Iraqi *tomān*, was remitted to the people of that province, and the population of Iraq, which is the flourishing heart of Iran and the seat of government, by this gift was preferred above the other provinces. Second, all *dīvān* levies were waived for all Shi'ites throughout the empire during the month of Ramażān. The total revenues for one month, which according to the computation of the *dīvān* officials amounted to some twenty thousand *tomān*, were given to the people as alms. The object was that they should be free from demands for taxes during this blessed month, which is a time to be devoted to the service and worship of God.

Book I, Discourse 5: Shah 'Abbas's Justice

Shah 'Abbas was constantly trying to alleviate the hardships of the poor and to ensure that none of his subjects should live in want. He also helped some descendants of the Prophet and other notables, who over the years had fallen on hard times, by granting them a lump sum from the royal treasury so that they might live their days without financial anxiety, and not fall into the clutches of usurers. On many occasions, he allocated substantial sums as subsistence allowances to the poor and to true believers. He also gave alms to these persons, and obtained the reward of these two good works. These are the charitable works the Shah has performed up to the time of writing; may he be spared to perform many others!

Discourse 6

On Shah 'Abbas's Authority and Despotic Behavior, Which are Divine Mysteries

From birth, the Shah has been inclined toward despotic behavior and has had a quick temper; he has never been slow to punish wrongdoers. The punishment of wrongdoers constitutes a major part of the command of armies, the government of empire, and ministry to one's people, and Shah 'Abbas has never been diverted, by worldly motives or by respect for rank, from inflicting punishment. The knowledge that this was the case has had a salutary effect from the early days of his reign. Reports of his sternness and severity have had a restraining influence on those who oppressed their subordinates, and have meant that his orders were carried out without delay. For example, if a father were commanded to slay his son, the order would be obeyed instantly; if the father procrastinated out of compassion, the order would be reversed; and if the son hesitated in his turn, another would be sent to put them both to death. His writ therefore became law, and no one dared to oppose his orders for an instant.

Before 'Abbas came to the throne, the *qezelbās* tribes were frequently slow in answering a mobilization call, and many men drew their pay but stayed at home. If this was the case with the regular troops, it was more so with the irregulars. Shah 'Abbas therefore conducted an inquiry into the state of the army and issued orders that, whenever there was a call to arms, all men, whether regulars or irregulars, should report without delay out of zeal for their faith, and to save their honor and that of their tribe. If any one failed to answer a mobilization call, he would be put to death forthwith if he could not show cause for his absence, and his property would be made over to the person who reported him to the authorities. If his tribe took his side and concealed his offense, the whole tribe would be punished. After a few men had been executed and their property handed over to informers, mobilization orders were obeyed with alacrity.

Discourse 7

On Shah 'Abbas's Policy-making and Administration

If scholars consider Shah 'Abbas to be the founder of the laws of the realm and an example in this regard to the princes of the world, they have justification for this opinion, for he has been responsible for some weighty legislation in the field of administration.

One of his principal pieces of legislation has been his reform of the army. Because the rivalries of the *qezelbāš* tribes had led them to commit all sorts of enormities, and because their devotion to the Safavid royal house had been weakened by dissension, Shah Abbas decided (as the result of divine inspiration, which is vouchsafed to kings but not to ordinary mortals), to admit into the armed forces groups other than the *qezelbāš*. He enrolled in the armed forces large numbers of Georgian, Circassian, and other *golāms*, and created the office of *qollar-āqāsi*¹ (commander-in-chief of the *golām* regiments), which had not previously existed under the Safavid regime. Several thousand men were drafted into regiments of musketeers from the Čağatāy² tribe, and from various Arab and Persian tribes in Khorasan, Azerbaijan, and Tabarestān. Into the regiments of musketeers, too, were drafted all the riff-raff from every province—sturdy, serviceable men who were unemployed and preyed on the lower classes of society. By this means the lower classes were given relief from their lawless activities, and the recruits made amends for their past sins by performing useful service in the army. All these men were placed on the *golām* muster rolls. Without question, they were an essential element in Abbas's conquests, and their employment had many advantages.

Shah 'Abbas tightened up provincial administration. Any emir or noble who was awarded a provincial governorship, or who was charged with the security of the highways, received his office on the understanding that he discharge his duties in a proper manner. If any merchant or traveler or resident were robbed, it was the duty of the governor to recover his money for him or replace it out of his own

¹See *TM*, p. 46. The *qollar-āqāsi* ranked second in importance to the *qurčibāst* during the later Safavid period.

²See *TM*, pp. 16-17.

funds. This rule was enforced throughout the Safavid empire. As a result, property was secure, and people could travel without hindrance to and from Iran.

Another of Shah 'Abbas's policies has been to demand a truthful reply whenever he asked anyone for information. Lying, he said, is forbidden and considered a sin by God, so why should it not be a sin to lie to him who is one's king, one's spiritual director, and one's benefactor? Is not falsehood to such a one ingratitude? In the opinion of Shah 'Abbas, lying to one's benefactor constituted the rankest ingratitude. If he detected anyone in a lie, he visited punishment upon him. The effects of this policy have been felt at all levels of society. For example, if someone has committed various acts that merit the death penalty and the king questions him on his conduct, the poor wretch has no option but to tell the truth. In fact, the opinion is commonly held that, if a person tells a lie to the Shah, the latter intuitively knows he is lying. The result is that the biggest scoundrel alive hesitates to allow even a small element of falsehood to creep into any story he is telling the Shah. The beneficial effects of this on government and the administration of justice need no elaboration.

Discourse 8

On His Simplicity of Life, Lack of Ceremony, and Some Contrary Qualities

The character of the Shah contains some contradictions; for instance, his fiery temper, his imperiousness, his majesty and regal splendor are matched by his mildness, leniency, his ascetic way of life, and his informality. He is equally at home on the dervish's mat and the royal throne. When he is in a good temper, he mixes with the greatest informality with the members of his household, his close friends and retainers and others, and treats them like brothers. In contrast, when he is in a towering rage, his aspect is so terrifying that the same man who, shortly before, was his boon companion and was treated with all the informality of a close friend, dares not speak a word out of turn for fear of being accused of insolence or discourtesy. At such times, the emirs, sultans, and even the court wits and his boon companions keep silent, for fear of the consequences. The Shah, then, possesses these two contrasting natures, each of which is developed to the last degree.

Discourse 9

On Shah Abbas's Concern for the Rights of His Servants and His Avoiding Laying Hands on Their Possessions

One of the most agreeable qualities of this monarch is his compassionate treatment of his servants, which is coupled with a concern that faithful service should receive its just reward. His record in this regard is so outstanding that it is not matched by that of any other chivalrous¹ prince. As long as his servants are constant in their loyalty, the royal favor is lavished upon them, nor is it withdrawn for any trifling offense committed out of ignorance or from negligence. If any of his servants dies from natural causes, or gives his life in battle in the defense of the faith and the state, the Shah is generous in his treatment of their dependents. In the case of officeholders, even if their sons are too young at the time of their father's death to be fit for office, nevertheless, in order to resuscitate their families, he confers the same office on the sons out of his natural generosity and magnanimity.

Moreover, since the Shah considers the possessions and treasures of this world of little value, even if the deceased has left substantial sums of money, such is the Shah's magnanimity and concern to follow the prescripts of canon law that he (unlike the majority of princes) does not lay covetous eyes on the inheritance, but divides it among the heirs in the proportions ordained by God. This is regarded by some as his most praiseworthy characteristic, for most of the princes of the world consider it impossible for them to show greater appreciation for their servants than by following this practice, which brings with it heavenly rewards.

¹Persian, *arbāb-e fotovvat*. *Fotovvat*, strictly speaking, is "conduct worthy of a gentleman."

Discourse 10

On Shah 'Abbas's Breadth of Vision, and His Knowledge of World Affairs and of the Classes of Society

After he has dealt with the affairs of state, Shah 'Abbas habitually relaxes. He has always been fond of conviviality and, since he is still a young man, he enjoys wine and the company of women. But this does not affect the scrupulous discharge of his duties, and he knows in minute detail what is going on in Iran and also in the world outside. He has a well-developed intelligence system, with the result that no one, even if he is sitting at home with his family, can express opinions which should not be expressed without running the risk of their being reported to the Shah. This has actually happened on numerous occasions.

As regards his knowledge of the outside world, he possesses information about the rulers (both Muslim and non-Muslim) of other countries, about the size and composition of their armies, about their religious faith and the organization of their kingdoms, about their highway systems, and about the prosperity or otherwise of their realms. He has cultivated diplomatic relations with most of the princes of the world, and the rulers of the most distant parts of Europe, Russia, and India are on friendly terms with him. Foreign ambassadors bearing gifts are never absent from his court, and the Shah's achievements in the field of foreign relations exceed those of his predecessors.

Shah 'Abbas mixes freely with all classes of society, and in most cases is able to converse with people in their own particular idiom. He is well versed in Persian poetry; he understands it well, indulges in poetic license, and sometimes utters verses himself. He is a skilled musician, an outstanding composer of rounds, rhapsodies, and part-songs; some of his compositions are famous. As a conversationalist, he is capable of elegant and witty speech.

Discourse 11

On Shah 'Abbas's Public Works and Building Achievements

Shah 'Abbas has been responsible for many public works, and has a natural inclination toward charitable activities. He has constituted as lands held in mortmain all the estates he has either inherited or acquired, the fair market value of which amounts to one hundred thousand *tomān*, and has made them over as endowments to the shrines of the Fourteen Immaculate Ones. The net proceeds of these endowments, after all necessary deductions have been made, amount to seven or eight thousand *tomān*. These funds are allocated to pensions and stipends for the '*olamā*, holy men in general, and residents of the shrines. The Shah has constituted all his private possessions into a *vaqf*, and is extremely careful in his own personal spending. This practice is peculiar to Shah 'Abbas among princes, and has rarely been followed either before or since.

In most provinces of the empire, he has left splendid monuments such as mosques, theological seminaries, pious foundations, and charming residences and gardens. Although a detailed description of each of these will be given at the appropriate point, I will list here the principal achievements, at the risk of prolixity: At Mašhad, the extension of the shrine complex, including lofty porticos and the buildings around them; the painting and decoration of the sanctuary; the building of new roads, and the construction of a water channel in the middle of the street; the construction of the large cistern within the main courtyard. This cistern is always brimming with water, and pilgrims to and residents of the shrine return grateful thanks for its existence; the construction of the dome over the tomb of Kāja Rabī' al-Koseym, which is outside the city and is of peerless beauty and form; the buildings of the Qadam-gāh¹ of the Sasanian monarch Šāhpūr, and the ancillary buildings connected with this, together with the construction of a cistern and fountains fed by water led down from the mountains, and the planting of trees indigenous to the region—truly a site to gladden the eye of the beholder.

¹A *qadam-gāh* is a shrine built around a site containing the footprint of some holy man or other notable personage.

At Ardabil, the shrine of Shaikh Jebrā'il, the ancestor of Shah 'Abbas; a gold railing round the dais, opposite the tomb; a silver railing and other adornments of the sacred enclosure; the restoration of the tomb of Shaikh Zāhed-e Gilānī, the rehabilitation of that of Shaikh Šehāb al-Dīn Ahārī, and the designing of the beautiful garden around the tomb.

At Isfahan, the Masjed-e Jāme', situated on the south side of the Naqš-e Jahān Square. People who have traveled widely say they have rarely seen marblework to equal that on the walls of this mosque; the building of another extremely fine mosque, opposite the royal court;² the building of a theological seminary; a hospital; public baths; the Qeyṣarīya,³ and rows of shops flanking the Meydān, with apartments over; excellent caravanserais; the five-storied royal palace, and private apartments decorated in gold and named Sarvestān (the cypress grove), Negārestān (the picture gallery), Goldasta (the posy of roses), and the like; other five-storied buildings; reservoirs; the main avenue known as the Čahār Bāg, approximately one *farsak* in length, and the gardens flanking the avenue on each side—not to mention the fine mansions erected in each garden, too numerous to specify; the magnificent bridge, consisting of forty arches,⁴ situated in the middle⁵ of the Čahār Bāg avenue and spanning the Zāyanda-rūd—a bridge without equal in the world; the suburb of Abbāsābād on the west side of Isfahan, built to provide housing for the colony of Tabrizis; and, outside the city, the Bāg-e Kowma; the Bāg-e Vohūš (zoo); the Gāvkānī inn, and another inn in the Kārgūšī plain, between Varzana in the Isfahan district and Nadūšān in the Yazd district—a place where there always used to be great danger from highway robbers, but which is now safe.

At Qazvin, the capital, the royal palace, and the two-storied private apartments, decorated with gold, known as the New Building; the splendid caravanserai and the Jahān-nomā buildings situated both east and west of the Sa'ādat Square.

²The reference is to the Masjed-e Shaikh Loṭfollāh, opposite the 'Ālī Qāpū (or Ala Qapū) palace.

³The huge bazaar complex at Isfahan.

⁴There are actually thirty-three. This bridge was named for Shah 'Abbas's celebrated commander in chief, Allāhverdī Khan, who rose from the ranks of the *golāms*. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, ii, 45, observes: "A priori, one would hardly expect to have to travel to Persia to see what may, in all probability, be termed the stateliest bridge in the world."

⁵After Safavid times, the portion of the Čahār Bāg south of the bridge fell into disrepair.

At Kashan, the palace complex, comprising several mansions and gardens; the public bath; the caravanserai; the Qohrūd dam; the Rebāt-e Sangīn inn; the Sīāh-kūh inn; and the roadbed between Namaksār and Sīāhkūh, which was consolidated with rock and lime over a distance of several *farsaks*, at a cost of about ten thousand *tomān*—a work for which the traveler offers a prayer of gratitude.

In Māzandarān, the construction of the summer palace at Farahābād,⁶ near the shores of the Caspian Sea. A stream called Tejīna-rūd runs through the grounds, and Shah 'Abbas built the magnificent bridge and highway that connects Farahābād with Sārī, a distance of some four *farsaks*, and is constructed of solid blocks of stone. Each garden in the grounds has its own mansion, and the palace complex includes bathhouses, markets, and pleasure gardens. Because it is such a beautiful place, the bourgeoisie and artisans aspired to reside there. Over the years, thousands of houses belonging to Muslims and non-Muslims from all parts of the empire sprang up in the palace grounds. Today, it is doubtful whether there is another city of its size within the confines of the Islamic world.

Shah 'Abbas has also constructed residences and gardens at Sārī and Āmol, and the lake and mansions at Bār-forūš-deh, and at Ašraf,⁷ another palace complex, with gardens and springs, and silver basins on the balconies of the mansions, which are cunningly fed with water brought from a point higher up the slopes of the mountains. Only half a *farsak* from Ašraf, at a place called Bagat, which lies at a higher elevation, there is another group of gardens, baths, and mansions equipped with halls and porticos. In the grounds, there are artificial lakes and fountains that beggar description. The whole way from Isfahan to Ašraf, at distances of four *farsaks*, Shah 'Abbas has constructed overnight accommodations consisting of guest rooms, workshops, and gardens, most equipped with bathhouses. Each lodging house is designed to provide anything the Shah may require on his overnight stay.

At Astarābād, the palace complex. At Naṣanz, the Bāg-e Tajabād, with court buildings, upper chambers, bathhouses; the Bāg-e Abbās-ābād between Naṣanz and Kashan. At Tabriz, construction of the tombs of 'Eyn-e 'Alī and Zeyn-e 'Alī, and the restoration of the mosque of Shah Tahmasp. In the Hamadan region, near Šahr-e Now

⁶See my article in *EP*.

⁷See my article in *EP*.

Book I, Discourse 11: Shah Abbas's Public Works

Čamčal, on the slopes of the Bisotūn mountain, a hospice for the use of pilgrims visiting the local shrines. Let us hope that each of the public works will bring the Shah victory and prosperity, and that these achievements will continue to be remembered in ages to come.

Discourse 12

On Shah 'Abbas's Battles and Victories

Since Shah 'Abbas has always turned to God for help, his reign has been crowned by victories, and success has attended him from his accession up to the present day. Full details of all his victories and conquests will be given in Book II of my history, but as a compliment to the Shah, I will give a summary of them here.

When he ascended the throne, Shah 'Abbas was faced by internal enemies, and he decided to deal with these first. He marched to Isfahan and Shiraz, dealt with Ya'qūb Khan Zu'l-Qadar and Yūsuf Khan, who had blockaded themselves in the fortresses of Eṣṭakr and Kerman, respectively, and returned to the capital. Next, he dealt with the rebel Dowlatyār Sīāh-mansūr, razed his castle, and destroyed him. Next, he marched against Khan Aḥmad, the ruler of eastern Gīlān, who had been in correspondence with the Ottomans, expelled him from that province, and incorporated it with the western portion of Gīlān. Next, he subjugated the castle of Sendān, where Emir Ḥamza Khan Tāleš, the son of Bāyandor Khan, was showing signs of rebellion. Next, he determined to subjugate Māzandarān, his patrimony, and Rostamdār, which was divided between various princes and was a constant source of trouble. Both areas were incorporated into the Safavid dominions. After that, he took an army to Lorestān, where he captured the rebel Šāhverdī Khan Lor-e 'Abbāsī.

Next, he turned his attention to Khorasan. After a number of inconclusive campaigns against 'Abd al-Mo'men Khan, the son of 'Abdullah Khan Özbeg, who made repeated incursions into Khorasan in an attempt to capture the forts at Nishapur, Esfarā'īn, and so on, but retired each time the royal army took the field, Shah 'Abbas finally brought the Uzbeks to battle near Herat, at Pol-e Salār and Rabāt-e Pariān. In the battle, the Uzbeg commander, Dīn Muhammad Khan, who had succeeded 'Abd al-Mo'men at Herat, was killed. As a result of this victory, Khorasan was returned to Safavid control.

From Khorasan, the Shah marched to Astarābād, where he suppressed the rebels and stamped out the *sīāh-pūrī* (the wearing of black) movement. The following year, Nūr Muhammad Khan, the

ruler of Marv-e Šahījān, who had been restored by Shah 'Abbas to his ancestral throne, rebelled. He was captured by the Shah, and the fortresses of Abīvard, Nesā, Bāgbad, Darūn, and Marv were added to the province of Khorasan. In the Year of the Tiger, 1010/1601–02, he marched again against the Uzbegs, this time to Balk, and captured the fortress of Andekūd, a task which took his predecessors at least six months, on the second day of the siege. He camped before Balk for twenty days, blockading in the city Bāqī Khan, the brother of Dīn Moḥammad Khan Uzbeg and ruler of Transoxania and Turkestan; Bāqī Khan did not dare give battle, and the Shah ravaged the area before returning.

In the Year of the Hare, 1011/1602–03, he took the field against the Ottomans, determined to regain the provinces of Azerbaijan and Šīrvān, land in which the *qezelbāš* had buried their dead for so many years. Within sight of Tabriz he routed 'Alī Pasha and took him prisoner, and inflicted great slaughter on his troops. The citadel at Tabriz was finally retaken after a siege, and the Shah pressed on to lay siege to Erīvān. After a siege of seven months, the fortress at Erīvān, which consisted of three separate castles, was captured, and the province of Čoķür-e Sa'd and its dependencies returned to Safavid hands.

In the Year of the Serpent, 1013/1604–05, the Shah led his army against Jegal-oğlū and fought a pitched battle with him near Vān. Jegal-oğlū was routed but, in late autumn of the same year, he regrouped the Ottoman forces and led them against Tabriz. Shah 'Abbas fought a second battle outside Tabriz; Jegal-oğlū was defeated and fled to Dīār Bakr, where he died. After this great victory 'Abbas led his men to Qarābag, and laid siege to Ganja. After four or five months the fortress fell; its commandant, Moḥammad Pasha, and the garrison, were put to the sword. From Ganja, the Shah marched against Tiflis, Tomanūs, Georgia, and Qal'a-ye Lori. The Ottoman garrisons of these forts had no choice but to seek quarter and surrender.

The Shah then marched into Šīrvān and laid siege to Šamakī in the depths of winter, braving heavy rain and snow. The fortress fell and the Shah removed Aḥmad Pasha, the commandant, and all the garrison before marching on to capture the forts at Darband and Bakū, and the other forts in Šīrvān. Morād Pasha, the grand vizier, led another Ottoman force to Tabriz. He failed to take the citadel and

sued for peace, sending various envoys including Naşuh Pasha. 'Abbas, having now recovered all lost Safavid territory, was also willing to negotiate peace, and peace was eventually made on the same terms as the Treaty of Amasya that had been concluded with Shah Tahmasp.

Since the rulers of Georgia, Lūarsāb, and Tahmūraş, who were vassals of the Safavid house, had rebelled against their overlords, Shah 'Abbas decided to lead a punitive expedition to Georgia. Lūarsāb and the sons of Tahmūraş were taken captive and executed. Tahmūraş himself fled to Başı Āçūq and found sanctuary there with some Georgian princes who were vassals of the Ottomans. On several occasions, Tahmūraş disturbed the uneasy peace with the Ottomans. After the return of the royal army, he was guilty of various hostile acts against Muslims. Shah 'Abbas therefore took a second punitive expedition to Georgia, went through Tahmūraş's territory with fire and sword, and brought back to Iran more than one hundred thousand Georgian women and children who became converts to Islam. Tahmūraş himself became a fugitive.

The Ottomans then broke the peace and dispatched Mohammad Pasha, the grand vizier, known as Öküz Mohammad, to lay siege to Erivan. But he failed to take it. In the process, he lost several thousand men and a number of Ottoman nobles were slain.

These are the events that will be described in detail in part I of Book II, which will bring my history down to the year in which I am writing this page, namely 1025/1616. The events that will be covered in part 2 are as follows:

When the Ottomans broke the peace, not satisfied with the failure of their expedition against Erivan, they called in Jānī Beg Gerāy, ruler of the Qarā Qerem Tartars, to help them. In 1020/1611-12 a vast army, from Anatolia, Egypt, Syria, and Kurdestan, under the command of the Grand Vizier Kalil Pasha, reinforced by twenty thousand Tartars under Jānī Beg Gerāy, invaded Iran. Shah 'Abbas stationed himself at Ardabil and sent a force under Qarčaqāy Khan, commander in chief of the army of Iran, against a combined Ottoman-Tartar force of fifty thousand men under Hasan Pasha, the *beglerbeg* of Erzerum, and Jānī Beg Gerāy, which had advanced as far as Sarab. A great battle was fought this side of the Šebli pass, and the Persian forces were completely victorious. Hasan Pasha and other

Ottoman officers were killed, together with a number of Tartar princes and countless Kurds; Jānī Beg Gerāy himself was wounded. Kālīl now sued for peace on the previous terms. Once again, envoys went to and fro, and once again peace was concluded.

In 1030/1620–21, Shah 'Abbas marched to recover the provinces of Kandahar and Zamin Dāvar, which the Mogul emperors had neglected to hand back to Iran, despite their earlier bonds of friendship with the Safavids. He wrested these provinces from Shah Salīm, the son of Emperor Jalāl al-Dīn Akbar. Similarly, Shah 'Abbas aspired to recover the province of Arab Iraq, which had always belonged to the kings of Iran and which had been in *qezelbāš* hands during the reign of Shah Esma'il I and the first part of the reign of Shah Tahmasp, but had then been occupied by the Ottomans. A mutiny of Ottoman troops at Baghdad gave him his chance. In 1031/1621–22, he marched to Baghdad and brought Arab Iraq back under Safavid control. He visited the holy shrines at Najaf and Kāzemeyn.

In the Year of the Rat, 1033/1623–24, the commander in chief, Qarčaqāy Khan, was sent to Georgia to make certain necessary dispositions there with the help of the *beglerbegs* and emirs of Širvān and Qarabāğ. The emirs took along with them a Georgian named Morāv, who had for years held an honored place in the Shah's service, because he was familiar with the Georgian scene and was thought to be a reliable man. On arrival in Georgia, however, that villain gathered together a group of Georgian dissidents, and they treacherously fell on the unsuspecting emirs and slew Qarčaqāy Khan and Yūsuf Khan, the *beglerbeg* of Širvān. The Georgians then again rebelled, and once again turned to the Ottomans and declared themselves supporters of the latter. Morāv was joined by Tāhmūraş and Aṭā Beg, both of the stock of the Georgian princes of Meskhia and Ākēsqa, who had been defeated by the Safavid army in previous campaigns. At this point, the Ottoman Sultan 'Osmān II was assassinated by his own Janissaries, and his younger brother, Morād, was placed on the throne.¹ Morād sent an army to Arab Iraq, which had recently returned to Persian hands, under the command of Hāfez Ahmād Pasha, the grand vizier.

Shah 'Abbas dispatched an army to Georgia to deal with the revolt of Morāv; the army was a mixed force of *golāms*, *qūrčis*, musketeers,

¹After the assassination of 'Osmān II in 1031/1622, the previously deposed Moṣṭafā I was briefly reinstated, and was then succeeded by Morād IV (1032/1623).

and troops belonging to the emirs of Azerbaijan and was under the command of 'Isā Khan, the *qūrčibāšī*. Morāv, Tahmūraş and Aṭā Beg confronted them with a mixed force of infantry and cavalry totaling twenty thousand men. The Georgians were defeated, with about a thousand men killed. Morāv fled to Anatolia, and Tahmūraş and Aṭā Beg took refuge in the forests of Georgia.

Meanwhile, Hāfez Ahmād Pasha, who had reached Diār Bakr, was incited by Morāv and other Georgian troublemakers to march on Baghdad with an army of more than a hundred and fifty thousand men. The Pasha laid siege to the citadel. Shah 'Abbas marched to the relief of Baghdad, although a large part of his army had not yet returned from Georgia. He reached the city with an army of forty thousand men, and camped near the Behrīz channel. Heavy fighting ensued between the two forces. The garrison of the citadel made frequent sorties in support of the royal army, and the Ottomans made great use of their siege guns in an attempt to batter down the fortifications. The siege dragged on for nine months, and the Ottomans had made no progress. On the contrary, they had suffered heavy casualties both in the field and in their assaults on the citadel, and had lost many men through desertion. Finally, they sued for terms. Shah 'Abbas allowed them to march away, leaving their heavy siege guns on the spot, and Arab Iraq remained in Persian hands.

Tahmūraş now begged forgiveness for his past sins and declared that in the future he would be a loyal servant of the Shah. The Shah replied that any time he cared to present himself at court, he would be pardoned. 'Isā Khan recaptured the fortress at Ākēsqa, which had passed into Ottoman hands during the rebellion in Georgia. On the eastern front, the Uzbeg leaders showed an inclination to reach a peaceful settlement, and negotiations were opened. Shah 'Abbas was now at the height of his power, and both friend and foe hesitated to cross him. The events mentioned in the above summary will be related in greater detail in Book II.

God be praised that I have been permitted to complete the first book of my history, *The World-Adorning History of Shah 'Abbas the Great*. I have mentioned several times that I completed the original work in 1025/1616, and later added an account of the events of the remaining years of the reign of Shah 'Abbas, which is contained in part 2 of Book II. It seemed to me to be necessary, in order to quench the thirst for knowledge of those my readers who might have only

Book I, Discourse 12: Shah 'Abbas's Battles

Book I at their disposal, to append to this volume, in the form of these eleven discourses, a general survey of the whole forty years of the reign of Shah 'Abbas, in summarized form. I have now remedied this deficiency, not worrying too much about being repetitious, and I have placed these discourses at the end of Book I, hoping thereby to escape criticism.

Although I hesitate to place these scattered and incomplete notes in the same category as the works of professional biographers and historians, I am nevertheless encouraged by the reflection that, in the market, even the humblest earthenware pot, though it has no intrinsic value, is not given away free, but is considered as much part of the shopkeeper's stock in trade as the most priceless gems. Indeed, when I consider that my subject is the history of the Safavid dynasty and of Shah 'Abbas the Great, I think my work might not unjustly be compared to the *Matla' al-Sa'deyn* or the *Zafar-nâma*. I beg scholars to look leniently on my work, and if they find errors in it, to correct them. As the saying goes, "Big fish do not bother to cavil at small fry," and so I ask their assistance in this regard, so that I may complete the project I have conceived in the best possible manner. Book II will consist of two parts (may the second part never be completed!).² I pray that my work will be acceptable to His Majesty, and that it will bring him felicity through all eternity.

²In other words, "Long live the king!"







PURCHASED

